

JOURNAL  
OF THE  
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

EDITOR  
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University of Pennsylvania

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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

ADDRESS, CARE OF

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

1938

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VOLUME 58

NUMBER 1

MARCH, 1938

Published March 31, 1938

### The Oriental Club of Philadelphia Fiftieth Anniversary

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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY  
20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Maryland

*Annual subscriptions and orders should be sent to the American Oriental Society, 20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md., or Yale University Press, New Haven Conn., U. S. A. (See last page of cover.)*  
*Books for review should be sent to one of the Editors (addresses on the inside of this cover).*

*Entered as second-class matter March 1, 1937, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland,*

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NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT, U. S. A.

1938

A copy of this volume, postage paid, may be obtained anywhere within the limits of the Universal Postal Union, by sending a Postal Money Order for six dollars, or its equivalent, to the YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, New Haven, Connecticut, United States of America.



PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
BY J. H. FURST COMPANY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

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## EDITORIAL FOREWORD

This issue of the JOURNAL is the joint publication of the American Oriental Society and the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, in honor of the Club's fiftieth anniversary. It is offered as part of the joint celebration of that event to be held in Philadelphia, on April 19-21, in connection with the 1938 meeting of the Society. Oriental studies in America owe much to the membership of this Club for work carried on both in Philadelphia and in other American cities, in Europe, and in the Orient itself. The JOURNAL has a very special relationship to the Club. From the time (Volume 17, 1896) when the Society ceased publishing the JOURNAL through a Committee of Publication and elected instead one or more editors, the total number of editors has been thirteen, and of that number seven are or once were members of the Club. The present editors, therefore, have great satisfaction in presenting an issue consisting solely of articles by members of that Club, and only regret that the JOURNAL and the Club together could not have provided pages enough to solicit a contribution from every productive scholar whose name is on the Club's membership list. The range of interests of the present articles indicates, but does not exhaust, the range of the Club's interests. We offer the Club our congratulations, and add our wish that it may continue for many more half-centuries to promote the scientific study of the Orient in Philadelphia and throughout the world.

THE EDITORS.

## THE ORIENTAL CLUB OF PHILADELPHIA

The Oriental Club of Philadelphia was founded on April 30, 1888, with twenty-three original members, of whom twenty were present at the foundation meeting. In the fifty years of its existence, it has elected 121 other members, making a total membership over these years of 144. The present active membership is limited to fifty. During its entire career about six meetings have been held annually for the presentation of scientific papers by members or by visiting scholars. Former members who have removed from Philadelphia have been active in establishing similar organizations in several other cities.

### SPECIAL MEETINGS AND CELEBRATIONS

- The completion of five years of the Club, marked by the publication of a volume (see Bibliography).
- The twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation, March 26, 1913, when the Club entertained the American Oriental Society.
- The meeting in honor of the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, a founder of the Club, on his retirement from the Bench; January 13, 1916.
- The two-hundredth meeting of the Club, November 8, 1917.
- The thirtieth anniversary of the foundation, April 30, 1918.
- The thirty-fifth anniversary of the foundation, May 10, 1923, marked by the publication of a volume of studies (see Bibliography).
- The fortieth anniversary of the foundation, May 10, 1928.
- The forty-fifth anniversary of the foundation, dinner as guests of Dr. Adler, February 18, 1933.
- The fiftieth anniversary of the foundation, April 19-21, 1938, when the Club invited the American Oriental Society to meet at Philadelphia.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Oriental Studies: a selection of the papers read before the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, 1888-1894.* Pp. 279. Boston: GINN AND Co., 1894.
- The Oriental Club of Philadelphia: Record of 25 Years.* Pp. 34. March 26, 1913; privately printed.
- Volume of Addresses in 18 Oriental Languages, by Members of the Club, presented to the Hon. Mayer Sulzberger,* January 13, 1916.
- "Oriental Club Meeting: Presentation of Testimonial Volume to Judge Sulzberger on his retirement from the bench," in *Old Penn* 14. 560-563 (January 22, 1916).



"Oriental Club Honors Judge Sulzberger: presentation of testimonial volume to distinguished jurist on his retirement from the bench," in *The Jewish Exponent*, Vol. 62, No. 16 (Whole No. 1502), page 9 (January 21, 1916).

"200th Meeting of the Oriental Club," in *Old Penn* 16.169-171 (November 16, 1917).

*Thirty Years of Oriental Studies, issued in commemoration of thirty years of activity of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia.* Edited by ROLAND G. KENT, Secretary of the Club. Pp. 84. Philadelphia, 1918.

*The Song of Songs, a Symposium by members of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia.* Edited by WILFRED H. SCHOFF. Pp. 120. Philadelphia; published by THE COMMERCIAL MUSEUM, 1924.

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†Joseph F. Garrison, Founder	†Charles P. G. Scott, 1897
†William Goodell, Founder	†William Henry Furness, 3d, 1899
J. Rendel Harris, Founder	*William N. Bates, 1900
†Paul Haupt, Founder	*James Alan Montgomery, 1900
†Herman V. Hilprecht, Founder	†Elwood Worcester, 1900
†Edward Washburn Hopkins, Founder	†Dana C. Munro, 1901
†Marcus Jastrow, Founder	Enno Littmann, 1903
†Morris Jastrow, Jr., Founder	*Solomon Solis-Cohen, 1904
†Philip Howard Law, Founder	Albert J. Edmunds, 1904
†Benjamin Smith Lyman, Founder	†George Byron Gordon, 1904
†Edward Yorke McCauley, Founder	John Carew Rolfe, 1904
†Isaac Myer, Founder	Hermann Ranke, 1904
†John P. Peters, Founder	†Albert T. Clay, 1904
†Robert W. Rogers, Founder	Henry S. Drinker, 1906
†John Stronach, Founder	†William M. Groton, 1907
†Mayer Sulzberger, Founder	*Roland G. Kent, 1907
†Henry Clay Trumbull, Founder	Walton Brooks McDaniel, 1907
†Talcott Williams, Founder	David Randall MacIver, 1907
†J. Peter Lesley, 1888	David McC. Steele, 1907
†Daniel G. Brinton, 1888	†Max L. Margolis, 1909
†Hermann Collitz, 1888	†William Romaine Newbold, 1909
†William J. Mann, 1888	Albert Ten Eyck Olmstead, 1909
†Swamee Bhaskara Nand Sara- swatee, 1890	Caroline L. Ransom, 1910
†W. Max Mueller, 1890	Edward Sapir, 1910
	*Frank Gouldsmith Speck, 1910
	C. Leonard Woolley, 1910

- †Eugene Watson Burlingame, 1910  
 †Benson Brush Charles, 1910  
 †Eckley B. Cox, 1911  
 †Wilfred H. Schoff, 1911  
 †Henry Malter, 1912  
   George Depue Hadzsits, 1912  
   Robert Pierpont Blake, 1913  
   Franklin Edgerton, 1913  
   Arthur Ungnad, 1913  
 \*W. W. Hyde, 1914  
   H. J. Cadbury, 1915  
 †A. D. Heffern, 1915  
   S. B. Luce, Jr., 1916  
   J. J. Van Nostrand, 1916  
 \*Isaac Husik, 1916  
   A. J. Carnoy, 1916  
 \*W. Norman Brown, 1916  
 †Edward Chiera, 1916  
   C. W. Bishop, 1916  
   H. F. Lutz, 1916  
   R. K. Yerkes, 1916  
 †C. T. Benze, 1917  
   Elihu Grant, 1918  
   Robert M. Larabee, 1918  
   Langdon Warner, 1918  
   W. C. Farabee, 1919  
 \*Rhys Carpenter, 1919  
 †A. L. Frothingham, 1920  
 \*Harold H. Bender, 1920  
 †Howard Crosby Butler, 1920  
   Elbert Russell, 1920  
   Clarence L. Fisher, 1920  
   H. Lamar Crosby, 1920  
 \*David Magie, 1921  
 \*W. K. Prentice, 1921  
 \*Joseph Cullen Ayer, 1921  
   David W. Amram, 1921  
 \*I. G. Matthews, 1921  
 \*Henry S. Gehman, 1922  
   T. J. Meek, 1922  
   Edward Capps, 1922  
 \*G. W. Rowley, 1923  
   J. A. Maynard, 1923  
   ZeBarney T. Phillips, 1923  
 †Benzion Halper, 1923  
 \*E. A. Speiser, 1924  
   Carl H. Kraeling, 1924  
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 \*Solomon L. Skoss, 1925  
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 \*Charles D. Benjamin, 1926  
   Philip K. Hitti, 1926  
   Milton G. Evans, 1926  
 \*Solomon Zeitlin, 1926  
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   W. F. Albright, 1929  
 \*J. W. Flight, 1929  
 \*John K. Shryock, 1929  
 \*Joseph Reider, 1929  
   Cyrus Gordon, 1931  
 \*A. Irving Hallowell, 1931  
 \*Valentin Müller, 1931  
   G. Battiscombe Gunn, 1932  
 \*R. R. Hauptert, 1932  
   Samuel M. Zwemer, 1932  
 †A. S. Woodburne, 1932  
 \*Alan A. McRae, 1932  
 \*H. H. Comfort, 1933  
 \*Richard Bernheimer, 1933  
 \*Ernst Diez, 1933  
 \*H. H. F. Jayne, 1934  
 \*D. S. Davidson, 1935  
   L. C. Moon, 1935  
 \*Zellig S. Harris, 1935  
   H. I. Poleman, 1935  
 \*M. A. Simsar, 1936  
 \*John Mosher, 1936  
 \*John F. Lewis, Jr., 1936  
   Samuel J. Mills, 1936  
 \*Karl Reuning, 1936  
 \*Heinz Wieselhoff, 1936  
 \*Charles M. Cooper, 1937  
 \*Vincent F. Pottle, 1937

R. G. KENT,  
I. G. MATTHEWS.

## AN OLD GUJARĀTĪ TEXT OF THE KĀLAKA STORY

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AN OLD GUJARĀTĪ text of the well known Kālaka story appears in a manuscript entitled *Kālikasūrikathā*, which is No. 2008 of the Harvard University collection of Indic manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript itself was written in the year Vikrama Saṃvat 1479 (A. D. 1422) and on being published in this article is apparently one of the older continuous texts in Old Gujarātī which has been put in print for scholars,<sup>2</sup> and is almost as old as the earliest Jaina manuscripts in Old Gujarātī listed in the Līmbdī catalogue,<sup>3</sup> where some of the earliest are those indicated by entry No. 770, with a composition date of Saṃvat 1412, and entry No. 2664, with a composition date of Saṃvat 1411 and copying date of Saṃvat 1419. It has, therefore, seemed to me worth while to publish this manuscript with translation and notes, partly because of its relative antiquity and partly because of the comparative scarcity of printed Old Gujarātī works and still greater scarcity of translations from such works.

The chief aids for handling Old Gujarātī materials are those published by Tessitori in 1914-16 and Dave in 1935 (see my BIBLIOGRAPHY below).<sup>4</sup> Of these Tessitori's is by far the more extensive; Dave's, being confined to the exploitation of a single manuscript (dated Vikrama Saṃvat 1543 = A. D. 1486), contains only a skeleton grammar, but in compiling his notes he had the

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<sup>1</sup> This manuscript was pointed out to me by Dr. Horace I. Poleman, who had seen it while preparing his *Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (now in process of publication by the American Oriental Society).

<sup>2</sup> Earlier are the grammatical notes of the Mugdhāvabodhamauktika (A. D. 1394); see Grierson in LSI, vol. 9, part ii, pp. 353-364. There are still earlier works in Old Gujarātī reported, as from the late 12th century on. For some examples, see C. D. Dalal, *Prācīna Gurjara-Kāvya-saṅgraha* (GOS, vol. 13), 1920.

<sup>3</sup> *Līmbadīnā Jaina Jñānabhaṇḍārāṇi Hastalikhita prationuṃ Sūcīpatra*, Bombay, Agamodaya Samiti, 1928.

<sup>4</sup> Before this time the materials were chiefly those of the Mugdhāvabodhamauktika, published by H. H. Dhruva in the *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1893), vol. I, pp. 315-330, and by Grierson in LSI, vol. 9, part ii, 353-364.

advantage of recent work done by Chatterji, Geiger, Bloch, and Turner (see his Bibliography, p. ix), and in the limited ground that his grammar covers it clearly supersedes Tessitori's, although the very limitation of scope prevents it from eliminating the latter. In addition to a skeleton grammar Dave furnishes with his text an etymological word list, a most valuable feature of his book, but marred by a number of incorrect references to the text and misspellings of Old Gujarātī forms cited.<sup>5</sup> The etymologies are carefully considered and are a marked advance over Tessitori.

The manuscript here presented is of only six paper folios, with a panel illustration on the first folio done in current Western Indian style of the 15th century,<sup>6</sup> but in this case of decided inferiority in execution. The text does not add to our knowledge of the Kālaka story—it contains several departures from the older versions—and its interest is primarily as a specimen of Old Gujarātī. It is possible that this manuscript is an original, made by a monk for his own use at the time of the Paryuṣaṇā festival, when the monks read or recite to the lay folk the stories of the Tīrthaṃkaras in the Kalpasūtra and the list of the pontiffs following, with frequent anecdotal commentary attached from other sources, and relate the story of Kālaka, who changed the date of the Paryuṣaṇā festival in the manner narrated in the texts. The Sanskrit and Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī verses inserted in the text are badly treated by our manuscript and are copiously commented upon, as though the user were very uncertain of those languages. We cannot be sure of the author or the place of composition (or of copying, whichever is the case), because the sections of the text offering statements on those points are in writing superimposed upon the original writing, and it is quite likely that some other person whose name has been covered over by the second writing was actually the author.<sup>7</sup> On the theory that manuscripts are less likely to travel than to stay still, we might suppose that the work was written on Mount Śatruñjaya, as the later superimposed writing of the manuscript indicates, but to put any reliance on the statement would be unjustified. Jain monks carry manuscripts around with them, and especially might they take them to Mount Śatruñjaya, which

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<sup>5</sup> A needed work is a word list of all the Old Gujarātī texts so far in print.

<sup>6</sup> See Brown, *Kālaka*, p. 20 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See Text, note 38.

is a celebrated point of pilgrimage. For some reason or other Sāgaracandra may have finished writing or copying or have acquired the manuscript there.

Although it is evident that the author (or copyist) was not a learned man, I have ventured to correct only the Sanskrit and the Prakrit; the Old Gujarātī is generally passable as it stands, and most of the matters in which its grammar differs from norms established in Tessitori's or Dave's works may be taken as dialectic or colloquial variation.

The manuscript regularly writes § for *kh*, as is the frequent custom of Old Gujarātī manuscripts, and is lax in distinguishing between *ch* and *cch*—for example, it writes both *gacha* and *gaccha* in § 5. At some time in its history the side margins of the manuscript were shaved a half an inch or more, with the result that some of the marginal notations have been cut in part (see Text, note 24).

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- |               |   |
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| Brown, Kālaka | W. Norman Brown, <i>The Story of Kālaka</i> . (Freer Gallery of Art, Oriental Studies No. 1.) Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1933.  |
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| PSM           | Hargovind Das T. Sheth, <i>Pāia-Sadda-Mahāṇavo</i> . 4 volumes. Calcutta: published by the author, 1923-28.   |
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## TEXT

§ 1. arhaṇi. iṇaiṇi bharatakṣetri pṛthvīrūpiṇī strī pratiṇi tila-  
kaprāya dhārāvāsu isiṇi nāmiṇi nagara pravarttaiṇi. tihāṇi siṃha  
taṇi pariṇi parākramavantu vairasiṃha isiṇi nāmi rājā rājya taṇi  
pratipālauā nīpajāvai. teha rāya taṇai grhāṇgaṇi rūpasamṇadāṇi  
jisi hui suri isi surasamṇdarī rājīi. tatakukṣi samṇbhūta kālīka  
isiṇi<sup>1</sup> nāmiṇi kumāra, rūpi karī nijjita māra, kalāṇi anaiṇi  
yāuvani karī samṇpūrṇa.

§ 2. ekavāra taṇaiṇi prastāvi turuṇgama taṇi vāhīā liṇi. gyāṇi  
hūtāṇi vana māhi śrīguṇākaraśūri vyākhyāna karatā samṇbhalyāṇi.  
takkāla samṇsāra taṇai viṣai anityatā ūpanī. mātāpitā mokalāvi  
pāṇca saṇi kṣitriṇe anai sarasvatī<sup>2</sup> bahina sahita dīkṣā līdhī.  
kramahiṇi samagra siddhāṇi joyā gurujogya jāvi paṭṭābhīṣeka  
nīpajāvi. śrīkālīkēcārya isiṇi nāma<sup>3</sup> hūṇi. sarasvatī pratiṇi  
śrīmahattarāpada dīdhaṇi. tivāra tu anamṇtara śrīguṇākaraśūri  
svarggabhaṇijyā hūyā. śrīkālīkāsūri pṛthvīpavitra nīpajāvata ūjevi  
nagarīṇi pāudhāsyā. śrīsamṇgha sahirṣita hū.

§ 3. ekavāra taṇai prastāvi mahattarā sarasvatī bāhyabhūmikā  
puhatāṇi hūtāṇi anai garddabhilla rājā taṇi dṛṣṭiṇi paḍyāṇi. rājā  
sarasvatī taṇi rūparekhā deṣi amanaskara hū. āpaṇā ullamṇtha  
vamṇtha mokalī balātākāriṇi sukhāsaṇi baiśāvi<sup>4</sup> amṇteuri lei rāṣi.  
tivāraiṇi bījī mahāsatī pūtkāra karatī guru pratiṇi jāḍavaiṇi.  
bhaṭṭārika śrīsamṇghasahita hūṇtā rājasabhāṇi jāi, rāi prati upadeśa  
taṇaṇi pradāna nīpajāviṇi, śrīsamṇghi puṇa kahīṇi. rājāṇi te  
vāta mani nāṇi, isiṇi kahīṇi chai:

na<sup>5</sup> paśyati yathā cāndhaḥ<sup>6</sup> kāmāndho<sup>7</sup> pi na paśyati

na paśyati madonmatto doṣam arthī<sup>8</sup> na paśyati. 1.

[Commentary] jima jācamṇdha na deṣaiṇi, jima madonmatta<sup>8</sup> na  
deṣaiṇi,<sup>9</sup> jima arthīu doṣa na deṣaiṇi, tima kāmāṇdha na deṣaiṇi.  
eka vārttā kima-i<sup>10</sup> asatya na ūpajaiṇi.

<sup>1</sup> MS iṇsi

<sup>2</sup> MS svarasvatī

<sup>3</sup> MS nāma was erased by later hand.

<sup>4</sup> MS baiśāri

<sup>5</sup> MS naṇi.

<sup>6</sup> MS cāṇdha. *Perhaps reading should be na paśyati hi jātyandhaḥ (see commentary below, and Brown, Kālaka, p. 72, vs. 14, where that is the reading).*

<sup>7</sup> MS arthī doṣa

<sup>8</sup> MS na deṣai

<sup>9</sup> MS madonmata

<sup>10</sup> MS kimaṇi

§ 4. śrīkālīkācārya ubhyasthāna karī upāsriya āvyā śrīsaṃgha teḍī kahium :

je saṃghapaccanīyā pavayaṇauvaghāyagā narā je ya <sup>11</sup>  
teṣiṃ vaccāmi <sup>12</sup> gayam eyam painnam bhaṇai sūri. <sup>13</sup> 1.

[*Commentary*] je manukṣa saṃgha pratiim pratyānīka huiṃ anaiṃ pravacana bhaṇīi siddhānta teha pratiim je upaghāta nīpajāvaiṃ teha <sup>14</sup> pratiim jai sīṣāmaṇa dījai nahī, tu doṣa taṇī prāpti hui anai śāsana pratiim māna na <sup>15</sup> ūpajai.

§ 5. isium kahī, āpaṇapaim gacha sium vimāsi, sīṣāmaṇa deī, gaccha anyatra vihāra karāviu. āpaṇapaim unamatta taṇau veṣa ādariu. nagara māhi ekākī hūtaṃ trigi catuki cacari gr̥thalatā karatā hīḍaim. isium kahai: yadi garddabhillo rājā tataḥ kim ataḥ param: [*Commentary*] jai garddabhilla rājā tu kisium. yadi pracuram antaḥpuram tataḥ kim ataḥ param: [*Commentary*] jai pracara ghaṇaṃ amteura tu kisium. yady aham araṇye vasāmi tataḥ kim ataḥ param: [*Commentary*] jai hum araṇya vasum tu kisium. . . <sup>16</sup> [*Commentary*] jai pracara rājya tu kisium. isium bolatā hīḍaim.

§ 6. te svarūpa deṣī caurāsīe sāmānti mahāsāmānti rāu vīnavi: mahārājā e mahāsati mūṃkīṃ. eha taṇai dukhiim eha taṇau bāṃdhava gahilau thiu. etalā hūtau pāpa taṇaim pramāṇi ghaṇā anartha taṇī prāpti husiim. rājā sām̐bhali valatum kahaim: jai tahme isyā dāhā chau tu āpaṇai paṇe ghari jāi sīkṣāpanā diu. jai ā vāra <sup>17</sup> pūthim majha āgali kahisiu tu cora taṇaim aparādhi sīṣāmaṇa lahisau.

§ 7. te svarūpa śrīkālīkācārya sām̐bhali, catuḥpathi āvī, isi pratamjñā nīpajāvai:

śrūyantāṃ lokapālā digadhipatiyutā grāmayakṣādayas ca sāmāntā mantriṇo 'mi sphatasubhaṭaghaṭāśreṣṭhīṇaḥ sārthavāhaḥ lāṅgūleneva veṇyā <sup>18</sup> kapim iva kuṃṛpaṃ rājyato garddabhillam mūlān nonmūlaye 'ham yadi na ca na tadā kālīkācārya eṣaḥ. <sup>19</sup> 1.

<sup>11</sup> MS jeṇa

<sup>13</sup> MS eyam pabhaṇai sūri

<sup>12</sup> MS vaccāmi

<sup>14</sup> MS te

<sup>15</sup> mā, followed by an erased akṣara which is corrected in margin to na; then comes nya ūpajai.

<sup>16</sup> MS clearly has lacuna.

<sup>17</sup> MS jāimavāra

<sup>18</sup> MS lāṅgūleneveṇyā

<sup>19</sup> MS ca nara tadā kālīkārya eṣaḥ





kimāpī. e vasta nahī yogya. tahme cālau jisiim navaum mālavā taṇum rājya apāvaum.

§ 11. tivārai chanū rāya ekatra huī cālyā, kramihiim siṃdha ūtarī saurāṣṭramamḍali āvyā. isii varṣākāla āviu. pāniya karī mārḡga viṣama thyū; kaṭaka caumāsūm tihām rahium. vijaya-daśamī tu anamṭara kaṭaka cālii nahī. tivāraiṃ bhaṭṭārake kahium śākī rāya pratiim: kahu kisium kāraṇa. rāya kahii: svāmī saṃbala sūṭam.

§ 12. tivārai tu anamṭara bhaṭṭārika trinhi upavāsa karaim. śāsanadevatā pratyakṣa thāi. tivāraiṃ pahium śāsanadevatā kanhai bahina sarasvatī taṇī śuddhi pūchai. valataum isium kahii: sarasvatī aṣamḍasīla hūmti: bihum upavāsa taṇai pāraṇai āmbila karaim, anai tahmārum nāma hīyai dharai. e svarūpa sām̐bhali valī saharṣita hūtaiṃ kahium: mātā maim evaḍau upakrama kiḍhau, puṇa dravya pāṣai saghalu-i nirarthaka<sup>23</sup> husii. tīṇai prastāvi śāsanadevatām cūrṇṇa āpium, anai isium kahium: pūrva-disiim prabhāta taṇai prastāvi īṭavāha bala tu deṣai. tihām e cūrṇṇa melhe jisiim te svarṇṇa rūpya thāi, anai savihum pratiim āpe. isium kahī śāsanadevatā adrṣta huī. prabhāti bhaṭṭārake te svarūpa satyāpī tihām śākī pratīi savarṇṇa āpium.

§ 13. te saharṣita hūtā cālyā, kramahi ūjayanī taṇai parisari āvyā. garḍdabhilla sāmuhu āvyu. riṇaṣetri raṇatūrya vājivā taṇai kāraṇi lāgām kāhala; rudra saṃgrāma hoivā lāgum; puṃtāra puṃtāri syam̐ asavāra asavāri syaum̐ ratha rathi syam̐ pāyaka pāyaki syaum̐ yuddha nīpajāvai. garḍdabhilla bhāgu nāsī karī nagara māhi gyu.

§ 14. bījai dini saṃgrāma ko na karaim. tivāraiṃ bhaṭṭārika pratiim jaṇāviūm. tivāraiṃ bhaṭṭārake aṭhottara sau vīra vīṇī, jihām aṭṭālai dhūma nīsaratau hūmtau deṣī teha ḍhūkaḍā rahyā. jivāraiṃ aṣṭamī taṇai dini garḍdabhilla kumbha. . taṇī āgi<sup>24</sup> pūjī, vīnatī kiḍhī, garḍdabhiim mukha pasāraum, tetalai dūrāpātī laghasam̐tānī dṛḍhaprahārī śabdavedhī taṇā bhāṇasamūha vichūtām mukha tima bhariūm jima bhāthau bhariim. tivāraiṃ vidyā kupī,

<sup>23</sup> MS nirthaka

<sup>24</sup> MS kumbha taṇī gāi. *A marginal note, now cut off, apparently in the handwriting of the original copyist, shows a loop as of v, ṭh, or k. For emendation of gāi to āgi (fem., Dave, p. 16) note paintings in Brown, Kālaka, figures 16 and 30, where Gardabhilla performs the magic rite before a pot from which fire is issuing.*

garddabhilla pratiim mastaki prahāra deī viṣṭā karī, anai āpanai sthānaki gaī. tivāra tu anaṃtara garddabhilla jivatū sāhiu, nagarī pāṣatī pheravī desa bāhiri kāḍhiu.

§ 15. sarasvatī aṣaṃḍasīla mūkāvī, dīkṣā lidhī. śākī rājā jina-sāsana taṇai viṣai nīscalacitta nīpajāvyā, rājyapada sthāpyā, deśa-grāma vihiṃcī, marjyādā karī āpī, āpaṇapaim gaccha teḍāvī, āloyaṇa lidhī. śrīsaṃgha nai mani pramoda ūpanau. śrīkālīkācārya sadgaru taṇi pratijñā sācī nīpajāvī.

§ 16. tivāra tu anaṃtara vihārakrama nīpajāvatām bharūyacchi pāudhāsya. bhāṇusirī bahina balamitra bhāṇamitra rulī yāyatu ūpanām. atiādaru nīpajāviu. balamitra dīkṣā lidhī. parohita te svarūpa deṣī, macchari karī raya pratiim kahium: mahārāja jihām e mahātmā cālai tīpai mārgi je āpaṇī cālī paga campaim<sup>25</sup> te dūṣaṇa lāgai. abhakti ūpajaim anyatra vihārakrama karāvīim. rāi vārttā mānī. tivāraim sarvatra aśuddhamāna āhāra karāvyā. te svarūpa jāṇī śrīkālīkācārya vihāra kīdhau. varṣāritu māhi saparivāra paithāṇapuri nagari āvyā. rājā śālavāhana pramoda medara hūu. bhalā utsava nīpajāvyā.

§ 17. ekaim prastāvi guru vīnavyā, isyaum kahium: svāmī hum pāṃcami taṇai divasi imdramahotsavi jāisu;<sup>26</sup> maraḥaṭṭha deṣi imdramahotsava taṇi rīti chai: tamhe prasāda<sup>27</sup> karī ṣaṣṭhī taṇai dīni paryuṣaṇāparva nīpajāvau. tīpai velām bhāṭṭārika isium kahium:

merū vi calae sūro paścimāe vi uggai  
pajūsavaṇapavvaṃ tu n'āikkamai paṃcamim.<sup>28</sup> 1.

merū<sup>29</sup> vi calae sūro. [*Commentary*] jai kivāraim mera parvata cālaim, jai kivārai[m] ḍūsthānaka hūmtu ṭalai, jai samudra marjyādā melhai, jai cīṇtāmaṇi taṇum pramāṇa kāka ruvelai, jai sūrya pūrva hūmtu paścimaiṇ ūgai, tathāpi paryuṣaṇāparva pāṃcami kāḍācana-i ullamghāi nahī. śrīśiddhānta māhi isium kahium chai: sa-vīsai-rāe māse [vaikkante] vāsāvāsaṃ pajjosavei. aṇṭarā-

<sup>25</sup> MS āpaṇī . . . campaim

<sup>26</sup> MS jñāisu

<sup>27</sup> MS prāda, corrected in margin by later hand to prasāda

<sup>28</sup> MS gives this stanza very corruptly: mero . . . uggamai . . . puvaṃ . . . "maiṃ "mi. For correct version, as printed in text, see Brown, *Kālaka*, p. 91; so also for quotation from *Sāmācārī* (*Kalpāsūtra*) below.

<sup>29</sup> MS mero

vāse kappai. no se kappai taṃ rayañiṃ uvāyaṇāvittae.<sup>30</sup> [*Commentary*] savimśatika māsa pañcāsa dibhāde etalai paryuṣaṇāparva kījai. aṃtarāli kalpai. puṇa te rātri atikramivā na kalpaim.

§ 18. tīnai velāṃ śālavāhani<sup>31</sup> rājāṃ kahium: jai aṃtarāli kalpai, tu caturthiṃ paryuṣaṇāparva nīpajāvau. tīnai prastāvi rāya taṇu āgraha jāṇi anai ghaṇu lābha deśi cauthiṃ paryuṣaṇākalpa nīpajāvau. teha velā tu bhādrapada taṇi śuklaajūālī cauthiṃ paryuṣaṇāparva nīpajāvaim.

§ 19. hivaiṃ ketalai ekaiṃ prastāvi śrīkālīkācārya taṇa śyīṣya durvinīta hūyā sīṣāmaṇa mānaim nahī. tivāraiṃ śāyyātura śrāvaka pratiṃ kahī, śīṣya nidrā bhari melhi, ekāki hūtā cālyā. śrīkālīkācārya<sup>32</sup> taṇai pāṭṭi ācārya śrīsāgaracandrasūri kanakhali rāya pratibodhi<sup>33</sup> tihāṃ catuṃmāsiki<sup>34</sup> rahyā chainṃ. tihā[m] kramiḥi śrīkālīkācārya āvyāṃ. kuṇahi olaṣyā nahim posāla taṇai ekaiṃ sūpaim baisī rahyā. śrīsāgaracandrasūri āpaṇā jāṇivā taṇai garvi bhaṭṭārīka pratii kahium: māharaṃ kiṣaṃṃ vyākhyāna. bhaṭṭārīke kahium: atibhalum.

§ 20. tivāra tu anāṃtara te saṣya sajjātura śrāvaka pūchī āvyā, gura taṇe page lāgū guru kṣamāvyā. te svarūpa deśi sāgaracandrasūri lājyā, manī aṃdoha āṇivā lāgā. vālukā taṇai dṛṣṭāṃti prīchavyā kahium: vacha eha velūṃ<sup>35</sup> taṇi pariṃ samayi samayi aṃāṃta guṇihāni husii. tamhāruṃ dūṣaṇa kāi nahī. tivāra tu anāṃtara śāṣyādika bhaktivaṃta hūyā.

§ 21. isii mahāvīdehi kṣetri śrīsīmaṃdharasvāmi kanhai imdri mahārāji nigodavicāra sām̐bhalī pūchium: kahau isiu vicāra bharatakṣetri koṃ jāṇai. tivārai śrīsīmaṃdharasvāmi kahium: hā śrīkālīkācārya jāṇaim. tivāraiṃ imdra rūpaparāvartta karī bhara-takṣetri āvi vicāra pūchīu. bhaṭṭārake kahium:

golā ya asaṃṣijjā asaṃkha-niggoyao havai golo  
ikkikkanṃmi nigoe aṃāṃta-jīvā muṇeyavvā.<sup>36</sup> 1.

<sup>30</sup> MS sa-visae-rūce māse vāsā° pajūsavaṃti. aṃtarāviṣe ka° no se kapai taṃ °ṇaṃ uvā°

<sup>31</sup> MS śātavāhani *corrected by copyist himself* to śāla°

<sup>32</sup> MS kālīkā ācārya

<sup>33</sup> MS prattibodhi

<sup>34</sup> MS carttuṃmasiki

<sup>35</sup> MS *writes confusedly*: after I come the vowel signs for both ū and ā, topped by anusvāra

<sup>36</sup> MS golā i isaṃṣijjā a°-°ggau ha° go° ikkakka° nagoe aṇ°-ji° maṇe°

[*Commentary*] jetaḷi bhūmikā sūcī nai aggi sūkṣma ananta kāi taṇā bheda etalaṇi asaṇḱṣātā golā, asaṇḱhyāte nigodi eka golau anai ekai nigodi ananta jīva. e vicāra sām̐bhalī rulī yāyita hūu. āūṣuṇ pūchīuṇ. tivāraṇi śrutajñāni joī bi sāgaropama āūṣuṇ<sup>37</sup> kahīuṇ. im̐dri prabhāvanā nīpajāvī, svasthāni puhutu.

evaṇṇidhu yugapradhāna śrīkālīkacārya hūyā.

§ 22. tehe cuthii paryuṣaṇāparva āṇīuṇ. te āja paryuṣaṇāparva jāṇīvaṇ. īṇai paryuṣaṇāparvi śrāvaka śrāvīkā māsaṣamaṇa pāsa-ṣamaṇa aṣṭāṇṇīkā trelāyita tapīyāṇ taṇā prabhāva tu śrīkalpa anai kathā sampūrṇa vācyamāna nīpajāvī.

§ 23. hiva kahi pratiṇ dharmaḷābhū na hui kahīu. te dharma-ḷābhā kahīi chai anai ekārthi suṣa tapa pūchīi chai. hiva pūjya bhaṭṭārīka śrī\*guṇākarasūri śrīpadmaprabhasūri tatpaṭṭe guṇa-samudrasūri tatpaṭṭe śrīśāntīsūri tatpaṭṭe śrīmuniśekharasūri śrīvācanācārya bhāvaśekharaḥ\*<sup>38</sup> teha taṇā prasāda tu kalpa sampūrṇa hūu.

§ 24. hiva evaṇṇidha puṇyodyama sācavatāṇ śrīsaṃgha prati evaṇṇidha śāsatu varddhapīṇīka hu. te kisīuṇ:

nakṣatrākṣatapūritāṇ marakatasthāḷaṇ viśāḷaṇ nabhaḥ  
pīyūṣadyutinālakerakalitāṇ candraprabhācandaṇaṇ  
yāvan merukare gabhastikaṭake dhatte dharitrī vadhū  
tāvan nandatu dharmmakarmanirataṇ śrīsaṅghaṇ  
bhaṭṭārakaḥ.<sup>39</sup>

1.

[*Commentary*] śrīsaṅghaṇ bhaṭṭārakas tāvan nandatu.<sup>40</sup> tāṇ kāi nai caturvidha śrīśramaṇasaṅgha nāṇḍau jāṇ kāṇi e isīuṇ vārū vadhāmaṇuṇ hui. kisīuṇ vadhāmaṇuṇ. aneraī vadhāmaṇai thāla joīi, coṣā joīi, nālakera joīiṇ, caṇḍana joīiṇ, strī ahiva sūhavi nau hātha sakaṇkaṇa tīṇaiṇ strīi vadhāvī tau joīi. tau śrīsaṅgha taṇai vadhāvaṇai kehuṇ sthāla: ākāśarūpīuṇ marakatamaṇimaya vipala vistīrṇa moṭaṇuṇ sthāla jāṇīvaṇ, anai nakṣatraji bhaṇatāṇ coṣā jāṇīvā, anai pīūṣadyutinālakelikalitāṇ, pīūṣadyuti bhaṇīi caṇḍ-dramā tehaji nālakera jāṇīvaṇ,<sup>41</sup> caṇḍraprabhācandaṇaṇ anai

<sup>37</sup> MS śrutam̐jñāni . . . āūṣuṇ

<sup>38</sup> The part of the text within asterisks was written by a later hand over the original text, which had been erased.

<sup>39</sup> MS has a number of minor corruptions in this stanza: . . . marakataḥ . . . yavann . . . gabhasthi° . . . vidhū tāva nīṇḍatu °nirataḥ °saṅgha bhaṭṭā°

<sup>40</sup> MS śrīsaṅgha . . . nīṇḍatu

<sup>41</sup> MS jāṇīvaṇ

caṁdramā taṇuṁ cāṁdrīṇaṇuṁ tehaḥi caṁdana śrīṣaṇḍa jāṇivaṇuṁ,  
prithvīrūpiṇī ahiva sūhavi <sup>42</sup> strī jāṇivī, meraparvatarūpīu hātha  
jāṇivau, śrīsūryarūpīuṁ kaṁkaṇi karī sakamkaṇa—jāṁ kāmī e isiuṁ  
sthirarūpa vadhāmaṇu varttai, tāṁ kāmī nai dharmmadhyānaparā-  
yaṇa caturvidha śrīśramaṇasaṁgha nāṁdau. dharmmadhyāna taṇai  
pramāṇi uttarottara riddhi vṛddhi māṁgalya paraṁparā vistārau.

§ 25. cha. śrīkālīkasūrikathā. cha. saṁ° 1479 varṣe āso va di  
13 bhūme \*tāladhvajadurgge, pippalagacchi bhaṭṭāraka śrīguṇa-  
samudrasūri, śrīśāṇṭisūri, śrīmuniśekharasūri, vāṁ. <sup>43</sup> bhāvaśe-  
khara. <sup>44</sup> tatśiṣya munisāgaracaṁdra kalpapustikā.

### TRANSLATION

§ 1. Honor! Here in Bharata-kṣtra there was a city by the name  
Dhārāvāsa, as though the forehead ornament on the earth in  
woman's form. There a king named Vairasiṁha, courageous as a  
lion, protected the kingdom. In that king's houseyard was queen  
Surasundarī, through her endowment of beauty like a goddess.  
In her womb was conceived a prince named Kālīka; by his beauty  
Kāma was excelled; in accomplishments and youth he was perfect.

§ 2. It happened that one time he took out a string of horses.  
As he was passing through a grove he heard the reverend sūri  
Guṇākara preaching. At that time he acquired a sense of imperma-  
nence in regard to the saṁsāra. Having got his father and mother  
to let him go, accompanied by five hundred kṣatriyas and his sister  
Sarasvatī he took initiation. When he had duly seen (mastered)  
all the canon and learned what befits a master, his consecration as  
a pontiff was performed. His name was the reverend Kālīkacārya.  
The rank of śrīmahattarā (chief nun) was given to Sarasvatī. Just  
after that the reverend sūri Guṇākara died. The reverend sūri  
Kālīka, while purifying the earth, arrived at Ujjayinī. The holy  
congregation was delighted.

§ 3. Once upon a time the abbess Sarasvatī went to the latrine,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>42</sup> MS sūvi

<sup>43</sup> One illegible akṣara

<sup>44</sup> For matter within asterisks see note 38. The words following the  
asterisks appear at the bottom of the last page of the MS. They are in  
the same handwriting as the words between the asterisks, and are evidently  
a later addition, but do not cover any earlier writing.

<sup>1</sup> For this meaning of *bāhyabhūmikā* see Brown, *Kālaka*, p. 108.

and fell into the sight of king Gardabhilla. When the king saw the sum of Sarasvatī's beauties, he went out of his mind. He sent his rough servants, who violently put her in a palanquin and carried her to the harem, where she was kept. Then again the Great Virtuous (nun) made an outcry and informed the master. The lord, with the reverend congregation, went to the king's court, gave an admonition to the king, and the reverend congregation reiterated it. The king did not take the matter to heart—as it is said:

As the blind man does not see,<sup>2</sup> so too he who is blinded by lust does not see, he who is maddened with infatuation does not see, he who pursues an object (*or*, who is a suitor) sees no fault. 1.

[*Commentary*] As one blind from birth does not see, as one maddened with infatuation does not see, as one who pursues an object does not see, so one blinded with lust does not see. Altogether, how does evil not arise?

§ 4. The reverend Kālikācārya, making resistance, went to the upāśraya (preaching hall and monks' rest house), called the reverend congregation, and said:

“Those men who are enemies of the congregation, who violate the Scripture, may I fare like them?” This oath the sūri took.<sup>3</sup> 1.

[*Commentary*] “Those men who are hostile to the congregation, violate the Scripture, that is, the canon, if I do not give instruction (punishment) to them, then fault is mine and no heed pertains to my instruction.”

§ 5. When he had said this, he took counsel with the gaccha, gave instructions, and sent the gaccha away on tour. He dressed himself as a madman. Throughout the city he wandered alone to road forks, cross-roads, market places, acting the madman. He would say: “If Gardabhilla is king, then what? [*Commentary*] If Gardabhilla is king, then what? If the harem is numerous, then what? [*Commentary*] If the harem is very numerous, then what? If I dwell in a forest, then what? [*Commentary*] If I dwell in a

<sup>2</sup> The intention of the text may be, “The one blind from birth does not see, the one blind by lust does not see . . .” Cf. note 6 to Text.

<sup>3</sup> Fuller text, corresponding to commentary, in Brown, *Kāḷaka*, p. 39.

forest, then what? . . .<sup>4</sup> [Commentary] If the kingdom is large, then what?" Speaking thus he wandered about.

§ 6. The eighty-four ministers and chief ministers, on seeing this state of affairs, advised the king: "Your majesty, this nun should be released. Because of grief for her her brother has gone mad. In consequence of such a sin there will be [for you] the acquisition of many misfortunes." On hearing this the king said in reply: "If you are so wise, then go home and teach your elders."<sup>5</sup> If after this time you speak [of this] before me, then you will receive instruction (punishment) for a thief's crime."

§ 7. When the reverend Kālikācārya heard this, he went to a cross-roads and took this oath:

"Let the world protectors with the direction guardians hear, and the village divinities, the feudatory chiefs, the ministers, these captains of . . .<sup>6</sup> warriors and elephant troops, leaders of caravans—if I do not tear out (*literally*, uproot) this wicked king Gardabhilla by the hair braid<sup>7</sup> from his kingdom, as one would a monkey by the tail, if I do not, then I am not this Kālikācārya." 1.

[Commentary] Before the city folk he said this "Let the world protectors with the guardians of the directions hear, and the village divinities. [Commentary] You five world guardians and ten direction guardians and . . .<sup>8</sup> village divinities, hear. The feudatory chiefs, the ministers, these captains of . . .<sup>9</sup> warriors and elephant troops, leaders of caravans. [Commentary] And you feudatory chiefs of the circle of border states, ministers, captains, and leaders of caravans, hear. If I do not tear out this wicked king Gardabhilla by the hair braid from his kingdom, as one would a monkey by the tail, if I do not, then I am not this Kālikācārya. [Commentary] Then [only] am I Kālikārya if I uproot this wicked king Gardabhilla, who should be torn up roots and all, and drive

<sup>4</sup> Obvious lacuna in this text: a Sanskrit clause has been omitted. Cf. Brown, *Kālaka*, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Meaning of *pane* uncertain. Translation uncertain, based upon instructions of king in various versions to "go teach your fathers," "go teach your mothers, brothers, and wives."

<sup>6</sup> No meaning for *sphaṭa*.

<sup>7</sup> See illustration in Brown, *Kālaka*, figure 17.

<sup>8</sup> No translation for *aṭṭiṣṭa*.

him out, just as one catches a monkey by the tail, whirls him around the head, and throws him away.”

§ 8. When he had said this before the people, he left the city. He donned the clothes of a religious mendicant. He thought, “I shall go to the city of Dhārāvāsa.” He reconsidered, “Such and such friends will say, ‘Friend Kālīka took the vows and went away; now he has come [back] after leaving (losing) his soldiers, ministers, and sister Sarasvatī.’ Therefore it is not fitting to go in defeat to my birthplace. It is better to go elsewhere.”

§ 9. After reflecting so he went away, and in time reached the land of the Mughals, wearing the dress of a religious mendicant. At the city of a sāhī, while some princes were playing at ball and stick, the ball fell into a well; it could not be got out. Just at this time Kālīkacārya came there in the dress of a religious mendicant. When he saw the state of affairs, he took bow and arrow, stretched [the bow] to the ear, and pierced the jewel-studded ball. He fixed a second arrow in the feathered end of that arrow. In this manner, remaining at the mouth of the well, he drew out the ball. When he showed his skill in archery, all the princes were delighted with that skill. They told [about it] to the śākī.<sup>9</sup> There the feudatory kings were all called śākī. As he stayed with a śākī<sup>9</sup> and exhibited his accomplishments, magic arts, diversions, and wonders, the king developed great affection for him.

§ 10. At this juncture a messenger came from the great king bearing a knife and a bowl. When the king saw him, his face went black. Then the master asked the king, “Tell me, your majesty, why are you black in the face?” The king said, “Our great king has sent this command by him: this is what is communicated, ‘Either your head must be sent or you must drink poison.’ If this affair is not done as indicated, then his destruction will fall upon [my] kingdom and family.” The master asked, “Say further, to whom [is] this unjust command?” The king said, “This command has come to ninety-six kings.” The master, who recognized an opportunity, said, “O king, I shall not permit this madness. When men are besought for waste land,<sup>10</sup> they do not give up their weapons. When they are asked for their heads, how can there be

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<sup>9</sup> Confusion between *śaka* and *sāhi* of the Sanskrit and Prakrit texts.

<sup>10</sup> Conjectural translation for *pāḍharām*.



a giving? This thing is not fitting. Do you go that you may acquire Mālavā as a new kingdom."

§ 11. Then the ninety-six kings marched together and in due time crossed the Indus and came to the land of Saurāṣṭra. There the rainy season came upon them. The roads became impassable because of water; the army remained there for the four months (of the rains). Right after the day Vijayadaśamī<sup>11</sup> the army did not advance. Then the master said to the śākī king, "Tell me what the reason is." The king said, "Master, supplies are exhausted."

§ 12. Thereupon the master at once performed a three days fast. His śāsanadevatā (tutelary deity) appeared to him. Then first he asked the śāsanadevatā about the chastity of his sister Sarasvatī. She replied as follows: "Sarasvatī has unimpaired virtue. On breaking a two days fast she observes ācāmla<sup>12</sup> and holds your name in her heart." When he heard that this was the condition, he became cheerful again, and said, "Mother, I have undertaken such and such an enterprise, but the whole thing will fail without resources." Then the śāsanadevatā gave him a powder and instructed him, "In the east, at the time of dawn, there will appear through the power of your three days fast<sup>13</sup> a pile of bricks. Then whatever this powder is scattered over, that will turn to gold, and it is to be given to all [the kings]." After saying this the śāsanadevatā disappeared. At dawn the master made this affair come true, and then gave the gold to the śākīs.

§ 13. Enheartened they marched on and in due time arrived at the borders of Ujjayinī. Gardabhilla came against them. On the field of battle a tumultuous noise arose from the sounding of the war drums; a fearful conflict began; elephant<sup>14</sup> engaged battle with elephant,<sup>14</sup> cavalry with cavalry, chariot with chariot, infantry with infantry. Gardabhilla was defeated, fled, and entered his city.

<sup>11</sup> Tenth day of the light half of the month Āśvina, that is Dasehra, the day of celebrating Rāma's victory over Rāvaṇa. This day comes at the end of the rains and is the traditional date for Indian troops to begin the season's wars (cf. H. G. Rawlinson, *India*, 1938, p. 8, footnote).

<sup>12</sup> A practice of confining the diet to dry food and water, in barely enough quantity to sustain life; see H. M. Johnson, *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra*: vol. I, *Ādiśvaracaritra* (GOS, vol. 51), 1931, p. 264, footnote.

<sup>13</sup> For *bala* = a three days fast, see PSM s. v.

<sup>14</sup> A guess at the meaning of *pumtāra*.

§ 14. On the second day no one [inside the city] engaged in battle. Then information was given the master. Then the master instructed a hundred and eight heroes; where they saw smoke rising on a tower they took their stand near it. When on the day of the eighth Gardabhilla, after worshipping a fire in a pot,<sup>15</sup> brought to his presence [the She-Ass Magic], and the She-Ass opened her mouth, immediately the far-shooting, quick-drawing, hard-hitting expert marksmen (*literally*, aiming by sound) dispatching a flight of arrows, its mouth was filled as full as a quiver. Then the Magic, enraged, kicked Gardabhilla and dinged upon his head and went to its own place. Right after that Gardabhilla was captured alive, sent around in the city, and driven outside his country.

§ 15. Sarasvatī was released with chastity unimpaired and took [re-]initiation. He (Kālikācārya) caused the śākī kings to fix their hearts on the Jain doctrine and established their sovereignty, and having divided the country and villages, marked the boundaries, and given [the land] to them, he summoned his gaccha and got absolution. Joy arose in the mind of the holy congregation. The oath of the reverend Kālikācārya, the true master, was made true.

§ 16. Just after this while on religious tour he came to Bhṛgu-kaccha. His sister Bhāṇuśrī, Balamitra, and Bhāṇumitra fell at his feet and experienced great joy.<sup>16</sup> Extreme respect was shown [him]. Balamitra took initiation. When the purohita (chaplain) saw what had happened, out of jealousy he said to the king, "Your majesty, wherever this great saint walks, on that road whoever, with their own footsteps, tread upon his footprints experience suffering."<sup>17</sup> If irreverence (toward Kālikācārya) arises, he will be led to go on religious tour elsewhere. The king heeded this. Then everywhere ceremonially improper food was offered him. When the reverend Kālikācārya comprehended the state of affairs, he set out on tour. During the rainy season he arrived with his entourage at the city of Pratiṣṭhānapura. King Śālavāhana experienced unrestrained joy; elaborate festivals were inaugurated.

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<sup>15</sup> Translation based upon an emendation; see Text, note 24.

<sup>16</sup> Doubtful rendering, based upon possibility that *yāyatu* (cf. *yāyita* in section 21) is derived from an intensive stem of *yā*; syntax of the word is uncertain.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Brown, *Kālaka*, pp. 45, 62.

§ 17. At one time the master was informed as follows: "Lord, I shall go to the festival of Indra on the day of the fifth—in the land of Mahārāṣṭra there is a custom of observing a festival to Indra—will you be kind enough to let the paryuṣaṇā festival be celebrated on the day of the sixth." At that time the master spoke thus:

"Though Meru should move, though the sun should rise in the west, the paryuṣaṇā festival may not come later than the fifth." 1.

"Though Meru should move. [Commentary] Even though somehow mount Meru should move, even if somehow because of being out of equilibrium it should oscillate, if the ocean should forsake its boundaries, if a crow should be as beautiful as the wishing jewel, if the sun instead of in the east should rise in the west, nevertheless the paryuṣaṇā festival may in no case at all be made to pass beyond the fifth. It has been said in the holy Scripture: 'When a month and twenty nights of the rains has passed . . . observed the paryuṣaṇā . . . on a night of the rains he observed . . . one does not observe it after the passing of that night.'<sup>18</sup> [Commentary] 'After a month and twenty days—fifty days—the paryuṣaṇā festival is to be celebrated. It is observed within [that time]. But it is not observed after that night has passed.'"

§ 18. At that time king Śālavāhana said: "If it is observed within [that time], then let the paryuṣaṇā festival take place on the fourth." Thereupon, recognizing the king's stubbornness and perceiving the great gain [that would follow], the paryuṣaṇā rite was put [by Kālikācārya] on the fourth. From that time the paryuṣaṇā festival has been set on Monks-festival<sup>19</sup> fourth of the light half of the month Bhādrapada.

§ 19. Now it happened once that the reverend Kālikācārya's disciples became disobedient and did not heed his instructions. Then after telling the lay caretaker of the monks' resthouse, he left his disciples under the burden of sleep and went away alone. A

<sup>18</sup> In various versions of the Kālaka legends this passage from the Sāmācārī is quoted in greater or less length.

<sup>19</sup> Rendering of *ajāḍī* (fem. adj. *ārya-pūjālaya*). In versions of the Kālaka legends the festival is variously called *samaṇa-pūyālaya*, *sāhu-pūyālaya*, *sāhu-pūyā*, *savaṇa-suhava*: see Brown, *Kālaka*, pp. 47, 84, 91, 96, 104.

master in the spiritual line of the reverend Kālikācārya, the reverend sūri Sāgaracandra, after having converted king Kanakhalin, was spending the four months of residence during the rainy season there. In due time the reverend Kālikācārya arrived there. No one recognized him and he sat in a corner of the courtyard. The reverend sūri Sāgaracandra, through pride in his own exposition [of the Scripture] asked the master, "How is my preaching?" The master said, "Very good!"

§ 20. Just after that the disciples, having asked of the lay keeper of the resthouse, arrived, and falling at the master's feet they asked forgiveness. When the sūri Sāgaracandra saw the state of affairs he was ashamed and suffered grief in his mind. Enlightening him with the sand illustration,<sup>20</sup> he (Kālikācārya) said, "Child, just as in the case of this sand in period after period there will be infinite diminution [in the number of] the virtuous. There is no fault [implicit] in you." From that very time the disciples and others became full of devotion.

§ 21. In the Mahāvideha world king Indra, hearing the nigoda doctrine from the reverend lord Sīmandhara, asked, "Tell me, who in the land of Bhārata [India] knows this doctrine?" Then the reverend lord Sīmandhara said, "Ah, the reverend Kālikācārya knows it." Then Indra, disguising himself with a false form, went to the land of Bhārata and asked for the doctrine. The master said:

"The golas are innumerable; a gola contains innumerable nigodas; in each nigoda infinite creatures are to be considered [present]." 1.

[*Commentary*] "Those regions where subtle and infinite creatures are pierced with the tips of needles are the innumerable golas; each gola has innumerable nigodas;<sup>21</sup> and in each nigoda there are infinite souls." When he (Indra) heard this doctrine, he fell [at his feet] and became devoted.<sup>22</sup> He asked about the length of

<sup>20</sup> This parable showed the gradual diminution in the volume of a measure of sand, as it was poured out in a heap, then put back in a vessel, poured out again, again put back in the vessel and poured out, with the process repeated many times. See Brown, *Kālaka*, pp. 50, 68.

<sup>21</sup> The syntax of the Old Gujarātī seems faulty here; the sense is probably meant to be that of the Prakrit stanza.

<sup>22</sup> See Translation, note 16, above.

his life. Then perceiving through his knowledge of the Scripture, he (Kālīka) told him that his length of life was two sāgaropamas.<sup>23</sup> His (Kālīka's) fame<sup>24</sup> was celebrated by Indra. He (Indra) went to his place.

Such was the age-renowned reverend Kālīkācārya.

§ 22. He set the paryuṣaṇā festival on the fourth. That is to-day to be considered [the day of] the paryuṣaṇā festival. At the paryuṣaṇā festival through the power of the laymen's and laywomen's triply<sup>25</sup> observed month-long fasts, fortnight-long fasts, and eight-day long fasts, the holy Kalpa and the Story [of Kālīkācārya, who set the current date of the paryuṣaṇā festival] are recited in full.

§ 23. Now on whom has benediction not been pronounced? <sup>26</sup> The benediction is going to be pronounced and easy penance for the same purpose is going to be asked. Now the worshipful master the reverend \*sūri Guṇākara, the reverend sūri Padmaprabha, in his (spiritual) lineage the sūri Guṇasamudra, in his lineage the reverend sūri Śānti, in his lineage the reverend sūri Munīsekharā, the reverend master of exposition Bhāvaśekhara\*<sup>27</sup> — through their favor the Kalpa has been completed.

§ 24. Now as such exercise of merit is being brought to fulfillment let there be for the reverend congregation such an eternal offering of felicitation as this:

While the earth like a bride, in her hand consisting of mount Meru with the sun as a bracelet carries the wide sky as a dish of emerald filled with the stars as grains of rice and holding the moon as a coconut and the moonlight as sandal powder, let the master delight the holy congregation, which is devoted to religion and the law of karma. 1.

<sup>23</sup> A *sāgaropama* is an incredibly large number, beyond ordinary imagination.

<sup>24</sup> The translation follows the meanings for *prabhāvanā* in PSM “*māhātmya, gaurava, prasiddhi, prakhyāti*,” which seem more applicable here than the technical meaning of “promulgation (of the Jain doctrine)” indicated in Johnson, *op. cit.*, pp. 80, 84 (footnotes 120, 124).

<sup>25</sup> Conjecture of the meaning intended by *trelāyita*.

<sup>26</sup> Translation conjectural.

<sup>27</sup> The part between asterisks is clearly not original; see Text, note 38.

[*Commentary*] So long let the master delight the reverend congregation. So long let him delight the fourfold reverend congregation of monks [etc.] as there is this splendid gift of felicitation. What sort of gift of felicitation? In this particular gift of felicitation there is seen a dish, grains of rice, a coconut, sandal, the hand with bracelet of a very fortunate (i. e., married) woman, who is a woman offering a dish of felicitation. Then what kind of dish for the congratulatory offering of the reverend congregation? A dish is indicated consisting of the sky, made of emerald, wide, broad, large, and grains of rice are indicated in mentioning the stars; and adorned with the moon as a coconut—*pīyūṣadyuti* means moon, coconut is indicated by it; the moonlight as sandal—and the flakes of light of the moon, by them sandal, the holy sandal powder, is indicated; the earth is metaphorically indicated as a very lucky woman; mount Meru is metaphorically indicated as a hand; with bracelet [means] with a bracelet, metaphor for the sun. As long as there exists this sort of eternal gift of felicitation, so long let the reverend fourfold congregation of monks [etc.] rejoice, devoted to meditation on the law. According to meditation on religion higher and higher let welfare and increase, bringing happiness, mutually spread.

§ 25. cha. The story of the reverend sūri Kālīka. cha. In the year 1479 of the samvat era, the month of Āśvina, the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight, the civil day—\*in the fortress of Tāladhvaja (Śatruñjaya), in the Pippala gaccha the reverend master the sūri Guṇasamudra, the reverend sūri Śānti, the reverend sūri Muniśekhara, [the master of] exposition(?) Bhāvaśekhara, his pupil the monk Sāgaracandra—his Kalpa[sūtra] book.\*<sup>28</sup>

#### GRAMMATICAL AND LEXICAL NOTES

(Supplementary to material in Tessitori and Dave)

*a* (OG) for *i* (Skt., Pkt., Apbh.); cf. Tessitori IA 43.55: *ūjayanī* (§ 13) < *ujjayinī* (other form of this name in the text is *ūjenī* [§ 2]); *pratamjñā* (§ 7) < *pratiññā* (*pratiñña/ā* occurs in § 15); *saśya* (§ 20) < *śiśya* (cf. *śaśyādika* [§ 20]; other forms are *śiśya* [§ 19, 20] and *śyiśya* [§ 19]).

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<sup>28</sup> The part within asterisks is not original; see Text, note 44.

- a* for *u*; cf. Tessitori IA 43. 58: *ullaṇṭha* (§ 3) < *ullaṇṭha* (revise statement in Brown, *Kālaka*, p. 109: Pkt. forms probably borrowed from OG); *kālamahu* (§ 10) < *kālamukha*; *kālamuhā* occurs later in the same section; *parohita* (§ 16) < *purohita*; *paryasaṇā* (§ 17) < *paryuṣaṇā* (elsewhere in text the word is °*uṣaṇā*); *pracara* (§ 5) < *pracura*; *bhāṇamitra* (§ 16) < *bhānumitra*; *manakṣa* (§ 10) < *manukṣa* (*manuṣya*); *medara* (§ 16) < *medura*; *vipala* (§ 24) < *vipula*; *sadgaru* (§ 15) < *sadguru* (this derivation probably better than *sat* + *garu*); *savarṇṇa* (§ 11), *svaṇṇa* (§ 11) < *suvarṇa*.
- a* (OG) inserted between dissimilar adjacent consonantal conjuncts at the seam of Sanskrit compounds: cf. Tessitori IA 43. 56: *unamatta* (§ 5) < *unmatta*; *tatakukṣi* (§ 1) < *tatku*°; *digapāla* (§ 7) < *dikpāla* (note presence of *g* for *k*); *balātakāriṇi* (§ 3) < *balātka*°.
- a* inserted as above, with metathesis of vowels *a* and *u* in consecutive syllables: for metathesis cf. Tessitori IA 53. 90-91: *anumūl* (abs.) (§ 7) < \**unamūli* (OG) < *unmūlaya* (perhaps OG by false etymology regarded the *anu* in this word as the Skt. preposition *anu*).
- i* for *a*; cf. Tessitori IA 43. 55: *upāsriya* (§ 4) < *upāsraya*; *bhaṭṭāraka* (§ 3, 14, 23) < *bhaṭṭāraka* (text has *bhaṭṭāraka* also [§ 14]); *riṇa* (§ 13) < *raṇa*; *sahirṣita* (§ 2) < *saharṣita*.
- u* for *a*; cf. Tessitori IA 43. 56: *turumgama* (§ 2) < *turaṃgama*; *śayyātura* (§ 16), *sajyātura* (§ 17) < *śayyātara*.
- o* for *upa*; cf. Pischel § 154: *olaṣyā* (§ 19) from *upa* + *lakṣ*.
- initial vowel lost, with modification of vowel in following syllable; cf. Tessitori IA 43. 58, Pischel § 141: *posala* (§ 19) < *upaśāla* “court in front of house” (Monier-Williams Dictionary).
- vowel-lengthening: *pūṃṣai* (§ 9) < *puṅkha*- “feathered shaft of an arrow.”
- ṃ* inserted; i. e., nasalization of unnasalized Skt. vowel: *ṣaṃcita* (*khaṃ*°) in *ratnaṣaṃcita* (§ 9) < Skt. *khacita*; *pratamjñā* (§ 7) < *pratiñā*.
- ṃ* for *m*; cf. Dave, p. 15: *dhūṃa* (§ 14) < *dhūma*.
- k* < *kkh* < *ks*: *yaku* (§ 7) < *yakṣa*-; *catuki* (§ 5) < *catuska*-.
- kṣ* < *ṣy* (*kkh* < *ṣy*): *manukṣa* (§ 4) < *manuṣya*.
- ḍ* < *d*: *ḍuṣṭhānaka* (§ 17) < *duṣṭhā*°.
- nh* < *ṇṇ*: *trinhi* (§ 11) variant of OG *triṇhi* and *trinṇi*, which appear in Tessitori IA 44. 7.

*y* euphonically inserted; cf. Tessitori IA 43. 85: *syāṣī* (§ 9), double of *śāṣī* (§ 9), the Pkt. is *sāhi*, the Skt. *sāhi* or *sākhi* (Samaya-sundra's unpublished text of the Kālaka stories), from the Persian *shah*; *śyīṣya* (§ 19) < *śīṣya*, which latter appears in the text (§ 19).

single consonant for double after a short vowel (no compensatory lengthening); cf. Tessitori IA 43. 56: *ajūālī* (§ 18) < *ajjū*<sup>o</sup>, ultimately fem. of Skt. *āryapūjālaya*; *cacari* (§ 5) < *caccara* < *catvara*; *catuki* (§ 5) < *catukka* < *catukkha* < *catuṣka*. *nīpajāvai* (§ 1 et passim) < \**niṣpadyāpayati*; *yaku* (§ 7) < *yakka* < *yakkha* < *yakṣa*.

saṃdhi contraction of *-a* and *ā* to *ā*; cf. Tessitori IA 44. 54, where he notes cases of the negative *na* so treated: in this text there appear *nāṇī* (§ 3) from *na āṇī*; *nāpaim* (§ 10) from *na āpaim*; *kimāpī* (§ 10) from *kima* and *āpī*.

saṃdhi elision of *-i* following another vowel before *ē*; *ja e vāta* for *jai e vāta*.

*-e/i* after a long vowel changed to *ya*; cf. Tessitori IA 43. 58: *pāṇīya karī* (§ 11) for *pāṇīe karī*.

Pronouns: the MS unequivocally writes *ahme* "we" (§ 10), *ahmārai* "our" (§ 10), *tahme* "you" (§ 6, § 10 [twice]), *tahmārum* "your" (§§ 12, 20). These forms are not given by Tessitori and Dave, who list only the forms with *-mh-* (only one such form occurs in this MS, namely *tamhe* § 17).

*koṃ* "who" (§ 21), usually *ko* (*koṃ* not given by Tessitori or Dave); *kuṇahi* "by anyone" (§ 19), not given by Tessitori or Dave.

Anusvāra is loosely used throughout the MS, sometimes being omitted where we would normally expect it (as *kivārai* beside *kīvaraim*, both in § 17), and sometimes appearing where not expected (*nagara pravarttām*, § 1). Many such cases appear, and it would seem that there was considerable variation in pronunciation in OG.

Case-usage is loose. For example, the oblique form is sometimes used where we would expect an instrumental: *balamitra dīkṣā lidhi* (§ 16) "initiation was taken by Balamitra"; *śrīkālikā-cārya vihāra kīdhau* (§ 16) "tour was made by the reverend Kālikācārya"; *iṃdra . . . vicāra pūchiu* (§ 21) "the doctrine was asked for by Indra."



*ajūālī* (§ 18), f. adj., probably from Skt. *ārya* + *pūjā-ālaya* > *ajjaūālaya* > *ajj'ūālau* > *ajūālau*, fem. °*lī*, adj. "of the festival in honor of the monks." Cf. Translation, note 19.

*aṭṭiṣṭa* (§ 7), ?

*aṃtarāli* (§ 17), adv., from Skt. *antara*, with OG suffix *-ali*, "within." Cf. OG *vicāli*, *āgali*, *pāchali*, etc., Tessitori IA 44. 4, 53.

*aṃdoha* (§ 20), m., Persian l. w. *andoh* "grief."

*anyāya* (§ 10), m., Skt. l. w., "injustice, unjust command."

*aṃṛtapāna* (§ 10), n., Skt. l. w., "drinking drink of immortality, i. e., the drink that sends to immortality (heaven, death), poison."

*aṣṭāṃnikā* (§ 22), n., Skt. l. w. *aṣṭāhnika* (note *-hn-* > *-ṃn-*) "eight-day religious fast."

*ādariu* (§§ 5, 8), past ppl., as though from a vb. *ādarai*. The usage is *veṣa ādariu*, which echoes Skt. *veṣaṃ dhṛ* "put on a dress." This would mean that Skt. *ā dhṛ* has given OG *ādarai*, with loss of aspiration; cf. Pischel § 213.

*ubhyasthāna kari* (§ 4), abs. phrase, from Skt. *ūrdhvasthānaṃ kṛ*, but meaning "having taken an upright stance (against), determined to resist." Cf. Guj. *ūbhṃṭhāvum* (Belsare, 168).

*eka vārttā* (§ 3), adv. phrase, *eka* + Skt. *vārttā*, "in a single matter, altogether."

*gāi* (§ 14), ? See Text, note 24.

*grthalatā* (§ 5), f., hyper-Sanskritism from *gahila*; cf. Skt. *grathila*, *grahila*, "demented."

*campaiṇ* (§ 16), vb., cf. Guj. *cāṃpavum*, Hindi *cāpnā*, *cāṃpnā*; Guj. *page cāṃpavum* "trample on." Skt. root *cap* in Dhātup.

*cāṃdriṇamum* (§ 24), n., cf. Pkt. *candīna* "moonlight." The nature of the connection with Skt. *candra* is not clear.

*cālī* (§ 16), f., from OG *cālai* (for which see Dave, p. 137, and Turner, *Nepālī Dict.*, pp. 172, 173). The word means "row of footsteps"; cf. meaning of Guj. *cāla* (f.), *cālavum*, *cālo* (Belsare, pp. 431, 432, 433).

*jāvā* (§ 8), pot. ppl., from *jāi* "goes," see Dave, pp. 54-55, Tessitori IA 44. 120-121. The form would normally be *jāiva*; for reduction of *āi* to *ā* cf. Tessitori IA 43. 62.

*tu*, postposition, same as *tau* (cf. Tessitori IA 43. 245, Dave, p. 145; Dave's derivation from *tatas* > *tao* preferable to Tessitori's



*viṇi* (§ 14), abs. *viṇei/viṇii* (not recorded), “lead away, instruct,” probably from Skt. *vi nī*.

*vinatī* (§ 14), past pepl., from *vinai* “become visible”; cf. in PSM Pkt. *viṇa* and *viṇaṇa* “making visible.” These OG and Pkt. words seem to be from Skt. *vy añj*, giving Pkt. base *viṇṇ/vinn* (cf. treatment of Skt. *vi jñā* in Pkt. and OG).

*velū* (§ 20), f., from Skt. *vāluka*; see Brown, *Kālaka*, p. 110, s. v. *veluya*.

*ṣūṇa* (§ 19), m., cf. Guj. *khūṇo/khūṇo*; evidently from Skt. *koṇa* “corner.” The aspiration of Skt. *k* in Pkt. is treated by Pischel, § 206; perhaps in this case the frequent compound *catuṣkoṇa* > *caukkhona* is responsible for *khoṇa*, *khūṇa*, *khūṇa*.

*ṣūṭām* (§ 11), past pepl., quasi-adj., from Skt. *\*kṣuṭṭa* (for *kṣuṇṇa*), giving Pkt. *khūṭṭa* (see Pischel, §§ 564, 568). From this comes OG *khūṭa*.

*satyāpī* (§ 11), abs., from l. w. *\*satyāpaya* “make come true.” Cf. *sāci* in § 15.

*siṣāmaṇa* (§ 5), n., from Skt. *\*śikṣāpāna* “instruction” (for *p* > *m* see Dave, p. 15).

*sphaṭa* (§ 7), m., Skt. *sphaṭa*, but meaning not clear.

*svarūpa* (§ 6 et passim), n., Skt. l. w., meaning “state of affairs.”

## SUPPLEMENTARY SIGILLATA SIGNATURES IN THE NEAR EAST

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THE PRESENT occasion offers to a Latinist an opportunity to claim an equity in the archæology of the Near East. This has, of course, been previously done often enough by others, but most recently and with great effect by Mr. J. H. Iliffe, Keeper of the Palestine Museum,<sup>1</sup> a contribution which stimulates this supplementary word and which, it is to be hoped, will stimulate much more.

On a topic as unexplored and as controversial as the sigillata of Near Eastern manufacture, which claims much of Mr. Iliffe's attention in his article,<sup>2</sup> one can hardly expect general agreement as yet, and in any case it would be an impertinence on the present writer's part to debate the fabrics of eastern origin and their connections. The terms "Pergamene" and "Samian" are therefore used below only in their conventional sense, without any commitment as to local origins.

An extraordinarily valuable part of Mr. Iliffe's article is his list comprising Hellenistic signatures (mostly in Greek letters) wherever found, and Latin signatures found east of Brindisi. For this he has used the resources of several lists previously published, enriched by his own observations in Near Eastern museums and on Near Eastern sites. However, it lacks something of being complete, and although I make no claim to have exhausted the literature, the subjoined supplement attempts to unite some of the lacunae into one compilation. Except as noted, it is my intent to include only signatures which Iliffe omits, but circumstances may have led to a few duplications. Further, some of Iliffe's readings are subject to revision, and while it would be presumptuous at this distance to

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<sup>1</sup> "Sigillata Wares in the Near East," *QDAP* VI (1936), pp. 4-53, hereafter referred to by the author's name only. Important reviews of the article have appeared in *Germania* XXI (1937), pp. 136 f. (Oxé) and *Antiquaries Journal* XVII (1937), pp. 327-331 (T. D. Pryce).

<sup>2</sup> To his bibliography may now be added Waagé, *Antiquity* XI (1937), pp. 46-55, and Glueck, *BASOR* No. 65 (1937), pp. 10 f. and No. 68 (1937), pp. 13 f.

reread his findings sight unseen, I venture to suggest a few emendations prompted by analogies in the Near East and elsewhere.

Only a few Gaulish signatures from the Near East are recorded below. While one must reiterate with Iliffe that Gaulish ware was imported into the eastern Mediterranean, as is shown by the finds at Antioch, Delphi and elsewhere (Iliffe, pp. 22-3; see also below), it is also true that the signatures in *QDAP* VI have been overstrained to prove it. In his review Oxé remarks that all western stamps, "auch sämtliche von Iliffe für 'gallisch' ausgegebenen," are Italian.<sup>3</sup> *CÂRBON*<sup>4</sup> and perhaps one or two others are possible Gaulish names, but the names of many well-known exporters are strikingly absent.<sup>5</sup>

To evaluate the evidence provided by the combined two lists lies aside from the present purpose, but a number of problems immediately project themselves forward. One of the most puzzling is the relationship of homonymous Greek and Latin signatures. In such instances Iliffe often implies a belief that the same man is signing in both alphabets for the benefit of Greek-speaking or Latin-speaking consumers respectively. Here again the data seem to have been occasionally overdone, though there is evidence that the same man sometimes used both languages<sup>6</sup> or that Latin and Greek were used in the East and West respectively. For instance, Zahn notes that *Demetrius* (found at Pozzuoli) and *C. Sen(ti)* (found at Priene) correspond in every apparent way with the clay and glaze of the Greek-signed "Samian" sherds of Priene, and whatever its meaning may be, the signature PLV|SIV (Priene) is additional evidence of the complication of the problem.<sup>7</sup> Doubtless many of these difficulties of interrelationship will be solved by the

<sup>3</sup> For instance, on p. 44 *VERN* is interpreted as *Verinus*(?), a late Antonine potter of Offemont and Heiligenberg, although the real parallels are certainly to *Verna* of Pozzuoli (X 8056, 371).

<sup>4</sup> Even *Carbo*, or better *Carbo N(aevi)*, is a slave name from the shop of Naevius of Pozzuoli (Löschcke, *Haltern*, p. 178; Oxé, *ibid.*).

<sup>5</sup> I have touched upon this phase of Mr. Iliffe's article in more detail in *AJA* XLI (1937), p. 409.

<sup>6</sup> A particularly interesting example is a glass vase signed *ARTAS* and *APTAC* on opposite sides (Kaibel, 2410, 1).  
*CEID*Ο

<sup>7</sup> *Priene*, pp. 443-5.

application of technological analysis,<sup>8</sup> and in the prospect of this objective approach it would be premature to indulge in conjectures.

Problems raised by the areas of distribution are entirely too complicated to be discussed here, but a word should be said of their existence. Dura-on-the-Euphrates has produced significant "Pergamene," but nothing else.<sup>9</sup> Some of the names which are commonest in the East are entirely lacking in the West, e.g. ΔΩPON, EPMHC (as distinguished from EPMOY, which appears at Pozzuoli), XAPIC, *P]yrame* and its Greek form ΤΥΠΑΜΟY, ΛΟΝΕΙ (at Olbia only), *Patr | ocli* and probably some others. Contrariwise, ΝΙΚΟCΤΡ(ΑΤΟY) had no Greek distribution, and ΔΙΟΝY|ΞΙΟY, which was western-made<sup>10</sup> and which is the commonest Greek signature in the West, occurs only once in the East (Alexandria, of which the significance is less than any other Greek site). One would have expected a more even proportion of frequency. Nor are peculiarities of distribution limited to Greek signatures: the signatures DERASTICANIS (?) at Corinth and Delphi are the only occurrences of the stamp outside of Italy, while the products of C. Clodius Sabinus, which are not uncommon in Italy and elsewhere,<sup>11</sup> seem not to have penetrated eastward at all. Again, in comparison with their north European distribution, there is a notably low proportion of the wares of M. Perennius Tigranus or Bargathes, or of Cn. Ateius and his circle. At a later date there was a little eastward export for the vases of L. Rasinius Pisanus but none for those of *Sex. M( ) Fes( )* or *Sex. Mu( ) Pi( )*, or *C. P. P.*, although these signatures are found with some frequency outside of Italy, especially at Carthage. It is interesting to note that *cir. A. D. 10-20* at least one signature passed beyond the eastern boundaries of the Empire altogether (*Ianuarius feci*, below), but on the other hand, there is no Augustan ware from Delphi whatever.

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<sup>8</sup> For the summary of a demonstration of this technique applied to terra sigillata by Riesch and Horton, see *AJA* XLI (1937), pp. 112-3. See also below, s. v. ΝΙΚΟCΤΡΑΤΟΥ.

<sup>9</sup> "... barring two 'barbotine' bowls found in tombs. This is the more interesting in view of the fact that the Gallic fibulae were being imported in the first century after Christ. We have to date a dozen or more of *Aucissa*." (Letter from Dr. Frank E. Brown). For a similar fibula from Jerusalem, see Iliffe, pp. 21-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Priene*, p. 444, n. \*; see also below.

<sup>11</sup> For references to *CIL* see *Memoirs*, p. 192.

Finally, with special reference to Palestine and in comparison with the Latin signatures, Greek names are not very plentiful. Most of Iliffe's Palestinian evidence comes from Samaria, and most of the new names from Palestine herewith come from Beisan; perhaps further evidence and excavations will modify this observation, which in any event leaves out of consideration the large quantities of anepigraphic Hellenistic sigillata from Palestine.<sup>12</sup> However, the high proportion of Italian-made sigillata at both Beisan and Samaria is in striking contrast to the lone Arretine signature reported from Priene (*M. Pe]ren(ni) [Bargathes]*),—which may, however, be attributable to the accidents of excavation (Dr. Zahn, orally).<sup>13</sup> We are warned that in our period the Near East is not necessarily a unit.

In connection with distribution mention should also be made of the chronology of both eastern and western fabrics. Unfortunately both of these chronologies are still somewhat obscure, but the heyday of ceramic interchange from West to East seems to have been the principates of Augustus and Tiberius, extending on into that of Claudius and later. The latest Italian signatures from the Near East are the three of L. Rasinius Pisanus below, if they really belong to the Neronian-Flavian potter whose decorated work is discussed in *AJA* XL (1936), pp. 437-51, and whose products were exported in quantity to North Africa, and who sent an occasional dish northward.<sup>14</sup> On the other hand, some of the Gaulish ware from Antioch<sup>15</sup> and Delphi<sup>16</sup> is even later than Pisanus.

<sup>12</sup> Now comes the interesting and complicating suggestion of Glueck that the "Pergamene" type of ware found on Nabataean sites is of Nabataean manufacture (*BASOR* 65, Feb. 1937, p. 10).

<sup>13</sup> The statement by Comfort-Waagé, *Beisan*, p. 223, regarding sites productive of both "Samian" and Italian sigillata (for which I must admit responsibility) is true as far as it goes, but the uneven proportions imply a slight difference in either the date or some other significant factor, and in any case usually omit from consideration the unsigned wares. None of the "Samian" at Beisan is signed, and "Pergamene" is also frequently not stamped.

<sup>14</sup> VII 1336, 894 and Oswald and Pryce, pp. 5, 6 [Cambridge Museum]; Doranlo, *Bull. de la Soc. normande d'Et. préh.* XXV (1922-24) [1926], p. 66 [Vieux-Fécamp Museum].

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished, but see the brief notice by Schaeffer in *Rev. Arch.* V (1935), pp. 269-70.

<sup>16</sup> *Fouilles* V, p. 180 (Figs. 767-771).

In Italy the chronology is also difficult: Prof. Waagé has noted some little cups, apparently "Pergamene," in the museum at Pompeii,<sup>17</sup> and he tells me of "Samian" ware from the same site and Herculaneum, all of which furnishes merely a *terminus ante quem* several decades later than might be wished. The signature DIONYCIOC (*sic*, in two lines) from Boscoreale was found in the same *capannone* as two examples each of *Fortu*( ) and *L. R. P.*, and again if the latter is L. Rasinius Pisanus, we have a probable correspondence in date. But unfortunately he is not the only potter of these initials, and a comparison of the shape and technique of the Columbia University signature of Dionysios from Rome (see below) implies a pre-Flavian date. Another half-dated Greek signature from the West is MAP|KOY from London.<sup>18</sup> Statistical probability suggests that this postdates the conquest of A. D. 43, but Mortimer-Wheeler seems to favor an earlier date.

We should also be glad to know more of the local origins of Italian signatures presented here and by Mr. Iliffe. Most of them fall in the genuine "Arretine" group, and others are of Puteolan manufacture.<sup>19</sup> But there is still a residuum of stamps for which no sure origin has been determined,—such names as *Ianuarus*, *Cresti*, *Makes*, *C. Titius Nepos* and others below are examples.

The Greek signatures drawn from Kaibel form a special group which has few parallels and in some cases is probably not sigillata at all.

When the problems already mentioned, and many others, are adequately answered by the specialist in ceramics, the data must be correlated with much other material of an industrial and commercial nature. Unquestionably the combined lists of Iliffe and the present article hold within themselves much evidence which would illuminate and be illuminated by a wider inquiry, but such an inquiry must be left to another time.

While I have listed such new signatures as I could, there is also a very great amount of unsigned but equally relevant other material already published. Simply as examples I would refer to Behn, Neugebauer, Walters, and others who include much more than

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<sup>17</sup> *Antioch I*, p. 69, n. 15.

<sup>18</sup> Iliffe, p. 39, from *London Museum Catalogues* No. 3, p. 126 and Fig. 43, 4.

<sup>19</sup> The principal evidence for the latter appears in X 8056, drawn from Bruzza.



merely signatures from Near Eastern and Greek sites; Kumanudes (Athens) and Botti (Alexandria) also describe decorated fragments which of course drop from sight when their articles are absorbed into the *corpora* of inscriptions; and there are such hints as Hogarth's that "black and red 'Samian'" was found at Knossos,<sup>20</sup> or that the University of Michigan excavators "found quite a number of pieces of Arretine ware at Sepphoris in Palestine in 1931."<sup>21</sup> I have made no special attempt to include such allusions, for the results would certainly be futile and probably misleading. Nor have I attempted to give all the Latin signatures which involve a name or a word or a letter of Greek. A few have been assembled as they came to hand, more to draw attention to their existence as a class than for any other reason, but they have no connection with the present principal purpose.

That I am reaping where I have not sown is evident many times on each page. Others will share my very sincere thanks to Messrs. Broughton (Bryn Mawr), Brown (Yale), Chase (Harvard), Hopkins and the editors of the *Humanistic Series* (Michigan), Horton (University Museum, Philadelphia), Marinatos (Candia), Neugebauer (Berlin), Moore (Columbia), Pauli (Wesleyan), Roeder (Hildesheim), Shear (Princeton), and M. P. Snyder for permission to include material observed by them or in their custody, much of which was unknown to me. Drs. Marinatos, Neugebauer, and Roeder have been especially kind in sending photographs. But it is to Drs. Waagé and Zahn that this study owes most: the traces of conversation and correspondence with the former are visible *passim*, and the latter has temporarily put at my disposal his notebooks and drawings dealing with Near Eastern wares. Without the generosity of these two friends and the others, my efforts would have lacked most of whatever usefulness they may possess. Finally, the present *opusculum* was originally designed primarily to emend omissions and, occasionally, errors in Mr. Iliffe's article. The nature of the case, I suppose, explains any intermittent polemic, but with all allowances for differences of opinion I gladly reiterate the importance and indispensability of his contribution, and the appreciation which his pains, scholarship, and interest in bringing

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<sup>20</sup> *BSA* VI (1900), pp. 80-2.

<sup>21</sup> Professor Leroy Waterman, by letter; see also *Prelim. Rep. of the Univ. of Michigan Excav. at Sepphoris*, pp. 26-7, 29.

order into an important but chaotic field bespeak from widely differing groups of archaeologists.

In addition to the standard abbreviations, note the following:

**AT:** Gregorutti, "Antichi Vasi Fittili di Aquileia" in *Archeografo Triestino* n. s. VI (1879-80), pp. 292-311; VII (1880-81), pp. 115-136, 221-234.

**Antioch:** Waagé, "Lamps, Pottery, Metal and Glass Ware" in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes* I, The Excavations of 1932.

**Arret.:** Oxé, *Arretinische Reliefgefäße vom Rhein* (Materialen zur römisch-germanischen Keramik 5), 1933.

**Behn:** Behn, *Römische Keramik* (Kataloge des römisch-germanischen Central-Museums 2), 1910.

**Bericht:** Oxé, "Bericht über Vorarbeiten zum Katalog der Italischen Terra Sigillata" in *Bericht der römisch-germanischen Kommission* VII/1912 (1914), pp. 6-15.

**Botti:** Botti, "Fouilles dans la Céramique d'Alexandrie en 1898" in *Bull. de la Société archéologique d'Alexandrie* I (1898), pp. 5-24.

**Broneer Corinth:** Broneer, "Excavations in the Odeum at Corinth in 1928" in *AJA* XXXII (1928), pp. 447-473.

**Bruzza:** Bruzza, "Scoperta di Figuline in Pozzuoli" in *Bull. dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1875, pp. 242-256.

**Cavedoni:** Cavedoni, "Frammenti di antichi Vasi fittili modenesi" in *Bull. dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1837, pp. 10-15.

**Comfort Corinth:** Comfort, "Arretine Signatures found in the Excavations in the Theatre District of Corinth" in *AJA* XXXIII (1929), pp. 484-501.

**Comfort-Waagé:** Comfort and Waagé, "Selected Pottery from Beth Shan (Roman Date)" in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* LXVIII (1936), pp. 221-224.

**Conze:** Conze, *Altertümer von Pergamon* I, 2 (1913).

**Demangel-Laumonier:** Demangel and Laumonier, "Fouilles de Notion (1921)" in *Bull. de Corr. hell.* XLIX (1925), pp. 341-342.

**Dumont:** Dumont, *Inscriptions céramiques de la Grèce*, 1872.

**Eph. Epig. V:** Mommsen, in *Ephemeris Epigraphica* V (1884), p. 66.

**Exp. v. Sieglin:** Pagenstecher, *Expedition Ernst v. Sieglin* II 3, pp. 110-118.

**Form numbers,** unless otherwise indicated, are those of Dragendorff in *Bonner Jahrbücher* XCVI (1895), Pls. I-III.

**Fouilles V:** Perdrizet in *Fouilles de Delphes* V (1908), pp. 178-180.

**Geissner:** Geissner, *Die im Mainzer Museum befindlichen feineren Gefäße der augusteischen Zeit und ihre Stempel*, 1902.

**Gnomon V:** Oxé's review of Knipowitsch in *Gnomon* V (1929), pp. 542-545.

**Haltern (Hähnle):** Hähnle, "Reliefkelche aus Haltern" in *Mitt. der Altertumskommission f. Westfalen* VI (1912), pp. 69-100.

- Haltern (Löschcke): Löschcke, *Keramische Funde in Haltern V* (1909), pp. 103-190.
- Heberdey: *Forschungen in Ephesos I*, 1906.
- Hiller v. Gärtringen: *Inchriften von Priene*, 1906.
- Iliffe: Iliffe, "Sigillata Wares in the Near East" in *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine VI* (1936), pp. 4-53.
- Index: Oswald, *Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata*, 1931.
- Kaibel: Kaibel, *Inscriptiones Graecae XIV* (Italiae et Siciliae), 1910.
- Kerameikos: Oxé, "Terra Sigillata aus dem Kerameikos" in *Athen. Mitt.* LII (1927), pp. 213-224.
- Knipowitsch: Knipowitsch, *Untersuchungen zur Keramik römischer Zeit aus den Griechenstädten der Nordküste des Schwarzen Meeres: I. Die Keramik römischer Zeit aus Olbia in der Sammlung der Eremitage* (Materialien zur römisch-germanischen Keramik 4), 1929.
- Kumanudes: "Λατινικαὶ Ἐπιγραφαί" in *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1862, cols. 10-16, Pl. E'.
- Memoirs: Comfort, "De Collectione praecipue epigraphica Vasculorum Arretinorum apud Academiam Americanam conservata" in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome VII* (1929), pp. 177-219.
- Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter: Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum*, 1899.
- NdS: *Notizie degli Scavi*.
- Neugebauer: Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium: II. Vasen*, 1932.
- Oswald and Pryce: Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, 1920.
- Oxé Rev.: Oxé's review of Iliffe, *Germania XXI* (1937), pp. 136-7.
- Priene: Zahn in Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, 1904.
- Riccio: Riccio, *Notizie degli Scavamenti del Suolo dell' antica Capua*, 1855.
- Riese: Riese, "Sigillatastempel aus Rom" in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift XXI* (1902), pp. 235-254.
- Samaria I: Reisner, Fisher and Lyon, *The Harvard Excavations at Samaria I*, 1924.
- Technau: Technau, "Griechische Keramik im Samischen Heraion" in *Athen. Mitt.* LIV (1929), especially pp. 48-53.
- Tschandarli: Löschcke, "Sigillata-Töpferlein in Tschandarli" in *Athen. Mitt.* XXXVII (1912), pp. 344-407.
- Toronto: Comfort, "Nine Terra Sigillata Bowls from Egypt" in *AJA XLI* (1937), pp. 406-410.
- Vindonissa: Oxé, "Wann wurde das Legionslager Vindonissa angelegt?" in *Germania XI* (1928), pp. 127-132.
- Walters: Walters, *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the British Museum*, 1908.
- Watzinger: Watzinger, "Vasenfunde aus Athen" in *Athen. Mitt.* XXVI (1901), p. 58.
- XI, XV and other references commencing with Roman numerals indicate volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

## I. HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

ΑΓΑΘΙΝΟΞ. Metaponto. Kaibel, 2406, 7, from NdS 1887, p. 331, "bollo rettangolare, a lettere rilevate," not necessarily sigillata.

ΑΓΑΘΟ|ΠΟΔΟC.<sup>22</sup> Olbia [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 200 and Zahn's ms. notes. Form Dragendorff *Bonn. Jahrb.* CI, p. 143, Fig. 3.

ΑΙΔΟ|ΥΧΟΥ. South Russia [Bonn]. Zahn, p. 36, reading Διδούχου, emended by Oxé, *Gnomon* V (1929), p. 544.

Olbia [Hermitage Mus.] Knipowitsch, p. 32.

Olbia [Berlin]. Zahn's ms. notes. "Nicht samische Ware."

[Mainz]. *Mainzer Zeits.* XXXI (1936), p. 69, ΑΙΔΟΥΧΟΥ.

[Köln]. Zahn's ms. notes. Shape something like Knipowitsch Type 5, but shallower.


ΑΙΝΕ|ΟΥ. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 169.

ΑΛΕΞ|ΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Torre Annunziata [Brit. Mus.] Walters, p. 38, reading ΑΛΕΞΑ|ΝΔΡΟΥ.<sup>23</sup>

Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 485.

ΑΛΥΠ. See ΠΥΛΑ[ΔΗΞ.

ΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ in *planta pedis*.<sup>24</sup> Smyrna "[Privatsammlung]. Abgeschrieben von Anthes,"—Zahn's ms. notes.

A N in . Dura-on-the-Euphrates. "Pergamene" ware. Communicated by Dr. Frank E.

Brown. For parallels to the shape of the stamp, see at the end of this list.

ΑΝΕΝΚ|ΑΗΤΟΥ. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 170.

Α]ΠΟΑ|Α]ΩΝΟC. Miletropolis [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 200 and Zahn's ms. notes.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΟΥ ΑΙΘ(ΟΥΡΓΟΥ?) *circulo scr.* Avignon. XII 5686, 61. I have reproduced this inscription as it stands with the editorial expansion. Nothing is said to imply that the object is not sigillata, but I do not know any other instances of the signature.

ΑΠΙC|, i. e. 'Απιστ-. Samos. Technau, p. 63, whose interpretation I follow. Iliffe suggests X]ΑΠΙC (p. 53). Technau notes

<sup>22</sup> Also at Tschandarli ΑΓΑ|ΘΟΠΟΔΟC *retro in tabella ansata* (Löschke, p. 374 and Iliffe, p. 26).

<sup>23</sup> Presumably the same as Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14, reading 'Αλεξ|άνδρου.

<sup>24</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 27.

that the vase is of a different ware from Δῶρον, Χάρις and Τύχη found at the same site.

ΓΑΙΟΥ. Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung]. Abgeschreiben von Anthes,"—Zahn's ms. notes.

South Russia [Bonn]. Zahn's ms. notes.

ΓΑVI, i. e. *Gavi* in Greek letters (?). Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 498.

ΔAMA. Antioch (2 examples). Iliffe, p. 31, reading ΔAMI and Δ·AMA respectively; reread by Waagé.

ΔAMATPIOΞ with P reversed. Metaponto. NdS 1887, p. 331, "sopra un pezzo di un vaso." Not necessarily sigillata.

ΔEI|OY. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 170.

Kertch. Zahn's ms. notes, ΔEI|OΞ.

ΔH|NIOI. Notion. Demangel-Laumonier, p. 385.

ΔIΔY|MOY.<sup>25</sup> Rome (2 examples). Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14.<sup>26</sup>

Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 170.

ΔIONY|ΞIOY.<sup>27</sup> Rome. XV 5815, 2 examples in a rectangle, as transcribed, and one in a rectangle with rounded ends, ΔION|YΞIOY.<sup>28</sup>

Rome [Mainz]. Riese, p. 236.

Rome [Columbia University].

Pozzuoli [Berlin]. Bruzza, p. 254, ΔION|YΞION.<sup>29</sup>

Boscoreale. NdS 1921, p. 421 (Della Corte); transcribed DIONYCIOC in *due linee*. Found in the same *capannone* as two each of FORTV *a d. ad. sin.* and *L. R. P.*

Lyon. Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14.

Ampurias [Gerona]. Cazurro, *Anuari Inst. Estud. Catalans*, 1909/10, p. 313, Fig. 8, presumably the same as Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14, from Ampurias.

This potter was recognized as Puteolan by Zahn, and recent petrographic comparison confirms this observation by showing that his ware is much like that of Q. Pompeius Serenus, a recognized

<sup>25</sup> For ΔIΔY|MQN at Priene, see *Priene*, p. 436 and Iliffe, p. 31.

<sup>26</sup> One of these examples is from XV 5814, from NdS 1877, p. 8, ΔISP|MOY.

<sup>27</sup> Also at Alexandria (Iliffe, p. 32).

<sup>28</sup> These three are recorded as a single entry by Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14.

<sup>29</sup> Transcribed by Kaibel 2406, 14 ΔION|YΞIOΞ, and by Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14, in the genitive case.

Puteolan potter to whom, however, ΝΑΚ|ΟΟΤΡ(άρον) stands even closer (see below).<sup>80</sup>

ΔΩ|PON.<sup>81</sup> Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung]. Abgeschrieben von Anthes,"—Zahn's ms. notes.

Ephesus. (3 examples.) Heberdey, p. 170.

Notion. (3 examples.) Demangel-Laumonier, p. 384.

Athens. Kumanudes.

Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 498.

Corinth. *Ibid.*, gray ware, signed ΔΩPON.

South Russia [Berlin]. Zahn's ms. notes; gray ware with ΔΩPON in *tabella ansata*.

Delphi. *Fouilles V*, p. 178, Fig. 750; gray ware signed ΔΩPON.

ΔΩCA. Antioch. Iliffe, p. 33, reading ..ΔΩCA, but the stamp is complete (Waagé).

ΕΚΚΑΙ|CAPHAΞ. Notion (2 examples). Demangel-Laumonier, p. 385. Prof. T. R. S. Broughton has pointed out to me that under the early Empire Caesarea was the official name of Tralles, situated on the principal highway across Asia. Notion was on the extension of the same road to the west of Ephesus. It would be perverse not to accept the hint from Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXV, 160: *Habent et Trallis ibi [in Asia] sua opera [vasorum terrenorum]*, etc., and not to recognize these two vases as the first archaeological evidence of a famous ceramic center. At the same time, we arrive at a tangible approximate date.

ΕΑ·ΙΙΗΙΕ. Colchester. May, *Cat. of the Rom. Pottery in the Colchester and Essex Mus.*, p. 209, with references to Helenius of Westerndorf, A. D. 161-180, and to various sites; a cup of Form 33. Here included only as an example of a western (and late) manufacturer affecting the Greek alphabet.

Ε//ΑΩΝ Ε//ΟΙΕΙ. Smyrna [Louvre]. Zahn's ms. notes, from Pagenstecher.

ΕΠΑ|ΦΡΑ.<sup>82</sup> [Berlin.] Zahn's ms. notes.

ΕΤΙΓ|ΟΝΟΥ. Melos. Bosanquet ap. Hiller v. Gärtringen, p. 180.

Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 170, reading ΕΤΙΓΟ|ΝΟΥ.

<sup>80</sup> The examination was made by Mr. Donald Horton of the University Museum, Philadelphia. The present statement anticipates a more extended discussion to appear elsewhere.

<sup>81</sup> For this common signature, see Iliffe, pp. 32 f.

<sup>82</sup> Compare Iliffe, p. 33, 'Επαφρο|δειτ . . . , etc.

Priene. *Priene*, p. 436, No. 147. The reading was uncertain, but is confirmed by the preceding and by a "tiny cup" from the Athenian Agora (Iliffe, p. 33).

ΕΡΑΖ|TVS. Rome [University of Illinois]. Kindly communicated by Prof. Adolph F. Pauli, who notes that the P may be simply a defective R. Italian manufacture.

ΕΡΜΗC<sup>33</sup> *in planta pedis*. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 170.

[Berlin (2 examples)]. Hiller v. Gärtringen, p. 180, confirming Zahn's expansion of the fragmentary stamp, *Priene*, p. 435, No. 141. Compare, however, ΕΡΑCΤ *in planta pedis* at Alexandria (Iliffe, p. 34).

ΕΡ|ΜΗC. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 171.

ΕΡΜΗC in a rectangular stamp with round knobs at each end, impressed four times. Pitane [Berlin]. Local fabric. Zahn's ms. notes.

ΕΡΜΑ. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 170.

South Russia [Cassel]. Behn, p. 36.

South Russia. Two examples of "Samian" fabric, in Zahn's ms. notes.

ΕΡ|ΜΟΥ. Ephesus (2 examples). Heberdey, p. 171.

Puteoli [Berlin]. Cited by Iliffe, p. 34, from *Priene*, pp. 443 f., where Zahn says it has the same clay and glaze as the Priene inscribed sherds. The stamp noted in CIL X, by Kaibel and by Oxé, *Bericht*, is evidently the same fragment.

ΕΡΟ|ΕΡΜ, i. e. Ἐρως (καὶ) Ἐρμῆς or the like. Rome [Columbia University]. The fragment is apparently of normal Italian fabric, like ΕΡΑΖ|TVS above.

ΕΡΩ[ς]. Rhegium. Kaibel 2406, 18, from NdS 1885, p. 86, where it is included with *vasellame aretino*.

ΕΡΩC *a d. ad sin.* with letters reversed, *in planta pedis*. Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung]. Abgeschrieben von Anthes," — Zahn's ms. notes.

ΕΥΤΥΧΕ|ΑΛΕCΧΕ|. Smyrna [Louvre]. Zahn's ms. notes, from Pagenstecher.

[ΕΡΟC] [C·ANNI]. [Metropolitan Museum]. An Arretine signature, kindly communicated by Prof. Pauli.

ΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ *bollo circolare*. Rhegium. Kaibel 2406, 18, from

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<sup>33</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 34.

NdS 1885, p. 86, "sotto il fondo di un vasetto cretaceo." Perhaps not sigillata.

ΖΩC|ΔOC|'''. Miletopolis [Berlin]. "Samischer Fabrik,"—Zahn's ms. notes; the first letter is quite doubtful.

HAH|TOY. Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung]. Abgeschrieben von Anthes,"—Zahn's ms. notes.

HA|IC. Miletopolis [Berlin]. Zahn's ms. notes.

HPAKΛHC MOCΩN, and others. Arezzo. Pasqui, NdS 1884, Pl. VIII 2. This inscription, together with the names of the Muses, also in Greek characters, has been frequently found and reprinted. It stands on vases by *Cerdo M. Perenni*, an early Arretine master, and is included here simply as evidence that Greek was used on Italian made ware in Etruria as well as in Campania. See also ΕΡΟC C·ANNI above and KOCM|SAVFEI below.

ΘΕΟΔ|ΟΡΟΥ. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 499.

KAICY.<sup>34</sup> Tarsus [Brit. Mus.] Walters, p. 18. This fragment has "the shape of stamp and the treatment of the interior of the foot which are most characteristic of this [Pergamene] ware."<sup>35</sup>

KAAΔ. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 171, reading Kαλδ ..., but the same as Iliffe's KAAA, p. 37.

KEPΔOΞ or KEPΔOC. Ephesus (3 examples). Heberdey, p. 171 (KEP|ΔOC, 2 examples); p. 175 (KEPΔOC in a double swallow-tailed frame).<sup>36</sup> The latter fragment is distinguished "durch weicheren, im Bruche hellgelben Ton und glanzlosen, mehr ins Bräunliche spielenden, auch leichter abspringenden Firnis. Die Gefässformen sind denen der echten Terra Sigillata ähnlich, aber massiver im Ton und weniger fein profiliert."

Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung]. Abgeschrieben von Anthes,"—KEP|ΔOC,"—Zahn's ms. notes.

Beisan [University Mus., Philadelphia]. Comfort-Waagé, *Beisan*, p. 224, in shape, stamp, clay and glaze much like the last example from Ephesus, but with letters *retro* from right to left; "Pergamene" ware.

Ostia. Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14.

<sup>34</sup> For other instances of Kαλ σύ, including two more from Tarsus, see Iliffe, p. 37.

<sup>35</sup> Waagé, *Antioch*, p. 69, n. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Noted, with numerous others, by Iliffe, pp. 37 f.



- Aquileia. Oxé, *ibid.*
- KEC. Tarsus [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 18.
- KOIPA|NOY.<sup>37</sup> Olbia [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 200 and Zahn's ms. notes; "‘Samische’ Fabrik."
- Kertch. *Isvestija Arch. Komm.* Heft 30 (reference in Zahn's ms. notes), KOIP|NOY.
- Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 499.
- Spalato. Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14, emending *Κασσιάνου* in III 14035, 3.
- KOCM|SAVFEI. Rome. Riese, p. 251.
- AE|ΩNA. Ephesus (2 examples). Heberdey, pp. 171 f., interpreting *Ἀέων* A....
- MAP|KOY.<sup>38</sup> Aquileia (2 examples). Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14, from *AT* VI, p. 302.
- Emona. Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14.
- MAT|PEOY.<sup>39</sup> Ephesus (2 examples). Heberdey, p. 172.
- MHNO|ΓENOY. Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung]. Abgeschrieben von Anthes,"—Zahn's ms. notes.
- MHTPOC. *Isvestija Arch. Komm.* Heft 47, p. 55, n. 42 (reference in Zahn's ms. notes).
- MINΔIC.<sup>40</sup> Modena. Cavedoni, p. 15, "fondo di tazza con tinta rossa giallognola, ben diverso perciò dal rosso schietto degli altri," reprinted by Ihm, XI 6700, 839, and Kaibel 2406, 54.
- BAATCI|MOYN.<sup>41</sup> Pozzuoli [Berlin]. Bruzza, p. 253, and frequently reprinted. Zahn, *Priene*, pp. 443 f., notes that this sherd has the same clay and surface as the inscribed ware from Priene.
- Cumae [Mus. Campana]. *Priene*, p. 444.
- [Catania.] *Ibid.*, from X 8056, 65, reading BAACTI only.
- NIKO.<sup>42</sup> Athens (2 examples). Kumanudes.
- NI|KO|ΞT|P|A|TO|Y. [Heidelberg.] Behn, p. 42 and Fig. 4, 2. A beaker in the style of Aco.
- NIK|OCTP. Rome [Columbia University]. A petrographic

<sup>37</sup> For additional occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 38.

<sup>38</sup> For additional occurrences, including one from London, see Iliffe, p. 39.

<sup>39</sup> For another occurrence with *black* surface and a different shape, see Iliffe, p. 39. The Ephesus examples are rendered as MAT|PEA by Iliffe, *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> For an occurrence at Alexandria, see Iliffe, p. 40.

<sup>41</sup> See Iliffe, pp. 29 f.

<sup>42</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 41.

comparison of this sherd with one signed by *Q. Pompeius Serenus* shows that the two are ceramically indistinguishable. Since Pompeius was a Puteolan potter, it follows that Nikostratos was also. See also  $\Delta\iota\omicron\nu\nu\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$  above.

$\Lambda\eta\text{HNO}$ , with N reversed. Dura-on-the-Euphrates, on "Pergamene" ware. Communicated by Dr. Frank E. Brown.

$\text{ONH}\xi|\text{IMOY}$ . Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung.] Abgeschrieben von Anthes,"—Zahn's ms. notes.

Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 500, *pluries impressum*, a duplicate of a stamp from Athens  $\widehat{\text{ON}}|\widehat{\text{HC}}(1)\widehat{\text{M}}(\text{O})\widehat{\text{Y}}$  published and expanded by Watzinger, p. 58 (Iliffe, p. 42).

$\text{OYEIPO}\xi$ . Capua. Kaibel 2406, 62, from Riccio, Pl. VII, 44.

$\text{TTAT}|\text{IOY}$ . Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 172, correcting the reading of the Priene example interpreted  $\text{TA}[\xi\text{E}]\text{OY}$  (*Priene*, p. 436; Iliffe, p. 42).

$\text{TO}|\text{OY}$ . Ephesus (5 examples). Heberdey, p. 172.

Smyrna. "[Privatsammlung.] Abgeschrieben von Anthes,"—Zahn's ms. notes.

Antioch. Iliffe, p. 43, as the fourth entry under *Posidonius*, reread by Waagé.

$\text{TOPO}\Phi\Upsilon\text{////}$ . Taranto. Kaibel 2406, 68, from NdS 1884, p. 123, "sopra un frammento di piccolo vaso," listed separately from the Arretine on the same page.

$\text{TOCI}|\Delta\Omega\text{N}|\text{IOY}$ .<sup>43</sup> Rome [Bonn]. XV 5816 and frequently reprinted. Iliffe gives it in two lines instead of three, following *Priene*, p. 444, where its certain Asiatic origin is noted. Signatures in Greek letters (and Latin too) are rare in more than two lines, but Iliffe shows several of three or four lines which include more than a single word (pp. 47, 50, 51).

Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 173.

Notion. Demangel-Lauemonier, p. 385  $\text{TO}\xi\text{EI}|\Delta\Omega\text{N}|\text{IOY}$ .

Olbia [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 200 and Pl. 100, and Zahn's ms. notes,  $\text{TO}\xi\text{I}\Delta|\Omega\text{NIOY}$ .

$\text{TTY}\Lambda\Delta$ . Pozzuoli [Berlin]. Bruzza, p. 255, reprinted by Kaibel *ramus palmae* 2406, 70a, and in *Priene*, p. 443.

Pozzuoli [Berlin]. Bruzza, p. 253, reading  $\text{A}\cdot\Lambda\Upsilon\text{TT}$ ; Kaibel 2406, 70b.

<sup>43</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 43.

Capua. Kaibel 2406, 70c, from Riccio, Pl. VII, 7, reading ΠV.  
 POY|ΦOC. Kertch. *Odessaer Ges. f. Gesch. u. Altertumer*,  
 XXVIII, p. 29, reading 'Ρού|φου (reference in Zahn's ms. notes).  
 Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 173, reading P]ΟΥ|[Φ]OC.  
 Naples. Kaibel 2406, 71, "patera Arretinis similis." (The  
 same as Iliffe, p. 45.)

CTO|POY. Naples. Kaibel 2406, 75. Two *vascula Arretinis  
 similia*, of which one reads POY|CTO. (Briefly noted by Iliffe,  
 p. 47.)

Pompeii (Villa of the Mysteries). NdS 1922, p. 481, "terra-  
 cotta aretina . . . coppa larga" reading POY|CTO.

ΞΩTEΛΗΞ. Metapontum. Kaibel 2406, 79, from NdS 1887,  
 p. 331, "bollo rettangolare, a linee non rette, ma piuttosto arcuate."  
 Not implied to be sigillata.

TVXH in *planta pedis sinistri*. Samos. Technau, p. 63, an  
 example of his "Samian" ware, though not "die berühmte vasa  
 Samia."

ΦO|BOV. Delphi. *Fouilles*, V, p. 179, Fig. 751.

Aquileia (2 examples). Oxé, *Bericht*, p. 14, of which one is  
 apparently drawn from *AT* VII, p. 223.

ΦYPMOC. Pompeii. X 8055, 66, reprinted by Kaibel 2406, 85.  
 "vasculum Arretini operis in speciem cylindri fabricatum; stilo  
 scr. ante costuram."

XAPA. Alishar Hüyük. Waagé in von der Osten *Alishar  
 Hüyük*, 1930-32, Part III, p. 82.

XA|PIC in various forms.<sup>44</sup> Miletopolis [Berlin] (3 examples).  
 Neugebauer, p. 201 and Zahn's ms. notes; two examples are  
 XA|PIC<sup>45</sup> and all are "Samischer Fabrik."

Pergamon. Conze, p. 271.

Ephesus (7 examples). Heberdey, p. 173 (6 in two lines, 1 in  
 a single line).

Athens. Kumanudes.

Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466, the only Greek signature  
 from the Odeum.

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<sup>44</sup> For numerous other occurrences, see Iliffe, pp. 50 ff. I believe that  
 the instances here recorded are all additional to Mr. Iliffe's, but the docu-  
 mentation is not always easy. Zahn, *Priene*, p. 444, notes that not all  
 vases signed Xάρις are alike in clay and glaze.

<sup>45</sup> The initial X more resembles H.

Dura-on-the-Euphrates, "arranged in a square" on "Pergamene" ware. Communicated by Dr. Frank E. Brown.

Dura-on-the-Euphrates. XAPICL on "Pergamene" ware (4 examples). Communicated by Dr. Brown.

Alexandria. *Priene*, p. 436, n. 4, from Dragendorff, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CI (1897), p. 159, "heller Thon und etwas bräunliche Glasur."

Egypt. *Priene*, p. 436, n. 4.

Alexandria [Heidelberg]. Behn, p. 36.

Kertch. *Isvestija Arch. Komm.*, IX (1904), p. 147, XAPHC (reference and transcription in Zahn's ms. notes).

X]APIC|[K]EPΔQ[C. Antioch. Iliffe, p. 34, reading XAPIC|ERM[HC; reread by Waagé.

XKV|IOS(?). [Brit. Mus.] Walters, p. 38, "Bright red glaze. Probably Arretine, but the shape [Form 27] is a Gaulish one."<sup>46</sup>

OPH|OY = 'Οπαίου(?).<sup>47</sup> South Russia [Hermitage Mus.] *Antiq. du Bosphore Cimmérien*, p. 135 (reference in Zahn's ms. notes).

Olbia [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 200.

South Russia [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 200, on Knipowitsch Type 11.

Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 172, on the same shape.

Samos [Vathy]. *Priene*, p. 436, n. 4.

..... ΤΩΝΟÇ. Priene. *Priene*, p. 431.

....HAOY. Mont Beuvray [Autun]. Déchelette, I, p. 33. A fragment in the style of Aco.


Ł (or !)A\... South Russia [Bonn]. Plate of "Samian" fabric,—Zahn's ms. notes.


<sup>46</sup> It is worth noting, however, that a close relative of the Gaulish Form 27 in "Pergamene" ware was found at Samos (Technau, p. 50). It was unsigned, as is often the case with "Pergamene," but signed examples like 'Απιστ- from the same site and Κέρδος from Beth-Shan (see above) do exist. On the other hand, Walters' "bright red glaze" is certainly more characteristic of Gaulish ware, and inspires caution in comparison with Technau's description of 'Απιστ-: "Der Überzug ist matt braunrot, in verschiedenen Schattierungen vorkommend, und springt gerne in punktkleinen Splitterchen ab, sodass der helle gelbe Ton hervorleuchtet."

<sup>47</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 53. Hiller v. Gärtringen 355, 5, observes that Watzinger's example ΩPH|OY from the west slopes of the Acropolis (p. 58) is the only evidence for this interpretation; he himself prefers 'Οπαί|ov or 'Οπεί|ov.

HΞ or F|Ξ. South Russia [Berlin]. Cup of "Samian" fabric, —Zahn's ms. notes.

]ΛΛONC' [. (The last symbol seemed square rather than round.) Dura-on-the-Euphrates. "Pergamene" ware. Communicated by Dr. Frank E. Brown.

OTIK in . Antioch. Iliffe, p. 42; his last entry under 'Οπάωνος is the same as his succeeding entry; reread by Waagé as fragmentary remains of the second line of a two-line stamp.

Design of rough concentric squares in . Dura-on-the-Euphrates. "Pergamene" ware prior to 50 B. C. Communicated by Dr. Frank E. Brown.

## II. LATIN SIGNATURES

AGATE (meri). Alexandria. Oxé, *Rev.* emending Iliffe, p. 26.

INGEN|L·ĀNN. Antioch. Waagé by letter. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 69.

SEX|ANNI.<sup>48</sup> Beisan [University Mus., Philadelphia]. Comfort-Waagé, *Beisan*, p. 222.

Athens. Kumanudes, in a stamp of unusual shape.

Samaria. Iliffe, p. 47, from *Samaria*, I, p. 304, but *Samaria*, II, Pl. 68 h 2, shows SEX·|ANN[ *pluries impressum*. Much of Annii's work is "grosse Platten, die viermal gestempelt sind und somit spätestens aus dem letzten Jahrzehnt v. Chr. G. stammen" (Oxé, *Vindonissa*, p. 128, with references). Sextus Annii worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 72.

OAR|DACI, i. e. *o(fficina) Ar(daci)*. Olbia [Hermitage Mus.]. Knipowitsch, p. 11, emended by Oxé, *Gnomon*, V (1929), p. 544. Ardacus worked at La Graufesenque under Tiberius and Claudius. His work was exported to the north and Spain and Africa. (Oswald, *Index*, p. 22.)

ARRE.<sup>49</sup> Notion. Demangel-Laumonier, p. 385. This stamp and the following are probably not of genuine Arretine manufacture.

COPA|ARET. Notion. Demangel-Laumonier, p. 385.

<sup>48</sup> For other examples, see Iliffe, p. 47.

<sup>49</sup> Compare *Arretinum* at Alexandria (Iliffe, p. 28).

ATEI.<sup>50</sup> Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 489. It is questionable whether Ateius worked at Arezzo.

CN\*ATEI (N within C). Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 168. Large plate *pluries impressum*.

CN ATEI|CRESTI with a palm at the end of each line. Ptolemais [Sèvres]. III Suppl. I 6636, 2. This stamp is not found at Arezzo.

CNATE|EVHODI. "Pagus ad Smyrnam." *Eph. Epig.* V (1884), p. 595, reading OI|ATE|EVHODI, emended by Oxé, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CI (1897), p. 36.

ATT (i)<sup>51</sup> in *planta pedis*. Naukratis [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 18. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 116.

AVILLI.<sup>52</sup> Athens (2 examples in *planta pedis*). Kumanudes; one example is certain (AVIL), and one is doubtful.

Athens (?). Should Iliffe's AVIT|| ("conical cup; Athens, Kerameikos") read AVILLI? Oxé already cites one instance from the Kerameikos (Oxé, *Kerameikos*, p. 221). Or are Iliffe's and Oxé's sherds the same?

Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 490.

Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 465.

This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 130.

L AVIL in *planta pedis*.<sup>53</sup> Corfù [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 14.

Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 490, L.A.... in *planta pedis*.

This stamp occurs once at Arezzo, XI 6700, 125. The name of L. Avillius Sura is frequent, *ibid.*, 127.

C·ΛVRI in a rectangle with a knob on the right end. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 168, expanding C. [A]ur(elii)?

OF BASS|N|. Egypt [Royal Ontario Mus., Toronto]. Comfort, *Toronto*, p. 407. Form 18. This potter worked in South Gaul under Claudius, Nero and Vespasian (Oswald, *Index*, p. 357).

○F CALVI. Antioch. Waagé, by letter. This potter worked at La Graufesenque under Nero to Domitian, mainly Vespasian (Oswald, *Index*, p. 55).

CAMVRI in various ligatures; in *planta pedis* unless otherwise noted.<sup>54</sup> Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 168.

<sup>50</sup> For other occurrences of Ateius and Cn. Ateius, see Iliffe, pp. 28 f.

<sup>51</sup> For an example from Athens, see Iliffe, p. 29.

<sup>52</sup> For other examples, see Iliffe, p. 29.

<sup>53</sup> For another example, see Iliffe, p. 29.

<sup>54</sup> For other examples, see Iliffe, p. 27.

Naukratis [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 18, in an elliptical stamp. Corinth (2 examples). Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466.

Corinth (3 examples). Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 490. One of the signatures reads AMVR.

Beisan [University Mus., Philadelphia] (2 examples). Comfort-Waagé, *Beisan*, p. 222.

Athens (?). Kumanudes; a possible expansion of a stamp impossible to reproduce typographically.

This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 29.

Q·CAST·VE (t...) in *planta pedis*. Corinth (2 examples). Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 491 and Waagé, by letter (Q·CAS·VE).

This potter is not found at Arezzo, but at Chiusi and Rimini (XI) and Rome (XV).

CEIE). Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 491, where *Celer* is conjectured with some hesitation.

CENNI. Alexandria. Iliffe, p. 30. Should we read *C. Annius*, which is usually in two lines with a slave's name, but is sometimes found alone in a rectangle? Compare also Q·ENN|SVAVI of Pozzuoli (X 8056, 132). Iliffe has two examples of *Ennius* from Egypt (p. 33), with which compare about forty examples from Pozzuoli (X 8056, 131).

?CES. Antioch. Iliffe, p. 30. "Clay soft, buff, unlike Gaulish" (Waagé, by letter).

COR(umbi)|CISP (i). Alexandria. Iliffe, p. 30, expands *Cor(nelius)* in v. 1, but the correct reading is shown by Riese, p. 252 ff.; cf. XI 6700, 189 from Cincelli, which was the site of Cornelius' factory also.

P CLO(di) PROC( ) in various forms in *planta pedis*.<sup>55</sup> Athens (2 examples). Kumanudes.

Athens. Agora. Iliffe, p. 30, reading PC! . . .

Beisan [University Mus., Philadelphia]. Comfort-Waagé, *Beisan*, p. 222, PCLPR in *planta pedis*.

Tarsus. Iliffe, p. 30, reading P. CLAVD.

This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 197.

COJRINTHVS in *planta pedis*. Athens. Kumanudes. This potter worked at Pozzuoli, X 8056, 100.

CORNELL in *planta pedis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 491.

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<sup>55</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 44.

Delphi. *Fouilles*, V, p. 180.

This potter worked at Arezzo-Cinelli, XI 6700, 259; the signature is much rarer than *P. Corneli*.

P COR(neli)<sup>56</sup> in an ellipse. Beisan [University Mus., Philadelphia] (2 examples; the transcription of one is not given). Comfort-Waagé, *Beisan*, p. 222.

This potter worked at Cinelli-Ponte a Buriano, XI 6700, 204.

CORNE(li) | CLEME(ntis) or P CORN(eli) HIME(n..?) (P and R reversed). Athens. Kumanudes, reading COM///|///MEN. *Clemens*, XI 6700, 214 (Cinelli); *Hime(n?) ibid.* 230 (Ponte a Buriano).

CRESTI.<sup>57</sup> Corinth (2 examples). Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 485, one example reading C·R SII.

Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466, reading CRE|STY.

[Alexandria.] Dragendorff, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CI (1897), p. 148, reading CRESTIF in *planta pedis*.

This potter is not attested for Arezzo; possible parallels are at Fiesole and Luna, XI 6700, 180-82.

DEMETRIVS. Pozzuoli [Berlin]. X 8056, 121. Zahn, *Priene*, p. 444, identifies this as "Samian" fabric. Cf. DEM|ET|RIVS from New Carthage (Oxé's reference to II 6257, 66 in Zahn's ms. notes).

EPOI and the like, here included as a Latin transliteration from Greek, appearing in combinations with several names, e. g. A·EPOI (XV 4936 [Rome]), EROS|IOΔΕ (Riese, p. 243 [Rome]; also at Mainz, XIII 10009, 117),<sup>58</sup> EPOEI|FELIX◇ (XV 5211 [Rome]; also at Mainz, Geissner, p. 9).

C·ERAS//CANI in *planta pedis*. Delphi. *Fouilles*, V, p. 180, Fig. 760.

Corinth (3 examples). Comfort, *Corinth*, pp. 491 f., reading DĒRASTICANIS in *planta pedis*.

L·FASTI|DI. Alexandria Troas. *Eph. Epig.* V (1884), p. 68. This signature is not reported from Arezzo or Rome (except FA|STI|DI|EN in *trifolio*, XV 5202 [Rome]), but parallels occur at Fiesole, Luna and Fréjus; see especially L·FASTI<sup>†</sup> a d. ad sin., X 8056, 140 [Solunto] and L·FASTI Iliffe, p. 35 [Alexandria].

<sup>56</sup> For an example from Olbia, see Iliffe, p. 30.

<sup>57</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 31.

<sup>58</sup> *Eros* | *fecit* also occurs.



FAVSTVS on a decorated vase (punishment of Marsyas). South Russia [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 203. This potter worked at Cincelli, where his moulds and decorated vases have been found, XI 6700, 200 (s. v. *P. Corneli*).

M-FE. Ptolemais [Sèvres]. III Suppl. I 6636, 1. "Ein zweites Exemplar dieses Stempels kann ich nicht nachweisen,"—Dragendorff, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CI (1897), p. 149, n. 4.

FOR... or FON[T(ei)].<sup>59</sup> Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 492. G]AMV.<sup>60</sup> Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 499.

GAVI. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 492.

Beisan [University Mus., Philadelphia]. Comfort-Waagé, p. 222, in *planta pedis*. This might be C·AVIL.<sup>61</sup> Gavius worked at Arezzo-Cincelli, XI 6700, 306 GAVI usually in *planta pedis*; 305, C·GAVI always in a rectangle, with and without ligatures.

L GELL in *planta pedis*.<sup>62</sup> Corfù [Brit. Mus.] Walters, p. 13. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 308; his work is also extremely common at Aquileia, *AT VII* (1880-81), p. 233.

EIRACL<sup>1</sup>, i. e. *Heracli(dae)*. Naukratis [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 18. This potter worked at Pozzuoli, X 8056, 160.

IANAARIV-SFECI (with N reversed) i. e. *Ianuarius feci*. Seleucia-on-the-Tigris [University of Michigan]. Communicated by Prof. Clark Hopkins; <sup>63</sup> found in Room 160 of the third level at Seleucia, 146 B. C.—43 A. D. This name is not recorded at Arezzo, but Oxé assembles instances from Windisch, Nîmes, Tarragona, Elche, Carthage and Rome, and remarks that they are contemporary with other circular stamps (*Avilius Feli(x)*, *Romanus*, etc.) from the end of Augustus' principate or the beginning of Tiberius'.<sup>64</sup> It may be connected with the shop of *L. Tilius* of Arezzo,<sup>65</sup> from which samples in the Near East are noted below and by Iliffe, pp. 48 f. Without being frequent anywhere, *Ianuarius feci* is widely dis-

<sup>59</sup> Oxé's conjectured expansion, by letter.

<sup>60</sup> Oxé conjectures Gamus of Pozzuoli, by letter.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. XI 6700, 122, C·AVI [Cortona], for which Ihm suggests GAVI as the real reading.

<sup>62</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 35.

<sup>63</sup> Included here by his permission and that of the Editorial Committee of the University of Michigan *Humanistic Series*.

<sup>64</sup> *Vindonissa*, p. 128. Another instance may be added from Rome [Columbia University].

<sup>65</sup> Oxé, *Bonn. Jahrb.* CII (1898), p. 143.

tributed; indeed, the present instance from Seleucia is, so far as I know, the farthest-travelled piece of Italian sigillata. At the time, Seleucia was outside the Empire.

LIB... South Russia [Berlin]. Neugebauer, p. 200, on Knipowitsch Type 9. This is a case of a Latin name on Hellenistic ware; during his recent visit to the University Museum, Philadelphia, Dr. Zahn informed me that the clay and surface are clearly "Samian." Cf. LONCI from Olbia.<sup>66</sup>

MCO MA in *tabula ansata*. Pergamon. Conze, p. 271.

SEX M CL (adi) in *planta pedis*. Corinth. Waagé, by letter. This name appears at Rome (XV, in *luna*), Livorno (XI), Trapani, Ponza (X), and Elche (II Suppl. 6349), but not at Arezzo.

M||M·F. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 439. As far as I know, this stamp is unique, but cf. M·FE above.

A·M·PRV (dents) in *planta pedis*.<sup>67</sup> Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 493. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 356. 364.

A·M·VR in *planta pedis*, i.e. A. Mannei Urbani. Athens. Kumanudes.

Corinth (?). See above, s. v. *Camuri*.

This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 29 cc. dd. and XI Add. 8119, 27.<sup>68</sup>

MACCARVSF. Egypt [Royal Ontario Mus., Toronto]. Comfort, *Toronto*, p. 407. This potter worked at La Graufesenque in the principates of Tiberius to Nero.<sup>69</sup>

*Mahetis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 485. This signature is not found at Arezzo.

C·ME.<sup>70</sup> Athens. III 6545, 7, from Dumont, p. 390. This stamp may be connected with one of those next following.

C·ME[R in *planta pedis*.<sup>71</sup> Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 493. The expansion as given is preferable to C·ME[MMI, which is usually in a rectangle (once at Arezzo in *planta pedis*, XI 6700, 378),

<sup>66</sup> Knipowitsch, Fig. 3, 7-10. For these stamps Oxé suggests reading *Longi* (*Gnomon* V [1929], p. 544).

<sup>67</sup> Can this be the real reading of MBR in *planta pedis* at Alexandria, Iliffe, p. 40?

<sup>68</sup> Here Dessau-Gaheis follow the expansion suggested by Oxé, adopted above, instead of *Amuri*.

<sup>69</sup> Oswald, *Index*, p. 173.

<sup>70</sup> For another example from Athens (Kerameikos), see Iliffe, p. 40.

<sup>71</sup> For other examples, see Iliffe, p. 40.

while the former is always in *planta pedis*. No examples have been found at Arezzo, but the distribution implies Arezzo as the point of origin, and its presence in Well No. 1 at Minturnae suggests an early Tiberian date.

MEMMI. Notion. Demangel-Laumonier, p. 385.

C·MEM (mi). Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 493. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 378.

ANTHV|C·MEM. Alexandria. Iliffe, p. 39, reads .ANHV|C·MEM and connects it with *Cn. A. Ma(hetis)*; for the emendation, see XV 5332 (3 examples from Rome).

P·MESSI|HELEN. Alexandria (2 examples). Emendation of Iliffe, p. 40, suggested by XV 5345 (2 examples from Rome).

C·MVRR. Alexandria (2 examples). Iliffe, p. 27, connects these with C. Amurius. *C. Murrius* is frequent at Arezzo, XI 6700, 392, usually in *planta pedis*, but once in a rectangle.

N·N·H in *tabula ansata extrinsecus inter anaglypha*. Crete [Candia]. By letter from Dr. Marinotas, Director of the Candia Museum, to whom I am indebted for permission to publish. This potter worked at Pozzuoli, Bruzza, p. 247.

:NAlVI: (with N reversed), i. e. *Naevi*? Athens. Kumanudes.

FORMA L NOSTILI SERVOS MIN.. CVRVS FECIT. Crete [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 13, Fig. 6; medallion from a red glazed vase. Vases with applied reliefs are placed in the third Christian century by Déchelette, II, p. 167. The name is not in Oswald's *Index*.

C NV FEL in *planta pedis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 494. This potter did not work at Arezzo, but the signature C·NVIE appears at Rimini, XI 6700, 412.

C NV RES in *planta pedis*. Corinth, Waagé, by letter. This potter did not work at Arezzo, but cf. XI 6700, 413 (Perugia).

OCT(A)VI in *planta pedis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 494. This signature is not found at Arezzo.

L. Oct(avi) Proc(li). Corinth (2 examples). Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 494 (OCPR[ and OCTPRO, the latter in *planta pedis*).

Corinth. Waagé, by letter (OC·PAO in *planta pedis*).

Delphi. Fouilles, V, p. 180, Fig. 762 (OCIIIIIO in *planta pedis*).

This signature is not found at Arezzo, but cf. XI 6700, 417 (Orvieto, etc.).

L O(ctavi) SALV(taris) in *planta pedis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 494.

Olympia. XI 6700, 418, note.

This signature is not found at Arezzo, but cf. XI 6700, 418, OCFSA (Castel d'Asso).

Q. P[. Notion. Demangel-Laumonier, p. 342. On a fragment "de grand bol orné, sous une zone de feuilles de lierre, d'une série de masques dionysiaques à longue barbe, séparées par de motifs végétaux du plus gracieux effet."<sup>72</sup> The stamp is probably misread.

PATR|OCLI. Athens. Kumanudes.

Athens, Agora. Iliffe, p. 36, reading ΙΑΤΚ|OC||

This signature is not found in XI or XV; cf. ΠΑΤΡΟ|ΚΑΗΞ above.

PAV·P·O in *planta pedis*. Corinth. Waagé, by letter.

Delphi. *Fouilles*, V, p. 180, Fig. 758.

Athens, Agora (?). Iliffe, p. 31, reading ΓΑΥΡΟ

This stamp is not found at Arezzo, but cf. XI Add. 8119, 37 (Bolsena); XV 5417 and Tingdal, *Eranos*, XXV (1927), p. 81 (Rome); III 6010, 27 [Vienna Mus.]; Walters, p. 39, "probably from Etruria, but apparently not Arretine. Red glaze worn; plain shallow form. Round the rim, equidistant, four rosettes attached; in the center is the stamp."

[M. PĒRĒN(ni)] TIGRĀN(i).<sup>73</sup> Corinth. Shear, *AJA XXX* (1926), p. 446, Fig. 2, a fragment of a crater very similar to *Arret*. 117 (Herakles and Omphale drawn by centaurs).

<sup>72</sup> Several unsigned, decorated sherds from Notion are described by the same editors. A banqueting scene and symplegma point directly to the workshop of the Perennii at Arezzo; the female dancer and silenus head may well be from the same source; but most intriguing is the comic person "d'une maigreur excessive (on voit les côtes) courant à toutes jambes vers la droite, la tête tournée en arrière et les bras repliés, tenant des massues; il est coiffé d'un bonnet pointu; le nez et le menton sont démesurés." Italian parallels are frequent: Oxé, *Arret*. No. 30, with parallels by *Ateius* (Italian and provincial) and *Naevius* (Pozzuoli); Hähle, Haltern, p. 85, signed *Cresti* | *Euhodi*; Pasqui, NdS 1896, pp. 458-61, by *M. Perennius Bargathes*. See also the woodcut in Cesnola, *Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples*, p. 230, from Soli.

<sup>73</sup> For other later examples from the shop of the Perennii, see Iliffe, pp. 42 f. The Priene signature (*Priene*, p. 438 and Fig. 553) belongs to M. Perennius Bargathes, and the Kerameikos signature to M. Perennius Crescens.

]TAS (with S reversed), i. e. *Saturn* ( ) *M. Perenni*. Melos. Héron de Villefosse in *Gaz. Archeol.* VI (1880), pp. 219-22 and Pl. 33.<sup>74</sup> This potter was contemporary with M. Perennius Crescens (until about A. D. 40) and worked both at Arezzo and in north Italy.

PIL. Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466. Cf. XV 5429 PHII, 5440 C. *Pili*.

PLOTID|RVFI. Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466. This signature is not found at Arezzo, but five examples from Rome are reported XV 5452.

PL·CPR *in planta pedis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 499.

CPOMF *in planta pedis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 495.

Athens, Agora. Iliffe, p. 31, reading CROMF.

Delphi. *Fouilles*, V, p. 180, Fig. 761, reading CDOMI *in planta pedis*.

I|OPOM E|SERENI, i. e. *Q. Pompei Sereni*. Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466. This potter worked at Pozzuoli, Bruzza, p. 247.

PRISCI. Alexandria. Iliffe, p. 44, lists this as Gaulish (Lezoux?), Hadrian-Antonine, but it appears at Rome, XV 5464 and *Memoirs*, p. 206, q. v. for further references.

YRAME. Athens, Kumanudes. This signature may be of Near Eastern origin; cf. Iliffe, p. 44 ΠΥΡΑΜΟΥ (Alexandria).

RASINI.<sup>75</sup> Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466.

Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 485.

Athens (2 examples). Kumanudes, RASI in a swallow-tailed stamp, and I2AR (with R reversed) in a rectangle.

This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 520.

CERTVS RASIN. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 495.

[.....] RASIN. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 495.

[..... RASIN]. Athens. Oxé, *Arret*. No. 107, attributing the fragment to either *Rasinius* or *Pantagathus C. Anni*, but the eastern distribution of *Rasinius* makes him the more probable conjecture.

RAS LYC *in planta pedis*. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 496. This signature is not found at Arezzo.

·L·RASIN·PIS[ANI·] *in forma lunata*. Delphi. *Fouilles*, V, p. 180, Fig. 759.

<sup>74</sup> An unsigned decorated fragment of Italian sigillata from Parium in Asia Minor is published in the same article.

<sup>75</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 44.

Athens (2 examples). Kumanudes (L•R•PIS in *tabula ansata* and L•R•PI in *planta pedis*).

This Nero-Flavian potter is Italian but not Arretine.

RECINVS F, i. e. *Regenus F*(?). Egypt. [Hildesheim.] Summarily noted by G. Roeder, *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museum*, p. 178, No. 908. Form 29; a photograph and transcription have been kindly communicated by Dr. Roeder. This vase and signature are among the most puzzling items here presented because Reginus I, II and III of Lezoux, Baden-in-Aargau and Heiligenberg respectively (none active before the principate of Domitian) never made Form 29 (Oswald, *Index*, pp. 260 f.). *Regenus* of La Graufesenque (Claudius-Nero) is more probably correct, though his signatures are not common and he is credited with only one other instance of Form 29.<sup>76</sup>

RVFI *a d. ad sin.* [Alexandria]. Dragendorff, *Bonn. Jahrb.*, CI (1897), p. 148. Perhaps the same as Iliffe, p. 45 RVFH *a d. ad sin.*, which = *Exp. v. Sieglin* II 3, p. 105, No. 56.

LIV|QVΛIO. Alexandria. Iliffe, p. 38, reads *Liv(i) Quartio*(?), but T•RVFR|RVFIO is more probable (XI 6700, 561, Arezzo).

L•S•C(?) in a quadrilateral with concave sides and double frame. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 169.

[Alexandria.] Dragendorff, *ibid.*; perhaps the same as Iliffe, p. 46, L SC.

C S F(?; S reversed). Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 446.

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<sup>76</sup> Dr. Roeder also very kindly sends photographs of two other La Graufesenque bowls purchased in Lower Egypt (Form 37, unsigned), likewise noted in his catalogue, p. 178, Nos. 906, 907. Their decoration, like that of 908, is later than Hofheim I (abandoned 50/51 A.D.), about contemporary with the earlier vases from Rottwell (occupied 73/74 A.D.) and generally earlier than the material from Pompeii published by Atkinson in *JRS* IV (1914). The same museum also has from Egypt an Arretine fragment showing a boar-hunt on foot and horseback (Roeder, *ibid.*, p. 177, No. 931), presumably by the Augustan Arretine potter *M. Perennius (Tigranus?)*. I am further indebted to the kindness of Drs. Zahn and Neugebauer for a photograph of an unsigned fragment of La Graufesenque Form 29 from Pergamon (unpublished) in the Antiquarium in Berlin. Its date is also Neronian or early Flavian, and this seems roughly correct for, or a trifle earlier than, the five Gaulish decorated bowls from Delphi (*Fouilles* V, p. 180, Figs. 767-771). Mr. T. D. Pryce also writes that he has "examined a Banassac Form 37 from Samaria," and some of the Antioch sigillata is also from Banassac.

L·S·M in an elliptoid stamp (*planta pedis?*). Beisan. Comfort-Waagé, *Beisan*, p. 222. This signature is not found at Arezzo, but cf. XI 6700, 571 (Livorno).

SAVF(ei). Alexandria. Perhaps the right reading of Iliffe, p. 46, ?SAVP

CLITVS|SAVFE(i). Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 168. Wide plate.

SECV|IDINI(?). Alexandria. Iliffe, p. 32, lists this as "Arretine" without conjecturing a restoration. There were several Gaulish potters named *Secundinus*, of whom the earliest worked at La Graufesenque, Nero-Vespasian (Oswald, *Index*, p. 286). This may be his work.

SECVNDI. Egypt. [Royal Ontario Mus., Toronto]. Comfort, *Toronto*, p. 406. Form 27. This potter worked at La Graufesenque in the period Claudius-Vespasian (Oswald, *Index*, p. 287).

C·SE|NTI.<sup>77</sup> Eleusis. III Suppl. Add. Postrem. 14203, 30, omitting interpunctuation.

Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 496.

This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 608 f., during the principate of Augustus. He also operated a branch factory in the Near East (Zahn, *Priene*, p. 445).

C·SEN(ti). Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 496, *pluries impressum*.

Ephesus (4 examples with EN ligatured). Heberdey, pp. 168 f.

Notion. Demangel-Laumonier, p. 385.

SESTI|DĀMA. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 496. Not this signature, but others of A. Sestius, are found at Arezzo. *Dama* appears at Chiusi, XI Add. 8119, 53.

PHLOGEN|A·SESTI and PHILOGE|[A·SESTI] on the same large platter of about 20 inches diameter. Corinth. Mr. M. P. Snyder, by letter. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 631, *series impressum*.

PRIAMI|SES|TI (with first S reversed). el Iblakhiya. Iliffe, p. 43, calls this stamp South Gaulish Flavian, but *Priāmus*|*A. Sesti* is found at Arezzo and Poggio Buco near Pitigliano, XI 6700, 633.

C TĒI[i. e. C. Telli. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 497. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 660.

C·TETI|PH·RO. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 485. Emend

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<sup>77</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 46.

in comparison with C·TETI|PHIPO (XI 6700, 675, Montefiascone), ·TETTI|PHIR\* (XV 5644, Rome), PHI|///|C TETTI (X 8055, 32, Pompeii), PHIER|C TETT (II 6257, 143, Emporiae).

MEN]OP|L·TETTI. Antioch. Iliffe, p. 48. Waagé notes that the last letter of the upper line is smudged and could be I, F or P.

L TETTI|SAMIA<sup>78</sup> Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 497. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 685.

SAR]IVÁ|[TET]TI. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 497.

Athens. Kumanudes.

This signature is not found at Arezzo.

C·TETT in *tabula ansata*. Athens. Kumanudes.

Athens. *Ibid.*, an example difficult to reproduce typographically, perhaps the same name; cf. XI 6700, 689 (Chiusi and elsewhere) and XV 5650 g (Rome).

*Thala(mi)*. Alexandria. Oxé, *Rev.*, emending Iliffe, pp. 35, 48.

TITI in *planta pedis*(?). Corinth, Cheliotomylos. Waagé, by letter.

A TITI with palm branch below. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 465.

C TITI|HERM(ae). Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 169.

C TITI|NĒPOT(is). Alexandria. Iliffe, p. 41, expands v. 2 as *Neroth*, and makes the same expansion for v. 1 of *Heroph|Sesti*.<sup>79</sup>

BLAND|L·TITI. Alexandria. Iliffe, pp. 43, 49, reading PLAVT|L·TITI and assigning the ware to Lezoux under Hadrian. But compare XV 5670 (3 examples from Rome).

IVDIIS|L·TI·TI. Antioch. Iliffe, p. 49. "Not Arretine clay; fine, grainy buff,"—Waagé, by letter. Are we faced with another Arretine master who moved his shop to the East?

PRINCE|PS·TITI. Salamis, Cyprus. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, p. 94.

Lx]T×THYR(si).<sup>80</sup> Samaria. *Samaria* I, p. 304, reading IXTHYB. The glaze is stated to be genuine Arretine.

Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466.

<sup>78</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 48.

<sup>79</sup> This latter signature, from the Kerameikos, is probably the same fragment as is also transcribed on Iliffe's pp. 36, 46 from Oxé, *Kerameikos*, p. 221. A similar repetition may have occurred with *M. Ser(vili) | Figuli*, once from Oxé, *ibid.*, and once from the sherd itself (Iliffe, p. 46).

<sup>80</sup> For another occurrence, see Iliffe, p. 49.



L·V·FI in *planta pedis*. Corfù [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 13. This signature is not found at Arezzo, but cf. XI 6700, 741 in *planta pedis* (Fiesole), XV 5700 (Rome), II 4970, 531.

S·V in *planta pedis*. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 169, comparing XI 6700, 742, S·V·N

P·VĒCIL|ANTIOC. Athens. Kumanudes. This signature is found at Arezzo, XI 6700, 749.

VILLI in *planta pedis*. Cyprus. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter, p. 94.

VITALII. Egypt [Royal Ontario Mus., Toronto]. Comfort, *Toronto*, p. 406. Form 27. Vitalis worked at La Graufesenque in the period Claudius-Domitian (Oswald, *Index*, p. 340).

V̄MBR in *planta pedis*. Ephesus. Heberdey, p. 169.

LVMB in *planta pedis*. Corinth, Cheliotomylos. Waagé, by letter.

L·VMB. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 485, without indicating the shape of the stamp.

Athens. Kumanudes (L·VM in *planta pedis*).

Athens, Agora. Iliffe, p. 49, identifies ?WIB and L W\ .. with L. Vibius(?), but Waagé interpreted the former as *Umbricius* (*Hesperia*, II, p. 228), which is preferable for the latter also.

This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 796.

C·VOL|VSEN.<sup>81</sup> Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466. This potter worked at Arezzo, XI 6700, 821.

L·VRB(ani). Athens, Agora. Oxé, *Rev.*, emending Iliffe's *Cosius Urappus*, p. 50.

V M C. Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 485.

XANTHI (with N reversed). Naukratis [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 18. This signature is not found at Arezzo, but cf. XI 6700, 835 (Luna, Fiesole, Livorno).

ZOILI.<sup>82</sup> Corinth. Comfort, *Corinth*, p. 498. This signature is not found at Arezzo, but cf. XI 6700, 836 (Luna, Paduleta, Perugia).

CFARP or OFARP in *planta pedis*. Corfù [Brit. Mus.]. Walters, p. 13.

LLAR or EIAR(?). Corinth. Broneer, *Corinth*, p. 466.

<sup>81</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 50.

<sup>82</sup> For other occurrences, see Iliffe, p. 53.

.CA·SEV in *planta pedis*. Corinth. Waagé, by letter.

ANTI| [?] OSPI (double-struck and fogged). Antioch. Waagé, by letter. I suspect *Ante|ros Ti*; cf. II 6257, 15, *Anter|os Tit*, XV 5669 ANTIHRO|S·L·TITI, etc., XI 6700, 698. 730, *Anteros|Titi X* (Arezzo).

.PACI. Antioch. Iliffe, p. 33. "Buff clay, unlike Gaulish,"—Waagé.

XIIXX or XXIIIX. Egypt [Royal Ontario Mus., Toronto]. Comfort, *Toronto*, p. 406. Gaulish ware of La Graufesenque.

Oxé gives two parallels from Rome for the stamp showing Victoria holding a wreath and palm branch, with the letter A in the field, figured by him in *Kerameikos*, p. 221, Abb. 3, 8. It is worth adding Kumanudes, Pl. E 40, and one each in the Columbia University Collection and at Bryn Mawr College, both unpublished.



# NORTHWESTERN AUSTRALIA AND THE QUESTION OF INFLUENCES FROM THE EAST INDIES

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SINCE THE early days of speculation on the peopling of the Australian continent the northwest coast has been frequently suggested as the region of original entry of either the aborigines themselves or of subsequent non-Australian visitors to whom have been attributed various culture traits now of major or minor significance on the continent. Two distinctly different problems thus are involved, each of which must be treated separately in any objective consideration of the theories advanced.

The theory that the Australians first reached their continent by a journey in canoes or other forms of watercraft from Timor or other islands in the Sunda chain to the northwest coast was a fairly popular one during the 19th century at which time questions of racial or cultural derivations were often answered without due regard to facts or probabilities, or in spite of them. Culture and race were confused as one and the same and whenever necessary to the arguments being advanced specific culture traits were assumed to have been in existence at the requisite time, and to have occupied the proper distributions suited to the theory being propounded. Thus if it were taken for granted that sea-going watercraft capable of reaching Australia were available in the Sunda Islands at the time the Australians migrated it was convenient to conclude that they came by the most direct route from Asia, via Timor to the northwest coast.<sup>1</sup>

In more recent years evidence which throws definite doubts on such a theory of maritime migration has been slowly accumulating. In the first place it seems quite likely that Australians have inhabited their continent since early Recent times, if not since late in the Pleistocene period, and we can be quite dubious that watercraft capable of crossing from Timor to Australia, whatever the

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<sup>1</sup> Such an opinion has been expressed by several early writers, for instance, Eyre, II, p. 405 (1845), who specified 12°-16°S. as the area of arrival; Prichard, V, p. 214 (1847); Smyth, I, p. lxiii (with some reservations) (1878); Curr, I, p. 190 ff. (1886); Mathew, (a late wave) (1889).

distance may have been under changed conditions of sea level, were employed anywhere in the world at that early time. Indeed the available data suggest that craft suited for distant journeys on the open sea may have been unknown in the major islands of the East Indies until possibly late in the first millennium B. C.<sup>2</sup>

Secondly, in so far as the Australians themselves are concerned, there is no evidence to indicate that they ever were seafarers. Ocean going craft not only are still unknown to them but the most advanced types of craft they possess, the ordinary dugout and the dugout with outrigger attachment, were introduced into North Australia and the Cape York Peninsula respectively, apparently within the past 150 to 200 years. We can trace the 600 mile westward diffusion of the dugout from Clarence Strait, North Australia, to the Prince Regent River, Western Australia, since 1837, and also the recent spread of the triangular raft which preceded the dugout along this coast.<sup>3</sup> Thus, except for crude rafts or swimming logs, there is no evidence to suggest that the aborigines of the northwestern coastal regions ever were acquainted with watercraft until the twentieth century. For the remainder of the western and southern coasts of the continent as far east as the mouth of the Murray River in South Australia no watercraft of any description are reported for ocean use. Nor is any employed on the rivers, except crude rafts or swimming logs in a very few localities.

It seems useless to discuss the point whether the Australians of this extensive western and southern coastal region may once have possessed watercraft. It is true that much of the western coastal country is not particularly inviting to seafarers, yet there are numerous regions where a knowledge of watercraft would be such an advantage, particularly in view of the forbidding hinterland of much of Western Australia, that there can be no logical basis for a supposition of watercraft degeneration or extinction in this region. The ready acceptance of the dugout canoe along the Kimberley coast within the past few years and its rapid assimilation in the

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<sup>2</sup> All early migrants into the Pacific, the Tasmanians, Australians, Pygmies, Melanesians, and Indonesians seem to have confined their attentions to the more or less contiguously distributed islands few of which require more than 50 miles of sea voyaging at present sea level. See Davidson, 1937 B.

<sup>3</sup> See Davidson, 1935 A, p. 45.

local culture indicates the importance which watercraft can have in this region if known. Indeed the raft and dugout have become so thoroughly integrated in certain regions where it is known that they were lacking a few years ago that if historical records of their recent introduction were not available some, on the basis of their close integration in local culture at the present time, might be inclined to argue for a much greater antiquity.

Porteus<sup>4</sup> recently has revived the theory of an original landing of aborigines on the northwest coast and even specifies the area between the 15th and the 20th degrees of latitude as the place of entry. His main argument is that if the aborigines first reached fertile northeastern Australia they never would have moved into the inhospitable central and western regions of the continent. The fallacies of such an argument are numerous. In the first place we have no right to assume that the desert regions were always as inhospitable as they are at present. Indeed, the circumstantial evidence of man's antiquity in Australia coupled with geological and palaeontological considerations suggest that man may have occupied what is now desert country at a time when climatic conditions were much more favorable. Secondly, we cannot admit that population had not reached its optimum in the congenial eastern area as he claims. It seems not unlikely, generally speaking, that the native population in all parts of Australia had reached the maximum possible under the Australian system of economy. Thirdly, and his point seems to be generally misunderstood, it is we, not the aborigines of the desert regions, who regard their habitat as unfavorable. The exigencies of life require a smaller population spread over a larger territory but this is considered normal by them. The inhabitants of the interior do not think in terms of the Queensland coast or of other more favorable regions unknown to them but only in terms of conditions among their more or less immediate neighbors who occupy at best only a slightly different environment. Any people tends to regard as satisfactory a region which furnishes sufficient food to provide what to them is an abundance of food in good years, a bare sufficiency in poor years. Furthermore, in view of the fact that the aboriginal population in northwestern Australia seems to have been from 15 to 40 times more dense than in the

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<sup>4</sup> Porteus, 1931; reiterated 1937.

desert interior<sup>5</sup> one could employ Porteus' logic to maintain that if Australians arrived on the northwest coast they would have been no more likely to move inland than if they had first gone to the northeast, but could have absorbed the small percentage of excess population now found in the interior deserts or through the prevailing custom of infanticide could have maintained population at the saturation point, as in historic times, thus eliminating any need of migration into the interior. Porteus hypothecates the routes of ethnic movements not only for the northwest but for the entire continent. Since it probably never will be possible to throw light on such movements, even though we could determine the approximate antiquity and could secure evidence of climatic conditions of that early time, his map can be considered worthless.

The most recent discussion of a northwest coast entry is that of Haddon who follows the suggestions of Taylor that in late Pleistocene times the continental shelf of Australia extended to within 80 miles of Timor. That the ocean level was lower during the glacial periods than at present is generally accepted; however, in order to reduce the gap between Australia and Timor to 80 miles a drop of 600 feet in ocean surface must be postulated, whereas probably few geologists would be willing to admit that the evidence indicates a change in sea level of more than from 200 to 300 feet. But long before the ocean surface could have dropped to the 600 foot level it would have been increasingly easy for man to have moved on from island to island until New Guinea was reached. New Guinea is now separated from the Cape York Peninsula, Australia, by only the 100 miles of Torres Strait, which not only is studded with islands but is only 60 feet deep.

Thus there seem to be no good grounds so far advanced for the belief that migrating Australians arrived on the northwest coast from the Sunda islands. This leaves as the only plausible avenue of migration the New Guinea-Torres Strait-Cape York Peninsula route to which the early writers seem to have objected principally because Australians had not been identified in New Guinea. How-

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<sup>5</sup> Radcliffe-Brown, p. 688, estimates that the density of population in the Gascoyne area is 1 to 5 square miles. It is probable that in the Kimberley there was 1 person to 10 square miles. It seems likely that between 150 and 200 square miles are required to provide subsistence for one aborigine in the desert areas.

ever, Howells recently has summarized the information to show that mixed Australoids are not only present in New Guinea but in other parts of Melanesia. This finding, combined with the probable relatively great antiquity of occupation of Australia, the probable relatively recent appearance of sea-going watercraft in the East Indies and Melanesian areas, and the unlikelihood of any sufficiently narrow strait between Australia and Timor within the proper time interval to warrant the suspicion that such a strait could have been crossed on crude craft, would seem to establish the Cape York route of entry as the only plausible one which the early Australians could have followed.

The question whether subsequent peoples came to the north-western coastal districts, either by accident or by design, to settle in that region or to visit the area, introduce blood or elements of culture and then return to their home lands, is quite another problem which at the moment admits of no satisfactory conclusion. The theory that one or more such movements have occurred has been advanced variously by several of the older writers.<sup>6</sup> But none has presented a strong case for his inductions and in most instances the arguments given are decidedly weak or fanciful.

In order to demonstrate that non-Australians have come to northwestern Australia we need to find either non-Australian skeletal remains or evidence to show definite miscegenation in the present population, or localized specific elements of culture which can be identified with appearances in some foreign region. As is well known, Australian racial features are marked by such general homogeneity that any intermixture with other races should be either obvious in first or second generations of mixed bloods or demonstrable by statistical analysis for later generations, providing the miscegenation is more or less general in a given region. Apparently no one would insist that there has been a large scale migration of non-Australians to these shores but at the most only small groups of occasional visitors. Thus it can be rightfully maintained that if a very small hypothetical non-Australian group arrived in northwestern Australia several generations ago they may have been so completely absorbed that indications of their presence in the present population might not be detectable. Hence it follows that the lack

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<sup>6</sup> For various theories and discussions see Mathew, 1889, 1893, 1910; Curr, I, p. 190 ff.; Howitt, 1898, 1904, p. 1 et seq.

of definite indications of mixture cannot in itself be considered actual proof that non-Australians have never visited the northwest.

Various claims of the presence of natives showing slight indications of Malay features have been advanced, but as yet they have not been substantiated by anthropometric studies. In view of the fact that the aborigines in coastal North Australia, where Malays are known to have visited over a period of several generations, show virtually no indications of intermixture, we cannot pass judgment on the validity of such statements for the northwest until detailed investigations in this area have been conducted. At the moment claims of foreign racial features in this part of the continent must be regarded as still unsupported by tangible evidence, but we have no reason to believe that foreign visitors, if they actually came, had any profound effect on Australian racial features.

Australian culture also is characterized by homogeneity in general, although there are various distinguishing traits of local or sectional provenience which serve to set off the culture of one part of the continent from that in another. The presence of localized traits in the southern half of the continent would generally be considered without hesitation as examples of local origin, for the question of foreign introduction along the southern coast would hardly arise. For the northern coast, on the other hand, the possibility of non-Australian derivations cannot be ignored; hence we should examine those aspects of culture peculiar to the northwest with the view of determining whether there is evidence either to demonstrate or to suggest their local origin, or to furnish proof for, or to warrant the suspicion of, foreign derivation.

As known at the moment there are only a few culture traits which are prominent in the northwest but lacking in, or at least not reported as present for, other parts of the continent. These include: (1) bark buckets; (2) the angular meander design; (3) *wondjina* paintings; (4) profusely decorated pendants of pearl shell; (5) stone artifacts of phallic shape; and (6) stone spearheads manufactured by pressure flaking.

However, none of these traits is of such a character *per se* that suspicions of a non-Australian origin come to mind. If they were found localized in some southern district, there undoubtedly would be little hesitancy in regarding each of them as an example of local invention or of local elaboration from some simpler and more



widespread appearance. It is principally because they are confined to the northwestern area within about 350 miles of Timor that the possibility of foreign derivation warrants consideration. However, it is important to note that on the basis of available information we either have definite suggestions that these traits are indigenous to the northwest or no evidence which would indicate a derivation from some overseas region.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> *Bark buckets.* These pail-like containers of paperbark seem to be restricted to the Kimberley coast. At present there is no evidence either to suggest a point of origin outside of this coastal area or to indicate their antiquity in this region. Since they are not reported from the East Indies, it seems not unlikely that they are of local origin in the Kimberley region. For a more detailed discussion see Davidson, 1937 C.

*Angular meander design.* This designation has been applied to a varying series of designs ranging from an interlocking key pattern to ordinary zigzags which merge with herring-bone designs, also present in the same region. Aside from an occasional application in paint to such objects as boabab nuts the angular meander motif is strictly associated with the incising of hard surfaces, as hardwood shields and pearl shell, which by their nature would be more difficult to engrave with rounded designs. Although it is conceivable that a perfected interlocking key pattern could have been introduced into this area and subsequently combined with old local designs to produce varying appearances it also seems apparent that the more perfected designs could have been developed from old herring-bone and zigzag patterns applied in the incising technique. Neither angular meanders nor interlocking-key designs have been found, in so far as I am aware, in nearby Malaysia. Hence, at the moment, we have no reason to suspect a foreign derivation. For details on Australian design motifs see Davidson, 1937 A.

*Wondjina paintings.* The Kimberley district is the center of a most impressive type of rock painting called by local aborigines *wondjina*. Anthropomorphic in character these paintings consist of a face and bust and occasionally of a torso, arms, and legs. The face is characterized by wide open eyes and a nose, but the mouth and chin are consistently lacking. Surrounding the sides and top of the head is a horseshoe-shaped band from which fine radiating lines emanate. The body, when shown, usually is filled with vertical solid lines or lines of dashes.

First noticed in 1838, this type of painting has since been subject to endless discussion by various writers who have attempted to demonstrate the derivation as Sumatran, as Malayan-Sumatran, as belonging to "Red Sea Merchants," as Chaldaeo-Phoenician, as representative of Śiva (Mahādeva) of the Hindus. In some instances such theories are based upon the various interpretations of a few marks, assumed to be alphabetic characters, associated with a single painting, seen in 1838, of which we have no photograph but merely a sketch. The band and radiating lines

In addition there are no traits of more extensive appearance on the continent, such as the various initiation ceremonies, types of social organization, weapons or other utilitarian objects, the distributions of which or the known directions of diffusion of which suggest in any way that they were introduced along the north-

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surrounding the head have been regarded as halos; the lines on the body were assumed to represent clothing.

Recent ethnological investigations, however, have shown that these paintings are thoroughly integrated in aboriginal culture. Each year the paintings are retouched during important religious ceremonies associated with food increase rites and the return of the wet season. The "halos" are identified as head-bands portrayed in a flat and circumscribing position because of the lack of knowledge of the principal of perspective. The radiating lines portray the hair. The marks and lines on the body represent falling rain or the chest. Stylistically these paintings are similar to appearances found throughout the continent and characterized by (1) lack of mouth and chin, (2) hair shown by lines radiating from the scalp, and (3) lines on the body to show body decorations. Hence we have no reason to regard the *wondjina* appearances as anything other than the local elaboration of a style of portrayal with widespread distribution on the continent.

Of quite a different character are some paintings along the Prince Regent River, Kimberley district, *sketched* and *painted* but not photographed by Bradshaw. These portrayals show considerable divergences from the usual run of Australian rock paintings but since the European character of Bradshaw's reproductions may be the result of distortions of the originals we should not give further consideration to these paintings until photographs are available. For illustrations and a more detailed discussion of the *wondjina* paintings and those by Bradshaw, see Davidson, 1936 A.

*Profusely decorated pendants of pearl shell.* Typical of the Kimberley coast are pendants of pearl shell elaborately decorated with incised designs, the furrows of which are rubbed with red or black pigment to give a vivid contrast to the natural luster of the shell. There seems to be no reason for regarding this appearance as other than indigenous. Undecorated pearl shell ornaments are found variously in northern Australia, hence the Kimberley specimens differ principally in that they are profusely decorated. The designs employed are widespread in the Kimberley area, inland as well as coastal, and are associated with various other objects. Since pearl shells are particularly abundant in the Broome region, one of the famous commercial pearl shell centers of the world, it should not be considered surprising that local aborigines evinced an interest in this beautiful material and applied local designs to it. Any theory that foreigners introduced the appreciation of the obviously striking qualities of this material cannot be given credence without tangible supporting evidence. For further discussion and illustrations see Davidson, 1937 A.

*Stone artifacts of phallic shape.* In the northwestern area in general

western coast. Of those which seem to be of non-Australian origin, the Cape York Peninsula is consistently indicated as the point of entry. Those which apparently are of Australian origin seem to be still lacking in several coastal districts in the northwestern

several stone artifacts of phallic shape have been collected. Mjöberg, p. 86 f., describes three specimens. Other examples are in the Western Australian Museum. Characterized by a completely polished surface, these nicely made objects stand forth in decided contrast to the partially polished stone axes of this region, the only major class of stone artifacts to which the polishing technique is locally applied. At first glance the superior quality of workmanship shown in the phallic stones and the fact that they seem to be restricted to the Northwest might induce one to suspect a non-Australian character. However, when the various available facts are taken into consideration it seems quite clear that these objects represent an indigenous development in the Kimberley area. First, their manufacture is reported for the Upper Levarynga district, although this fact does not prove that they are indigenous in concept. However, most examples are characterized by subincision which in its most extreme application is performed by slitting the penis from the meatus to the scrotum to lay open the urethra. This operation is a widespread initiatory rite in Australia but is lacking in the East Indies. From a technical point of view it should be noted that since partially ground stone axes in the Kimberley appear to be the results of a relatively recent diffusion from North Australia, it would seem that the phallomorphs may represent a very recent local elaboration in stone working, the antiquity of which cannot be greater than that of the introduction of the polishing technique. Thus, although satisfactory information is not available there are suggestions that these objects may have been developed even within historic times, in which case the question of foreign derivation would not arise. It is not known whether they occur archaeologically. However if it could be shown that specimens from stratigraphically lower deposits lacked subincision or preceded partially ground stone axes the question of non-Australian origin would need to be reconsidered.

*Stone spearheads manufactured by pressure flaking.* Also confined to the Kimberley area is the manufacture of stone spearheads by a pressure flaking technique, although as the result of trade the distribution of use of these spearheads is much more extensive. Since the archaeology of this region is unknown, we can say nothing about the antiquity of this class of object or the possibility that the pressure flaking technique was previously associated with some other type of artifact such as adze points. On the basis of present evidence the Kimberley type spearhead seems to be manufactured only by inland tribes who barter their product to surrounding areas. The development appears to be quite recent and unless subsequent archaeological investigation demonstrates older appearances in the coastal country, we will have no alternative to considering the industry as of local origin. For details see Davidson 1934, 1935 B.

regions and to have diffused from interior areas to those coastal localities in which they are found.<sup>8</sup>

At the present time the only specific evidence which indicates contact between the natives of the northwestern coastal districts and non-Australian visitors consists of three examples of highly and completely polished chisels which have been collected in three widely separated localities in Western Australia (Malcolm, Warrawoona, and Yandil Station).<sup>9</sup> Beautifully executed in gabbro and greenstone, these three odd specimens, which differ considerably in size and shape, do not conform even remotely with any type of artifact now known from any other part of the continent. Equally strange is their appearance in regions where partially ground stone axes seem to be lacking or to be of very recent introduction. The nearest class of objects with which the specimens can be compared, although there are numerous differences in details, are the stone axes described by Heine-Geldern for the East Indies and southeastern Asia.

It is important to note that at the moment we know of only these three specimens from widely separated localities. We have no definite evidence to show that any of the three was made in the locality where found or indeed that the specimens are even Australian in manufacture. We have no information to suggest whether these artifacts are employed by the aborigines and integrated in local culture or are merely "curios" which came to the areas where found as the result of barter with other tribes. If these specimens represent classes of objects made and used by Australian tribes, it is very strange, indeed, that other specimens have not come to light.

For the moment, therefore, it seems desirable to regard these three specimens as apparently of non-Australian origin and to consider the East Indies as a likely place of manufacture. Such a derivation, however, by no means permits us to assume that they came to Australia in prehistoric times. With modern vessels constantly plying between the northern ports of Western Australia and the Orient it is possible that these objects were secured as curios in the East Indies and traded to the aborigines by sailors in recent years and that they eventually were passed on from tribe to tribe

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<sup>8</sup> For discussions on the diffusions of various Australian traits see the papers by the author on special subjects, as listed in the Bibliography to this paper.

<sup>9</sup> For illustrations, see Davidson, 1935 B, 1938.

until they reached the localities in which they were collected. On the other hand it would also be plausible to suspect that they may have found their way to Western Australia by similar agencies in prehistoric times if it could be shown that Malays or others actually came to the area between Northwest Cape and Broome in that period. It is to be hoped archaeological investigation will throw some light on this interesting problem.

Taking all facts and factors into consideration it must be recognized that we have as yet no specific reason to demonstrate that non-Australians have ever settled in the northwestern portions of Australia or exerted any noticeable cultural influence upon the aborigines of this region. At the same time we cannot deny that there may have been occasional visitors, especially within the past few centuries, although that is still sheer conjecture. Our data certainly are most emphatic in denying that any major aspect of culture came to the continent in this region, and at the moment we have found no reason to believe that even minor culture traits of local provenience in the northwest are to be attributed to foreign visitors. In all instances we have noted that an indigenous origin is either definitely suggested or indicated as more plausible than a foreign derivation on the basis of the facts at hand. The only tangible suggestions of non-Australian derivations in culture are the three odd stone chisels. If it could be determined that they were made in Australia and are representative of a great class of objects, the question of foreign influences in industry would be of prime interest. At the moment they cannot be ascribed to any intensive foreign influence in culture, but at most can be attributed to chance foreign contacts, historic or prehistoric as the case may be.

#### THE MALAYS IN NORTH AUSTRALIA

By way of contrast to the situation in Western Australia where, as we have seen, there is no satisfactory evidence of foreign influences, let us turn to North Australia, formerly known as the Northern Territory, where Malays are known to have visited. When Sir Matthew Flinders, the first European to explore the coasts of this region, arrived in 1802, he found Malays from Timor Laut or their camp sites in what are now the Wellesley Islands, Pellew Islands, Arnhem Land and the English Company Islands.<sup>10</sup> Moti-

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<sup>10</sup> Flinders, II, p. 172 et seq.

vated by the desire to secure local products such as trepang, sandal wood, and pearl shell, which were traded westward to reach eventually the Chinese market, these sailors and entrepreneurs came to North Australia annually, remained for several months, and then returned to their homes.

The influences of these Malay traders upon the aborigines of northeastern North Australia have been well described by Warner. Coming as annual traders they did not establish any permanent settlements and apparently never brought their own women. Although such a situation would ordinarily imply that the visitors would seek temporary alliances with native women, these seem to have been very seldom the case. Not only are the tribes in this area extremely pugnacious in questions regarding their women, but it seems that the Malays themselves recognized that amicable and profitable business relations with the aborigines were impossible if the hostility of the latter was aroused. In spite of the fact that some miscegenation took place, it is interesting and important to note that out of several hundreds of Murngin natives Warner in 1929 found only two individuals who showed any definite traces of Malay ancestry. For Groote Eylandt on the other hand Tindale found evidence of Malay paternity somewhat more pronounced.

Malay influences in aboriginal culture for the most part seem to have been extremely weak. Many of their introductions were trade goods which, since they could not be produced locally, were at best of temporary character. Such goods include molasses, tobacco (although natives, at least in recent times, are acquainted with various wild native tobaccos), cloth for sarongs and belts. Of somewhat more lasting value were knives and tomahawks.

There are a few traits, however, which have become integrated in Murngin culture. These include the dugout canoe (with mast and pandanus sail), the Malay type of pipe, cutting of the beard in Van Dyke fashion and an appreciation of metals (nails for fish-hooks, etc). The pods of the Malay tamarind trees which grow wild around old Malay camps now furnish the aborigines an additional source of food.

In social culture Malay influences are even less marked but nevertheless are discernible. Many, but by no means all, males in the coastal tribes speak a pidgin Malay; many personal and place names are of Malay origin; the aborigines now perform a mast-

raising ceremony similar to part of the Malay ceremony of the same type; a mourning ceremony is of Malay derivation; and there are various additional fragmentary traits such as folk tales and the like.

This summary of Malay influences in northeastern Arnhem Land is instructive in several respects. This region is known to have been visited by Malays annually for about a century. The relations between the Malays and the aborigines seem to have been fairly amicable. Yet the cultural influences of the former on the whole are quite negligible and are confined entirely to the coastal tribes. At the same time we must recognize that there is no confusion in differentiating the Malay elements from the aboriginal. Both can be clearly ascertained.

Although the Malays undoubtedly explored along the northern coasts in search of natural resources suited to their trading interests, it appears that they found no area which compared favorably with northeastern Arnhem Land and Groote Eylandt. At least we have no data at present to show that they returned annually, or at any time in large numbers, to other parts of the northern coasts. How far east and west of Arnhem Land they explored or occasionally visited cannot be stated, but it appears that the farther from Arnhem Land, either east or west, the less are the indications of their former presence. For instance, it is known that they visited Melville and Bathurst Islands but their influences there were few. Their relations with the natives of these islands apparently were never friendly, which fact may partly account for the lack of prominent influences in this area; nevertheless, it is possible if not probable that these islands were not far from the western geographical limits of the Australian coast as known to the Malays who came to Arnhem Land. Although the inhabitants of Melville and Bathurst Islands were acquainted with tomahawks when the Europeans arrived,<sup>11</sup> it is important to note that even in recent years the dugout canoe has not succeeded in replacing the aboriginal bark canoe at Melville Island, whereas on Bathurst Island dugouts were extremely uncommon as late as 1911.<sup>12</sup> Since dugouts in 1837 were not known west of Clarence Strait, which separates these islands from the mainland, but since that time have diffused 600 miles westward as the result of aboriginal and not Malay activities, it may be that the use of dugouts on Melville Island is as much if

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<sup>11</sup> King, I, pp. 111, 121.

<sup>12</sup> Basedow, pp. 303-305.

not more the result of recent influences from the aborigines of the mainland than the result of Malay contacts. In other words it seems clear that certain elements of Malay culture which have become integrated in aboriginal culture in Arnhem Land seem to have spread to many localities which Malays are not known to have visited, as well as to various places where Malay visits were infrequent or of minor significance.

It cannot be doubted that some Malays may have journeyed westward perhaps as far as Cambridge Gulf, but we have no evidence to show that they went farther. Certainly it would seem that they did not reach the western Kimberley coast, for in view of their great interest in pearl shell we would expect to find them in even greater numbers there than in Arnhem Land if they had ever chanced to reach the former locality.

That Arnhem Land was the general center of Malay activities in North Australia, rather than just one of several regions of temporary occupation, seems also indicated by the natural factors which governed their voyages. The northwest monsoon in the Timor Laut region blows directly to Arnhem Land and according to statements given to Flinders it was this wind which in driving one of their prows across the Arafuru Sea had led to the discovery of North Australia. Apparently they followed the same route each year and voyaged east and west along the coast from an Arnhem Land base.

The beginning of the Malay excursions to North Australia, according to one of the chiefs, Pobassoo by name, met by Flinders, was about 1780. This informant, who commanded six prows, had made six or seven voyages to Australia and claimed to have been one of the first to come. How truthful his statement may be we have no satisfactory means of determining. That Malays may have been acquainted with northern Australia in earlier times would not be surprising since they were able navigators in the East Indies. At the same time it must be recognized that the islands with which they were acquainted in home waters are quite close together, that they seldom were required to cover distances out of sight of land equal to that from Timor Laut to Arnhem Land, and that such distances represented short cuts between islands well known to them, which they probably had formerly visited by more circuitous but safer coastwise voyaging. We have no evidence to indicate that





Fig. 1. Jade statue found in Darwin, North Australia, in 1879 during excavations for a road (from Worsnop).  
Height—about 4½ in.

the Malays sailed very far eastward along the southern coast of New Guinea which was within easy reach from Timor Laut; hence it seems not incredible that the Malays may not have known of any lands southeast of Timor Laut until relatively recent times. Perhaps Pobassoo was in error in attributing the Malay discovery of Arnhem Land to about 1780. On the other hand we have no reason to believe that the development of Malay trade and influences in North Australia requires the allowance of a greater time period. Certainly at the moment we have no evidence which would lead us to assume that the Malays had any interest in, or that they even knew of, Australia many generations before Flinders' time. Nor have we any satisfactory proof as yet to demonstrate that any other non-Australian people visited North Australia in pre-European times. If such visits took place, the evidence for them either has not been presented or is insufficient for this conclusion.

Of particular interest in this respect is a small Chinese jade statue found in Darwin, North Australia, in 1879, during excavation for a road (Fig. 1). Reported as coming from a depth of about four feet in the roots of a large banyan tree<sup>13</sup> it would seem at first glance that it could not have been lost by Chinese laborers who had been brought to the region in 1874. On the other hand since the excavators apparently had no training or experience in archaeology they probably would have been unable to recognize a cache if for some unknown reason the object had been secreted in the soil beneath the tree at some time between 1874 and 1879. The likelihood that the object may have been cached seems enhanced by the fact that no other artifacts were found with it, nor were any evidences of occupational debris reported.

The statue itself throws no light on the question of its presence in North Australia or of its antiquity there. In so far as it is possible to draw conclusions solely from examining a photograph, the discernible features suggest that it belongs to either the late T'ang or early Sung dynasty,<sup>14</sup> that is at the earliest late in the 9th century or at the latest early in the 11th century of the Christian era.

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<sup>13</sup> Worsnop, p. 13.

<sup>14</sup> An opinion kindly given by Mr. H. H. F. Jayne. Examination of the specimen probably would permit a more accurate determination of the period of manufacture.

How it reached Australia is the problem. There seem to be only three reasonable hypotheses; that it was brought either by (1) sailors of unknown but non-Malay nationality, (2) Malays who visited North Australia during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (or earlier), or (3) the Chinese laborers who arrived in Darwin in 1874.

At the present time there is no evidence to indicate that Chinese or other non-Malay sailors ever reached North Australia in pre-historic times. Indeed it has not been established that the Chinese had any direct knowledge of Timor until recent centuries, although they probably knew of it by name in the 13th century and possibly in the 12th century. Before this period, it appears that Chinese junks seldom sailed east of Java, Borneo, and the Philippine Islands, and for later times it seems not unlikely that visits to such distant islands as Timor were never more than casual.<sup>15</sup> For

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<sup>15</sup> I am indebted to Dr. H. Y. Feng for information from old Chinese sources on this point. It is interesting to note that the Chinese apparently knew of Java early in the middle of the 3rd century, A.D., under the name of *Chu-pu* although the earliest authentic account of the island seems to be that of Fahsien (5th century) who used the Sanskrit name of *Yeh-p'o-t'i* (*Yavadvipa*). *Shō-po* also was employed for Java in 433 and 435 A.D. when Javanese visited the Chinese court. There is no information to suggest that the Chinese were directly acquainted with the islands east of Java at this time. In the *Lin-wai-tai-t'a* (answers to queries about Canton and the countries beyond, by Chou Chü-fu, 11th century) is mention of a kingdom of women east of Java where the ocean flows downward and, still further to the East, of the island of *Wei-lü*, the end of the habitable world. The remarks about these localities are fanciful and suggest that the Chinese secured their information by hearsay. The account relates of savage cannibal robbers known as *Ma-lo-nu* southeast of Java. The earliest mention of Borneo, *Po-ni* (probably North Borneo), seems to be in the 9th century book of *Man-shu*, Book of Barbarians, by Fang-cho, although direct or indirect Chinese influences undoubtedly had reached this island long before this time.

A suggestion that the Chinese may have known of Timor during the 12th century is found in *Chu-fan-ch'ih* (Accounts of various foreign peoples, by Chao Ju-kua) in the mention of *Ti-mōn*. The identification is not quite certain, for *Ti-mōn* is said to be near *P'o-ni* (Borneo). However, Timor was definitely known during the Ming period (1368-1628) by the names of *Chi-mōn* and *Ki-li-ti-mōn* and was considered as a dependency of Java. There seem to be no satisfactory data to indicate that Chinese junks visited Timor during the 12th and 13th centuries and no direct evidence to suggest that any direct contacts in the immediately succeeding centuries were ever

instance, even in Flinders' time (1802-1803), as already noted, the Chinese seem seldom to have sailed east of Macassar where the Malay traders met them. However, even though they occasionally may have visited Timor there is no reason at present for suspecting that they ventured further east. Thus it would seem unlikely that they could have brought the statue to North Australia in pre-European times.

That the Malays may have been responsible for the appearance of the statue in North Australia can be admitted as a possibility although there is no satisfactory supporting evidence and certain considerations oppose this hypothesis. In the first place they apparently did not frequent the Darwin region, although they probably visited there at various times. In Arnhem Land where the Malay camps were concentrated no Chinese objects of any description have been found. Certainly the odds are very great against the probability that the one object of Chinese derivation which has come to light would have been lost or buried only at a place infrequently visited. However, if we could assume that the Malays are responsible for the appearance of the statue in North Australia, the available evidence would suggest that they brought it in a relatively recent period. As already pointed out there seem to have been few direct contacts between Timor and China until relatively recent centuries. If we should think that the statue has been traded from group to group in the East Indies, it would seem necessary to allow at least a few centuries for it to reach Timor or other nearby islands. Thus it probably could not have reached Timor by such indirect agencies at the very earliest before the 14th or 15th centuries. This likelihood, coupled with the apparently relatively recent voyages of Malays to North Australia, would seem to indicate that the date of arrival in North Australia was probably quite late.

The possibility that the modern Chinese in Darwin are responsible for the statue must not be underestimated. Whether nineteenth century migrating Chinese laborers would be likely to possess a statue seven or more centuries old cannot be profitably discussed. Surely the possession of an old Chinese statue by modern Chinese

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more than casual. F. Hirth and W. S. Rockhill, who translated *Chu-fan-ch'ih* (12th century), St. Petersburg, 1911, p. 157, believe *Si-lung* refers to Serang and Ceram but this opinion has not yet been substantiated by other evidence.

seems more likely than the possession of such an object by natives of Timor or some other distant region. The very fact that the statue came to light in a settlement already containing several hundred Chinese undoubtedly may impress many individuals as hardly a coincidence. However, if it could be shown that Chinese objects of a kindred type or of similar antiquity are not infrequently found in the eastern islands of the East Indies, the possibility that the Malays brought the statue to the Darwin area would be considerably increased. But even so, such a possibility would not necessarily indicate that it has reposed in Australian soil since much before the arrival of European explorers in this region.

### CONCLUSIONS

On the basis of evidence available at the present time the question of foreign influences on the northwestern coast of Australia can be summarized as follows:

1. The theory that the Australians originally came to Australia via the northwestern coast not only cannot be supported by any direct or indirect evidence but all considerations vigorously oppose such a possibility.

2. There is no satisfactory evidence to indicate that any major trait in Australian culture was introduced via the northwestern coast.

3. There is no evidence to demonstrate that any minor culture trait localized in the northwest is of non-Australian derivation, nor have any reasons been presented to warrant the supposition that the character of any local trait necessarily suggests a foreign origin, although it is to be admitted that conclusive proof of the indigenous origin of certain traits has not been clearly established.

4. There are no data to indicate that Malays or any other peoples to the west regularly visited any part of Australia much before the end of the 18th century. If Australia was visited by them in earlier times we are led to believe that such visits apparently were quite casual and infrequent. At least we have no evidence to indicate any perceptible foreign influence on Australian race or culture prior to the latter half of the 18th century.

5. The only satisfactory evidence of foreign visitors to the northwest coast are three stone chisels which presumably come from the

East Indies but we have no facts at hand which establish a likely date of introduction and at the moment it seems no more likely that they came in prehistoric times than within the last century.

6. The only satisfactory explanations for the presence of the small Chinese jade statue found archaeologically in Darwin in 1879 are that it was brought by Chinese migrants in 1874 and buried by them, or that it came in the custody of Malays who had secured it by trade and who buried it or lost it on some visit in relatively recent times.

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 AA          American Anthropologist  
 APS        American Philosophical Society  
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 JRAI       Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute  
 O          Oceania  
 PMH        Peabody Museum of Harvard University  
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## "LUKE" AND PAUL

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THAT THE AUTHOR of Luke—Acts had no knowledge of the Pauline epistles is assumed today as axiomatic by most New Testament critics. Modern introductions either ignore the matter or dismiss it with a sentence. To question the truth of the axiom is to risk the charge of belonging to the lunatic fringe of criticism. The Tübingen school took the dependence of Acts upon the Pauline letters for granted, in Sabatier's happy phrase, as "une sorte de thèse qui n'a pas besoin de démonstration." Zeller assumed it without argument. Overbrook cited Acts 9: 19-30; 15: 1-33; 18: 24-28 as sufficient evidence. Jacobsen<sup>1</sup> sought at some length to prove that the first twelve chapters of Acts were built up from I Corinthians and Galatians; H. Schulze<sup>2</sup> argued that Paul's speech at Miletus was verbally dependent upon Paul's letters, particularly I Thessalonians. W. Soltau<sup>3</sup> examined all the speeches of Acts and concluded that the speech at Ephesus (Miletus) depended upon I Thes. 2-4; that at Athens upon Rom. 1: 11, 14; and that the so-called Apostolic Decrees were based on or reflected I Cor. 6 and 8-10. Weizsäcker had earlier devoted several pages to the contention "that the narrative (in Acts 15) is in the main taken from the letter to the Galatians is supported by the circumstance, that the picture given by it is distinct in all those features which it has in common with the letter, but that wherever it goes beyond its authority, it is either confined to generalities, or seeks to make the common element clear in the style of an expositor."<sup>4</sup>

In the reaction to the Tübingen reconstruction of early Christianity the pendulum swung to an equal extreme. Among other discredited views was this, that the author of Acts had used the epistles. Apparently it was not felt that it was necessary to argue the point. To be sure, Sabatier wrote a twenty-five page article,<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte* 1885.

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Studien und Kritiken* 73 (1900), pp. 110-125.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschr. für neut. Wiss.* (1903), pp. 128-154.

<sup>4</sup> *The Apostolic Age* (Engl. Transl.), vol. I, pp. 209 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliothèque de l'école des hautes études*, vol. I, 1889, pp. 205-229.



"L'auteur du livre des Actes des Apôtres a-t-il connu et utilisé dans son récit les épîtres de Saint Paul?" in which he reached a negative conclusion. Although Zahn considered it "self-evident, but at first thought strange, . . . that Luke did not use as sources the letters of Paul,"<sup>a</sup> he did consider a few alleged cases of similarity, but registered a vigorous disclaimer that Luke had made any use whatsoever of any of the epistles. Thus without any real examination of the evidence the denial of use has become as firmly established an axiom as the contrary was for the Tübingen scholars.

The reason for this is not so much that "Luke" omits much material which modern writers assume he would have used had he known it, but that he not infrequently contradicts what is said or implied in the letters. For the Tübingen scholars this constituted no problem. Acts was more or less a romance, that is, in more scholarly words, "history with a purpose." In the swing against Tübingen this was intolerable. It seemed far better, even to those who thought that "Luke" was Luke, to let him be ignorant of what Paul had said and done than to admit that he had made any deliberate alterations. But the results of synoptic criticism have made all too clear that "Luke" was perfectly ready to modify and transform his sources. This has often been obscured. "Luke," it is said, was an editor. His variations from Mark were due to his preference at those points for parallel narratives. Thus below his Passion narrative was a non-Markan account. A Perea source which carefully kept Jesus out of Perea, a Proto-Luke, an "L"—all of these were painstakingly reconstructed. It is always risky to venture a prophecy. None the less, I am inclined to hazard the guess that there will be less and less emphasis in this direction in the future. Rather, I believe, Luke will be seen—and the same is true of both Matthew and Mark—as an author, who, while utilizing sources, stood in no awe of them but felt perfectly free to modify and change them as seemed to him wise. The setting of the resurrection experience in Jerusalem instead of in Galilee will be recognized as due to the demands of the narrative he was writing, not to a special source or tradition for which he forsook Mark. The combination of the story of the anointing of Jesus with the story of Jesus at the house of Simon the Pharisee may safely be ascribed

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<sup>a</sup> *Introduction to the New Testament* (Engl. Transl.), vol. III, p. 118.

to Luke's own freedom in rewriting Mark without recourse to a hypothetical other source.

If, as seems to me demonstrable, Luke has not scrupled to rewrite Mark and Matthew—I must confess to feeling that Q is simply awaiting decent burial—I fail to see any compelling reason to doubt his readiness to alter and transform material from the Pauline letters if it suited his purpose to do it, especially if he felt that by so doing he would free Paul from some unmerited disfavor. Nor should it be neglected that some of the points of clash between the accounts in Acts and the statements of Paul are not of a kind to strike the casual reader. They are real, but they are apparent only after close and critical study. There would seem little reason to assume such an attitude of mind for Luke despite the fact that many have conjured him in the role of a modern candidate for the degree of doctor of philosophy because of his famous preface.

Once freed of the presupposition that since "*Luke*" *could* not have altered anything that Paul wrote, he therefore could not have known the letters at all, one must be struck by one patent difficulty. Obviously he was a Pauline enthusiast. Not only did he devote the latter half of Acts to Paul's adventures, but he clearly portrays him as the one who beyond all others was responsible for the establishment of Christianity as a religion for gentiles. Yet we are asked to believe that such a man was either totally unaware that this hero of his had ever written letters—where could he have lived?—or that it never occurred to him that it would be of any value to make any use of them. Yet he assures us that his writing was not unpremeditated and that he had used such information as was available. Zahn feels the force of this and seeks to meet it. His failure to use the letters proves his close acquaintance with Paul. He had been with Paul so long that he found it unnecessary to use them. The trouble with this argument is that the evidence is against it. Nothing in the so-called "external tradition" appears to be either external or tradition, but simply a series of deductions from the book itself. And the evidence of this long and intimate personal acquaintance with Paul which Zahn postulates I fail utterly to detect. Sabatier can explain Luke's failure to use the letters—he does recognize that Luke could have learned from them had he used them!—as due to the fact that he lived so near to the Apostolic Age that Paul was still simply the missionary and traveller. But

is that the impression which one gets from Acts? Furthermore, the recent attempts to give an early date for Luke-Acts and thus to place its composition shortly after Paul's death, if not actually during his lifetime, appear to me to have failed utterly, and that any date before the end of the century is most hazardous. And by that time Paul was known—for better or for worse—and his letters were coming to be read in the church services, not only in those communities to which he had written them, but more generally. How could "Luke" be ignorant of them? Why did he ignore them? He may not have had copies of them, may not have had them open on his desk as he wrote, but that he had heard them, some at least, read in church services, and knew at least imperfectly their content appears to me inescapable.

It would appear to me high time that a new and completely fresh examination of this whole question be made. It may well be that the final result will but confirm the present popular notion, although personally I seriously doubt it. In this paper I would merely indicate a few of the points that would appear to merit consideration in such a study.

1. Is it simply coincidence that the missionary journeys of Paul as sketched in Acts carry him to precisely those communities to which we have Pauline letters? To be sure, we have no letters to Athens; yet it would have been unthinkable to the author of Acts that Paul could have neglected so important a city, especially when it lay on route from Berea to Corinth. Furthermore, the clear reference to his sojourn in that city—"Wherefore when we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone" (I Thes. 3: 1)—may well have provided the setting for the story of what Paul accomplished in that city. Occasional attempts have been made to account for Paul's disparagement of human wisdom in the early chapters of I Corinthians as the reflection of his unsuccessful attempt in Athens; he had failed in his philosophy examination. Henceforth he would never try that again. But Paul did not write I Corinthians for several years after that experience. Was it still rankling in his heart? On the other hand, if "Luke" was familiar with I Corinthians, this obvious emphasis upon the superiority of the "foolishness of God" to the "wisdom of men" might well have provided him with the basis for his story of Paul's visit and speech in the city of the philosophers.

If it is objected that "Luke" gives an account of Paul's visit to Cyprus, but with no letter to Cyprus to provide the hint, a satisfactory answer may yet be found. Eduard Schwartz in his penetrating essay, "*Zur Chronologie des Paulus*,"<sup>7</sup> has stressed a point that seems to me unanswerable. If the visits to Jerusalem in Acts 11: 27-30 (cf. 12: 25) and 15: 1-35 are but one, the two journeys which follow these visits and in which Paul and Barnabas start (or plan to start) together are also one. That Paul and Barnabas quarreled in Antioch is certain;<sup>8</sup> that this was but temporary has generally been assumed. But, of course, it is sheer assumption. It appears to me by no means impossible that this quarrel was the real source for the Acts story, and that on the basis of this incident and of his knowledge that Barnabas and Mark had travelled in Cyprus<sup>9</sup> while Paul and Silas had travelled through Asia Minor into Europe he revamped the story into two journeys, on the first of which Paul and Barnabas journey together in Cyprus and later in Asia Minor, at the outset of the second quarrel over John Mark and part. Furthermore, this reconstruction by "Luke" would have a definite value for his account. He would thus have chronicled a missionary journey by Paul before the latter in Jerusalem tells "what signs and wonders God had wrought among the gentiles"<sup>10</sup> through [him]," in keeping with Gal. 2: 2—"and I laid before them the gospel which I preach among the gentiles."

In his rapid review of the events following his conversion Paul remarks that after his brief visit in Jerusalem he went "into the regions of Syria and Cilicia."<sup>11</sup> That these years were spent in zealous preaching for the new cause is clearly implied by the following verses. Unfortunately, the details of the story are not known. This fact is of the utmost importance, for the accounts in Acts also passes by this time in the regions of Syria and Cilicia in silence: "And when the brethren [*sc.* in Jerusalem] knew it, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus (9: 30), . . . "And Barnabas went forth to Tarsus to seek for Saul, and when he had found him, he brought him unto Antioch" (11: 25, 26). Is it not curious that the author of Acts passes by in silence this

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<sup>7</sup> *Nachrichten von der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Phil.-historische Klasse), 1907, pp. 269-287.

<sup>8</sup> Gal. 2: 13.

<sup>10</sup> Acts 15: 12; cf. 15: 4.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Acts 4: 36.

<sup>11</sup> Gal. 1: 21.

one period of Paul's ministry—and a long period too—for which he could get no information from the letters and summarizes it with a word <sup>12</sup> which sounds surprisingly like a paraphrase of the similar word in Galatians? <sup>13</sup> Furthermore, it is to be observed that Paul refers in this passage to having been “unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa *which were in Christ*.” Did this fondness of Paul's for the phrase “in Christ” lead the author of Acts to stress the fact that during his sojourn in Jerusalem Paul had disputed with the “Hellenists,” that is, with gentiles? <sup>14</sup>

2. There is no more perplexing verse in the whole gospel tradition than Luke 24: 34—“The Lord is risen indeed, and hath appeared to Simon.” Why is this signal event referred to so incidentally? Why is no story told of how this appearance took place? The perplexity of early Christians is still revealed by the uncertainty of the text. Some Mss. tell the story as verse 12. This, however, is clearly an interpolation from John 20: 3 ff. and not a part of the Lukan text. Another attempt was to identify this appearance with that to the two travelling to Emmaus by making the word, “saying,” their salutation to those in Jerusalem. This solution too is highly improbable. Why does Luke tantalize us in this fashion? That he deliberately refrains from telling the story known to him appears most unlikely. On the other hand, that a tradition should have come down in so bare a form is also improbable. Does not the famous catalogue of resurrection appearances in I Cor. 15 provide a reasonable explanation? The first appearance according to Paul was to Cephas, that is, to Peter. Lake suggested, “as a counsel of despair,” that the words “and hath appeared to Simon” might be regarded as later additions to the text of Luke under the influence of I Cor. 15: 5.<sup>15</sup> The difficulty is twofold: There is no textual warrant (save the variants λέγοντες—λέγοντας) for excising the verse. If this were an interpolation would not “Peter” or “Cephas” have been more natural than

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<sup>12</sup> Acts 9. 30 f.

<sup>13</sup> Gal. 1: 22-24.

<sup>14</sup> Acts 9: 29. For this use of the perplexing term “Hellenist” see Cadbury's note in *The Beginnings of Christianity*, V, pp. 59-74. I am indebted to my student, Mr. J. H. Allen, for this suggestion, which appears to me not improbable.

<sup>15</sup> *The Historical Evidence for the Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, p. 102.

"Simon?" I am inclined to see I Cor. 15: 5 not as the basis for a later interpolation but as the source of Luke's own phrase. The reason he has no story to tell of the appearance is that Paul gave him none. On the other hand, this mention of an appearance to Peter was essential to his purpose (cf. Luke 22: 31, 32 and the stories of the leadership of Peter in the early chapters of Acts).

3. In a study of the Lukan story of the Ascension<sup>16</sup> I suggested the possibility that familiarity with "a tradition, perhaps somewhat akin to that of Paul's in I Cor., that Jesus had appeared for many days," led him not only to make Paul say at Pisidian Antioch, "God raised him from the dead: and he was seen for many days of them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem" (Acts 13: 30 f.), but to revise his earlier notion that the final parting had been on the resurrection day and to substitute the story in Acts 1. I should be inclined now to feel that Paul's statement in I Cor. 15, and not "a tradition somewhat akin to it," caused "Luke" to change his opinion. Paul's repeated "then . . . then . . . then" would easily suggest "over a period of many days" and, more explicitly, the round number forty. Furthermore, Paul's word, "Whether then it be I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed" (I Cor. 15: 11), would surely suggest "who are [now?] his witnesses unto the people" (Acts 13: 31). Nor is it difficult to see why Luke made the change. He had omitted the Galilean episode at the end of the gospel through the desire to avoid back-tracking: his chronicle is of a steady advance in ever widening circles, first in Galilee, then in Jerusalem, then into gentile territory, and eventually to Rome. When they left Galilee, Jerusalem became the next centre; there was no turning back. Later, as he is assembling fresh materials for the subsequent chapters, his attention is caught by the significance of Paul's list. Failing to realize that these Pauline appearances had been of the glorified Lord from heaven, he understands them as in a resuscitated body. This gives him a fresh justification for his view that the disciples had remained in Jerusalem and a reason for the delay in the reception of the Spirit. It could not have come earlier, for, since Jesus had not ascended, the Spirit was still his.

4. Several cases of similarity of phrase deserve a word. (a) It

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<sup>16</sup> *Journal of Biblical Literature* 47 (1928), pp. 60-73.

has often been pointed out that in Acts 9: 21 Luke makes Paul use *πορθεῖν* of his attempted extermination of Christians, while Paul twice uses the same word in this not usual sense in Galatians (1: 13, 23). That examples of this usage can be found—Zahn cites Philo, *In Flaccum* 8—does not alter the fact that these are the only occurrences of the word in the New Testament: twice used by Paul in one passage, once in a passage put in his mouth by “Luke.” (b) More impressive is the parallel between Acts 7: 53 (*οἷτινες ἐλάβετε τὸν νόμον εἰς διαταγὰς ἀγγέλων*) and Gal. 3: 19 f. (*τί οὖν ὁ νόμος; τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν προσετέθη, ἄχρις ἂν ἔλθῃ τὸ σπέρμα ᾧ ἐπηγγέλται, διαταγὰς δι’ ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*). Aside from the verbal similarity is the notion that the law came through the instrumentality of angels. In the heat of writing Galatians Paul makes this rash statement. It is open to serious doubt that it really expressed his sober judgment. The improbability that such a notion would have become a part of the tradition about Paul plus the identity of phrase surely suggests dependence here. Nor is it to be overlooked that while Paul uses the phrase to disparage the law, Luke uses it as an additional reason for its dignity. (c) Perhaps the phrase *ξηλωτῆς ὑπάρχων* (Acts 22: 3; Gal. 1: 14) and the similarity between *ὁ καὶ ἐποίησαν* (Acts 11: 30) and *ὁ καὶ ἐσπούδασα αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι* (Gal. 2: 10) should be noted since they refer respectively to precisely the same incidents.

5. That the escape from Damascus “through” the wall described in Acts 9: 23-25 is the same as that referred to in II Cor. 11: 32 f. few will doubt. How much stress should be laid on the repeated phrase *διὰ τοῦ τείχους* and the fact that *χαλάζειν ἐν* is employed in both passages is hard to say. On the other hand, it would not be surprising to see Luke substitute the more common *σφυρίς* for the infrequent *σαργάνη*. To be sure, in Paul’s account it was to escape “the ethnarch under Aretas the king”—outside the walls—that he fled, while “Luke” represents it as due to the hostile Jews within the city. That “Luke’s” account is secondary is palpable. It would be a most extraordinary thing if, having become the object of Jewish wrath in Damascus, Paul had fled of all places to Jerusalem. On the other hand, my friend Mr. Allen has pointed out to me that such a modification of a narrative by “Luke” is quite in keeping with his usual desire to free Paul (and other Christians) from the suspicions of having incurred

official displeasure. It was always the Jews who had hampered and hounded Paul. I think the point is well made.

6. Regarding the clash between Acts 15 and Gal. 2 little need be said. That straw has been adequately threshed. It may perhaps be noted the several differences between Acts 15: 1 ff. and Gal. 2: 11-14 are more easily explained as due to a deliberate alteration of the latter by the former than to the use of "tradition." Thus "certain from James" becomes "certain men from Judæa," incidentally freeing James from disingeniousness in his later statement (15: 24); Peter is removed from the limelight. Is this not a deliberate apologetic touch to avoid a clash between the two great figures (cf. II Pet. 3: 15)? Again Paul and Barnabas "had no small dissension," but not with one another. Rather they stood shoulder to shoulder against the newcomers. Their quarrel was to be on a difficult point, and later. And finally scrupulous care is taken to omit mention of Titus, although he is surely to be seen among "the certain other of them" that accompanied Paul and Barnabas. This deliberate omission of Titus suggests that "Luke" understood Paul to mean that Titus, although a gentile, had been circumcised, and accordingly recast the statement, later inserting the story of the circumcision of Timothy, who at least had one Jewish parent.

7. In an earlier article I have suggested my reasons for feeling that the story of Paul, the former student of Gamliel, having a part in the stoning of Stephen is pure fiction.<sup>17</sup> Surely all the details of this legend could be easily evolved from his references to his earlier persecutions of Christians, his strictness in keeping the law, and that in his interpretation of it he had followed the teaching of the Pharisees.<sup>18</sup>

8. I cannot free myself from the suspicion that in the amazingly brief account in Acts (18: 1-17) of Paul's eighteen months in Corinth are obscurities in part dependent upon I Cor. 1. Both Crispus and Sosthenes are given the title *ὁ ἀρχισυνάγωγος*. The conversion of the former is explicitly mentioned; perhaps that of the latter is implied. Otherwise who are the "they all" who beat him before Gallio's judgment-seat? Is it fanciful to see in this a reference to the wrath of his fellow Jews because he too had gone

<sup>17</sup> *Journal of Religion* VII 4 (July, 1927), pp. 360-375.

<sup>18</sup> Phil. 3: 4 ff.; Gal. 1: 13 f.; I Cor. 15: 9.



the way of Crispus? Now in I Cor. Crispus is apparently one of the prominent Christians. Furthermore, a Sosthenes joins Paul in sending the letter. To be sure, he may be an Ephesian, but it seems far more likely that he is a Corinthian temporarily with Paul. How much "tradition" is known to "Luke" about these men? How much has he "deduced" from the letter?

9. One more point may be mentioned. If Luke 22: 19 b, 20 is part of the original text, there can be no question but what "Luke" has made direct and exact use of I Cor. 11: 23-25. Probably, however, the verses are to be omitted as a non-Western interpolation. Hence the question of "Luke's" dependence is not raised. On the other hand, his text is left with the order of cup and bread reversed. Is that simply an aberration of his, perhaps not unlike his reversal of the order of the Temptations? Is it a coincidence that in I Cor. 10: 16, 21 Paul makes mention of the cup before the bread, or is it legitimate to query if Luke's order is not in conscious dependence upon Paul?<sup>19</sup>

Many other passages would have to be considered in a complete study. For example, did the indignant query, "Or I only and Barnabas, have we not a right . . ." (I Cor. 9: 6), following the reference to the "rest of the apostles," suggest to "Luke" that Paul and Barnabas, in addition to the twelve, had that title (Acts 14: 4, 14)? Does the insistence of Acts 1: 21 that only those who have seen the Lord are eligible to be apostles depend upon the (probably mistaken) interpretation of I Cor. 9: 1 that an apostle must have been an eyewitness? Does Acts 20: 3 depend upon Rom. 15: 31?

The argument from silence is often raised. Why, asks Sabatier, does Luke omit the story of Onesimus if he knew it? Zahn is certain that had Luke known Paul's word, "If after the man of men I fought with beasts at Ephesus," he must have chronicled it. This type of reasoning at best is very risky. It is far too like the argument which has so long been used to prove that Luke had never read Matthew. After all, authors can omit what they do not want. It would be rash to assert that Luke did not use Mark because he fails to tell the story of the young man who ran off

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<sup>19</sup> Yet caution is necessary here. In *Didache* 9: 1-5 the same order is given. Does this evidence the existence of a tradition which "Luke" knew, independent of Paul?

without the sheet. As a matter of fact, it is by no means inconceivable that "Luke" did make use of the reference to Paul's fighting with beasts. Very possibly he understood it as a figurative reference to his clash with the infuriated Ephesian mob; very possibly he was right.

Thus there appears to me sufficient evidence to warrant reopening the question of the possible relationship of Luke—Acts and the Pauline letters. Many will say some of these cases are zero factors. They may be zeros, but they are not factors, since they are added not multiplied. Thus those that are themselves zeros do not affect the total. If this sketchy paper leads to further studies, it will have served its purpose.



THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HEBREW TEXT  
OF EZEKIEL AND THAT OF THE  
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THERE HAS BEEN deposited in the Princeton University Library a collection of Biblical papyri by their owner, Mr. John H. Scheide of Titusville, Pa. The collection consists of twenty-one leaves from an ancient codex. Nineteen of the leaves are almost perfectly preserved, while two are incomplete. They contain in uncials the Greek text of Ezekiel 19. 12-39. 29, except for the portion lost with the missing pages, and other omissions. There is no doubt that these leaves belong to the same find as the famous Chester Beatty collection and form part of the codex in that collection containing Ezekiel and Esther.

The evidence for dating uncial script is somewhat limited. Kenyon at first was inclined to date this manuscript in the late third century A. D., while Wilcken favoured the second. Kenyon has so far modified his original position as to place the manuscript in the late second or early third. This is confirmed by minuscule notations found on pages 64, 68, and 90. Dr. H. I. Bell of the British Museum says: "These cursive notes seem to me pretty certainly not later than the third century." He sees no reason to put the manuscript far into the third century, if it is not even as early as the second.

A collation of this papyrus with the other Greek manuscripts shows that Sch. is closer to B than to the other uncials. The new text has about five hundred-fifty variant readings not found in any other uncial manuscript. Both Sch. and B represent a pre-Origenian text, and consequently their close affiliation is not surprising.

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<sup>1</sup> The following sigla have been used in this article—**ℳ**, Massoretic text—Greek codices: Sch., the text of the John H. Scheide Biblical Papyri; B, Vaticanus; A, Alexandrinus; Q, Marchalianus; Γ, Cryptoferratensis—**ℋ**, Syro-Hexaplar—Old Latin fragments: *Aug*, Augustine; *H*, Hieronymus; *T*, Tyconius; *C*, Constance; *Sg*, St. Gall; *W*, Würzburg. Minuscules are numbered according to Holmes-Parsons.

The Scheide papyrus furthermore has a large number of unique readings not represented in the minuscule manuscripts. Some of these can be explained as due to the influence of the Hebrew text. The agreements with the Hebrew are independent of Origenian influence as is clearly shown by comparison with  $\mathfrak{H}$ . Even if palaeographical evidence for the date of the new text were not at hand, this study would indicate that this version was written before Origen began his great work of revision. The influence of the Hebrew is somewhat surprisingly established by errors due to misreading the original or by clear evidence of the use of a Hebrew text which was not always flawless.

An examination of the readings which have no counterpart in the other Greek manuscripts shows that Sch. has forty-three cases which are an exact translation from the Hebrew. In this article, the citations from Sch. precede other Greek readings and are not indicated by any siglum. These are the forty-three cases where Sch. uniquely follows the Hebrew:

20. 13, οὐκ ἐπορευθῆσαν,  $\mathfrak{A}$  *lō-hālākū* — 41, οὐ . . . . . ἐκεῖ: ἐν αἰς (οὐ  $\Lambda$ ) . . . . ἐν αὐταῖς BAQ. Since ἐκεῖ as well as ἐν αὐταῖς is a Hebraism, it is possible that *bām* may have been read as *šām*.

21. 6 (11), οσφύς. Sch. alone among the Greek texts agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *māṭṭenayim*;  $\mathfrak{H}$ , in agreement with the other Greek texts, has the possessive σου, but sets it off with the obelus. — 7 (12), παν πᾶ, where BAQ have πᾶσα σὰρξ και παν πᾶ. The addition is marked with the obelus in Q and  $\mathfrak{H}$ . — 22 (27), του βαλειν follows  $\mathfrak{A}$  *lišpōk*; και βαλειν BAQ. — 23 (28), και αὐτος ἀναμνησκων ἀδικίαν του λημφθῆναι agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *w'hū'-mazkir 'āwōn l'hittāpēs*; και αὐτος ἀναμνησκων ἀδικίας αὐτου (-ων  $\Lambda$ ) μνησθῆναι BAQ. — 28 (33), οπως: ἐγειρου οπως BAQ. The verb is not in  $\mathfrak{A}$ . — 30 (35), ἐν τῷ τοπῷ της ιδίας θυγατρος: ἐν τη γῇ τη ιδια BAQ. In Sch. ἐν τῷ τοπῷ may have been copied from the line above. The reading θυγατρος is unique, and no other restoration seems possible;  $\mathfrak{A}$  *b'ère m'kūrōṭayik* 'in the land of thine origin.' It appears that the translator derived *m'kūrōṭayik* from the root *mākar* 'to sell,' as the Qal passive participle, feminine plural, with the possessive suffix. Accordingly *m'kūrāh* 'what is sold' > 'what is acquired by purchase' > 'one's property,' 'one's own.' Cf. Assyrian *makkuru* 'possession' and Syriac *m'kar* 'to buy.' Apparently

Sch. is based on a defective Hebrew text with a dittograph, כְּתָב or כְּתִיב added to *m<sup>e</sup>kūrōtayik*.

22. 4, ονειδος represents  $\mathfrak{A}$  *hèrpāh*. BAQ prefix *eis*. — 8, τα αγια: και τα αγια BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

23. 17, εν τη πορνεια αυτων, in agreement with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *b<sup>e</sup>taznūtām*. For αυτων, BAQ have αυτης. — 32, εσται πλεοναζον is based on  $\mathfrak{A}$  *tihyèh* ... *mirbāh*. Cf. και (om. AQ) το πλεοναζον BAQ.  $\mathfrak{H}$  indicates the verb with the asterisk. — 33, το ποτηριον αφανιας και αφανισμον ποτηριον αδελφης σου Σαμαρειας is in agreement with  $\mathfrak{A}$ : *kōs šammāh ūš<sup>e</sup>māmāh kōs 'āhōtēk šōm<sup>e</sup>rōn*.  $\mathfrak{H}$  supports Sch. in the addition of the name Samaria; in *Sg.* the beginning of the verse is lost, but *Samarie* is preserved at the end. B reads: και το ποτηριον αφανισμον ποτηριον αδελφης σου, and Σαμαρειας is added by the corrector.

24. 17, πενθους: πενθους εσει B\* (εση B<sup>ab</sup>): πενθους εστιν Q; πενθους εσται αυτη A. In the omission of the verb, Sch. follows  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

26. 13, και καταλυσω: και καταλυσει BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *w<sup>e</sup>hišbattī*. *H*, *et destruat*, reflects Sch. — 18, νυν φοβηθησονται: και φοβηθησονται BQ (και νυν A, 106). Sch. follows  $\mathfrak{A}$  *'attāh yeh<sup>r</sup>dū*.

27. 4, καλλος σου: σοι καλλος BAQ. In the margin of Q is noted the variant το καλλος σου. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *yopēk*; *W* agrees with Sch., *speciem tuam*. — 8, ησαν: οι ησαν BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$ , which has no relative before *hāyū*. — 27, δυναμιν σου: ησαν δυναμεις σου BAQ. The verb is not in  $\mathfrak{A}$ . — 33, μισθον σου: μισθον BAQ. While the Greek is not a literal rendering of the Hebrew, Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  in having the possessive pronoun, *'iz<sup>e</sup>hōnayik*.

28. 7, επι το καλλος: επι σε και επι το καλλος BAQ. Sch. follows  $\mathfrak{A}$  *'al-y<sup>e</sup>rī*. — 13, ιασπιν: ιασπιν και αργυριον και χρυσιον BA. The words added in BA are not in  $\mathfrak{A}$ ; they are marked with the obelus in Q<sup>ms</sup> and in  $\mathfrak{H}$ .

30. 5, της διαθηκης μετ αυτων μαχαιρα: της διαθηκης μου μαχαιρα BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$ , *habb<sup>e</sup>rīt 'ittām bahēreh*. — 7, και ερημωθησονται: και ερημωθησεται BAQ.  $\mathfrak{A}$  has the plural, *w<sup>e</sup>nāšmū*. — 13, και αρχοντες . . . . . ουκ represents  $\mathfrak{A}$  *w<sup>e</sup>nāšī' . . . . lō' yihyeh-'ōd*, where *nāšī'* is nominative. BAQ have the accusative: και αρχοντας . . . . και ουκ. — 17, και αυται: και αι γυναικες BQ<sup>a</sup>. Sch. seems to

be based on  $\mathfrak{A}$  *w'hēnnāh*. — 21, δουναι, 1°: δοθηναι BAQF.  $\mathfrak{A}$  has the active infinitive *lāšūm*, of which δουναι is a translation.

32. 3, και αναξουσιν σε: και αναξω σε BAQ. Sch. corresponds to  $\mathfrak{A}$  *w'hē'ēlūkā*. — 4, τα θηρια: παντα τα θηρια BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *hayyat*. — 20, πασα η ισχυς αυτης: πασα η ισχυς αυτου BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *w'kol-hāmōneyhā* and supports the antiquity of the feminine suffix in the Hebrew. — 24, οι καταβαινοντες, where και is prefixed by BAQ. Sch. follows  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

34, 13, εν ταις φαραγξι: και εν ταις φαραγξιν BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$ . — 15, και γνωσονται οτι εγω ειμι  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  BAQ. This phrase is lacking in Sch., Complutensis, Aug. and  $\mathfrak{A}$ .  $\mathfrak{H}$  follows BAQ, but marks the phrase with the obelus. — 28, προνομη: εν προνομη BAQ. Sch. follows  $\mathfrak{A}$  *baz*, and  $\mathfrak{H}$  *l'beztā* favours this version. — 31, προβατα 2: και προβατα BAQ. The conjunction is not in  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

36. 8, εγγιζουσι: επιζουσιν BAQ. Here Sch. is alone amongst all Greek MSS. in preserving the correct reading of the Hebrew *qēr'bū* and thus substantiates the emendation of J. E. Grabe, Septuaginta etc., 3 vols., Oxford, 1707-20. In Vol. III, the text has in smaller and rather slender type *εγγιζουσιν*, while in the margin we have in regular type *επιζουσιν*. This emendation was adopted by Rahlfs, Septuaginta, Stuttgart, 1935. J. F. Schleusner, apparently independently, came to the same conclusion as Grabe, Novus Thesaurus Philologico-criticus, Pars secunda, Leipzig, 1820, 329-330. The Old Latin follows Sch.; cf. *T, qui appropinquat venire*.

37. 1, μεστον οστων: μεστον οστων ανθρωπων BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$ . In Q and  $\mathfrak{H}$  ανθρ. has the obelus prefixed.

38. 8, ηξει: ελευσεται και ηξει BAQ. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *tābō'*. — 11, επι γην απερριμεων: επι γην απερριμενην (απεριμενην AQ) B. Sch. is apparently based on  $\mathfrak{A}$  *'al-'ères p'rāzōt*. — 11, εφ ησυχαζοντας: BAQ add εν ησυχια.  $\mathfrak{A}$  *haššōq'ētīm* has no modifying phrase. — 11, κατοικουντας εν η: BQ insert γην after the participle. Cf.  $\mathfrak{A}$  *yōš'ēīm*, which lacks 'earth.' — 16, αυτων Γωγ (Γωγ is marked with the asterisk in Q): αυτων BA. Sch. follows  $\mathfrak{A}$ : *l'ēnēhēm gōg*.  $\mathfrak{H}$  marks Gog with the asterisk, apparently considering the reading of BA as that of the original LXX. — 17, ταδε λεγει  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$ : ταδε λεγει  $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$   $\overline{\kappa\varsigma}$  τω Γωγ B. Although A, Q, and  $\mathfrak{H}$  have τω Γωγ, the latter two mark it with the obelus.

39. 4, *και εθνη πολλα* (cf. *και πολλα εθνη*, 22, 23, 36, 48, 51, 231) : *και τα εθνη τα* BAQΓ, translating  $\mathfrak{A}$  *w'ammīm 'āšer*. The text of Sch. is based on a Hebrew version: *w'ammīm rabbīm*, which has support in a number of MSS. — 8, *γνωση σι*, found in BAQΓ, is omitted in Sch., in agreement with  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

If the date of the manuscript is correctly determined by palaeography, it seems that the original LXX was closer to the Hebrew than the readings in B would lead us to think. Apparently these unique expressions were originally in the LXX, became lost, and were subsequently restored by Origen in his revision.

Besides the above forty-three examples where Sch. uniquely agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$ , there are ten other instances which have not been included in that calculation. These are very close to the Hebrew, but probably should be considered separately:

22. 7, *εν αδικια: εν αδικiais* BAQ. The singular is in agreement with  $\mathfrak{A}$ .

23. 25, *εν πυρι καταφαγονται* appears to represent  $\mathfrak{A}$  *tē'ākēl: πυρ καταφαγεται* BQ. The latter reading is in the text of  $\mathfrak{H}$ , but the marginal note follows Sch.

24. 4, *και εμβαλε τα διχοτομηματα εις αυτον*. This word-order follows  $\mathfrak{A}$  *'ēsōp n'ēlāheyhā 'eleyhā*. BAQ place *εις αυτον* directly after the verb. — 20, *λογος κ̄ν εγενετο προς με*: B places *προς με* before the verb. Sch. agrees with  $\mathfrak{A}$  even in word-order: *d'ḥar-YHWH hāyāh 'ēlay*.

25. 3, *επεχαρας: επεχαρητε* BAQΓ. Although the Greek is not a literal translation of the Hebrew,  $\mathfrak{A}$  has the verb in the singular: *yā'an 'om' rēk he'āh*.

26. 6, *στυγνασουσιν: στεναξουσιν* BAQ. Sch. is closer to  $\mathfrak{A}$  *šān'mū*.

27. 14, *την εμποριαν: αγοραν* BAQ. Here Sch. is probably closer to  $\mathfrak{A}$  *'iz'ḥōnāyik* 'thy wares.'

32. 21, *και ερουσιν: και ερουσιν σοι* BAQ. Sch. lacks the second person pronoun in agreement with  $\mathfrak{A}$  *y'dabb'rū-lō*.

38. 17, *εν χειρι: δια χειρος* BAQ. Sch. has a Hebraism based on  $\mathfrak{A}$  *b'yad*, which is not unusual in the LXX; cf. Haggai 1. 1; 2. 1.

39. 4, The reading of BAQΓ, *δοθησονται*, is not in Sch., but later in the verse, *δεδωκα* is found in Sch. as well as in BAQ. It should be noted that  $\mathfrak{A}$  uses the root *nāṭan* only once: *n'tattikā* represented by *δεδωκα σε*.

There are also twenty-two other passages which have not been included in the previous fifty-three. While in these unique readings there is possible Hebrew influence, it is decidedly more remote than in either of the previous groups. These are the passages:

20. 41, *εθων* is closer to *𐤀𐤇𐤅𐤓𐤓* *haggōyīm* than *λαων* of BAQ. — 44, *εν υμειν* probably reflects *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *'ittēkēm*: *οὕτως υμιν* BAQ.

21. 21 (26), *εν τοις τυποις* may have been suggested by *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *batt'rāpīm*; cf. *εν τοις γλυπτοις* BAQ.

22. 25, *δυναστεια*, where BAQ use the preposition *εν*. *𐤀𐤇𐤓𐤍* *hōsen* has no preposition, and it may be that Sch. shows that influence, though good usage does not require it in Greek.

24. 14, *κριθησει* may represent the influence of *𐤀𐤓𐤏𐤕𐤕𐤓* *š'pātūk*, which occurs only once and is rendered by *κρινω σε* 1°.

26. 14, *ου μη οικοδομηθησῃ*: *ου μη οικοδομηθῃς* BAQ. While the latter preserves good Greek usage, the future may reflect the imperfect tense in *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *lō' tībḏānēh*.

27. 19, *και οινος εξ Ασηλ εις την αγοραν σου εδωκαν*: *και οινον εις την αγοραν σου εδωκαν εξ Ασηλ* (Ασσηλ A) BA. The latter is based on an error in reading *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *w'ḏān w'yāwān m'uzzāl b'eiz'ḥōnayik nātānnū*. Similarly Sch. has the same error as BA, though its version is unique. Yet it reflects Hebrew influence in the position of *εξ Ασηλ*. — 30, *και θησονται επι την κεφαλην αυτων γην στρωσονται σποδον*: *και επιθησονται επι την κεφαλην αυτων γην και σποδον στρωσονται* BA. — Cf. *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *bā'ēper yitpallāšū*. Sch. agrees with *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* in omitting the conjunction, but BA agree in having the Hebrew word-order. — 33, *απο του πληθους σου και του συμμεικτου σου*. BAQ repeat the preposition after *και*. The omission in Sch. may reflect *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *ūma'ārāḥayik*.

28. 13, *θν*: *τον θν* BAQ. *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* omits the article.

29. 14, *αιχμαλωσιαν Αιγυπτων*: *την αιχ. των Αιγ.* BQ. The omission of the first article may be due to the influence of *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *š'ḥūt miṣrayim*, where *š'ḥūt* is in the construct state.

30. 18, *σκοτασει*: *συσκοτασει* BAQ. It seems Sch., without the intensive prefix, is closer to *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *hāśak*.

31. 8, *κυπαρισσοι ου τοιανται*. BQ omit the negative; A adds *ουκ εγενθησαν* to the reading of BQ. Cf. *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* *'ārāzīm lō'-āmāmūhū*; *𐤀𐤓𐤕𐤏𐤍𐤍* agrees with Sch. Cf. *Sg, et cypressi non tales*. — 16, *απο φωνης*



πτωσεως αυτου: απο της φωνης της πτωσεως αυτου BAQ. In the omission of the articles Sch. represents a rendering of א made without concern for the Greek idiom. — 18, καταβηθι καταβιβασθησθαι: καταβηθι καταβιβασθητι BAQ. The indicative of Sch. may be reminiscent of א *hūradtā*.

34. 14, εν ορει υψηλω: εν τω ορει τω υψηλω BAQ. It appears that Sch. omits the article through influence of the Hebrew, where both nouns are in the construct state: *b'hārē m'ērōm-yiśrā'ēl*. — 19, και το τεταραγμενον υδωρ των ποδων υμων. The preposition υπο is inserted before των ποδων by BA; απο by Q. The unusual Greek construction in Sch. is evidently a Hebraism, since no preposition is used in א, which has the construct state: *mirpaś raglēkēm*.

35. 11, και γνωσθησομαι. BAQ add σοι. א *nōdā'ti bām* has nothing corresponding to σοι, which may represent *bām* misread as *b'kā*.

36. 3, και μισηθηναι: και μισηθηναι υμας BA. The omission of the pronoun in Sch. may be due to א, which has the pronoun only once with the two infinitives: *šammōt w'sā'ōr*.

There is also evidence that the text in Sch. represents a translation which is based either upon a faulty Hebrew text or upon errors in reading the Hebrew. These passages have not been included in the above résumés. Such an error is found in 24. 2, γραψον εκει σεαυτω ημεραν. This is evidently based on א: *k'etob-l'kā 'et-šēm hayyōm*, but εκει appears to be an error, *šām* 'there' being read for *šēm* 'name'; in consequence *hayyōm* was not put in the genitive as in א. Another error is found in 36. 2: εγενηθη: εγενηθη BAQ. Sch. is evidently based on a misreading of א *hāy'etāh* as *scriptio plena* for *hāyitā*, unless it be a mere mistake of the copyist.

In 32. 18, the text of Sch. apparently represents an attempt to restore order out of chaos in the LXX: τα εθνη τας θυγατερας νεκρας: τας θυγατερας τα εθνη νεκρας BAQ. The Greek is based on a misreading of the Hebrew or else on a faulty Hebrew text. Evidently εθνη is meant to be taken as the subject of the main verb. Cf. א *ūb'nōt gōyīm (haggōyīm) 'addirīm*. The translator of the LXX left out *ū*. There is no doubt that *gōyīm* had the article in the text before the translator; 'addirīm certainly had *yod* written between *d* and *r*. Through misreading the Hebrew, the translator worked on *haggōyīm hārūgīm*. Cf. 37, 9 *bahārūgīm*, which is rendered εις τους νεκρους. Originally the LXX probably had τας

θυγατερας τα εθνη νεκρα (cf. νεκρα Q\*); in the course of time -s was attached to νεκρα. In the text of Sch. we have an attempt to restore order out of chaos and to conform to a construction which does less violence to Greek usage.

Two errors in Sch. are intensely interesting. The first is in 27. 16, εκ Θαρσεις και Θασοβ και Ραμωθ και Χορχορ: εκ Θαρσεις και Λαμωθ και Χορχορ BQ; εκ Θαρρεις και Ραμμωθ και Κορχορς A. The three proper names of BAQ represent  $\text{𐤅𐤁𐤓𐤔 𐤍𐤕𐤁'𐤓𐤕𐤔 𐤍𐤕𐤁𐤔𐤕𐤕𐤔}$ . The reading εκ Θαρσεις seems to go back to a Hebrew text in which *šēš*, a synonym for *būš* was used. *Riqmāh w'šēš* apparently was misread as *riqmāh r'šēš*, whence the transition to *riqmat r'šēš*, and finally to *riqmat taršiš* was easy. It may be that while one Hebrew text had *riqmāh w'šēš*, another well-known reading was *riqmāh ūbūš*. Some scribe probably wrote in his text a small cross over *šēš* as a reference to the margin where he wrote  $\text{כוי}^{\times}$ . Then in a subsequent copy, the cross ( $\times$ ) in the margin was enlarged (X) and brought down to the line of writing. In the transitional Hebrew alphabet X would be understood as *t*. With metathesis of *b* and *s*, *tāšōb* was read and taken into the text, and the conjunction *w* placed before it. The reading και Θασοβ in Sch. is accordingly a doublet for εκ Θαρσεις. While it seems clear that there were two Hebrew texts, one with *būš* and one with *šēš*, we cannot tell which is the older. This *šēš* may have come into this verse from verse 7 in the same chapter. At any rate, this error in Sch. supports the Massoretic text. The reading Χορχορ is evidently due to the confusion of Hebrew *r* and *d*. It is quite apparent that the translator did not know the meaning of the Hebrew text. The second is in 28, 16, το χειρὺς τοσεχ εκ μεσων λιθων πυρινων. The word τοσεχ is omitted in BA, while Q substitutes for it the more correct translation of the Hebrew, reading το χειρὺς το σνσκιαζον.  $\text{𐤅𐤁𐤓𐤔}$  has *k'rūh hassōkēk mittōk 'abnē-ēš*. In the Sch. version, or its predecessor, it is evident that the Hebrew text was incorrectly read and that *hassōkēk* was taken as a proper name and incorrectly transliterated as τοσεχ. C clearly follows the Sch. tradition, *cherubin sech de medio lapidum igneorum*. Here it is evident that το was regarded as the definite article and consequently was dropped in Latin.

Some of the readings in Sch. can be explained from dittography of some letter in the Hebrew:

29.20, *και: αντι* BAQ.  $\mathfrak{A}$  *p<sup>e</sup>ullātō* has neither the conjunction nor the preposition. *και* may have arisen from dittography of *waw* in the previous word, *l<sup>h</sup>ēlō*, which is the last word in verse 19.

30.9, *παραχη μεγαλη: παραχη* BAQ. The text of  $\mathfrak{A}$  is *ḥalḥālāh bāhēm*. Sch. is evidently based on a Hebrew text in which through dittography final *h* and *bāh-* were combined to give the reading *ḥalḥālāh rabbāh bāhēm*. It is possible, on the other hand, that Sch. represents the original text and that *rabbāh* fell out in later revisions.

31.4, *και η αβυσσος*. The conjunction is omitted in BAQ, but cf. *H, et abyssos*. There is no connective in  $\mathfrak{A}$  before *t<sup>h</sup>ōm*, but it may be that the final *waw* of the preceding word, *gidd<sup>l</sup>ūhū*, was repeated by dittography, and thus *και* was introduced into the text of Sch. — 7, *υψει αυτου και* BAQ omit the conjunction.  $\mathfrak{A}$  also has no conjunction, but the *και* of Sch. may be based on dittography of *waw* in *b<sup>g</sup>od<sup>l</sup>ō*.

32.22, *και παντες: παντες* BAQ. The conjunction in Sch. may result from dittography of *waw* in  $\mathfrak{A}$  *qib<sup>r</sup>ōtāyw kullām*. If *waw* was doubled, the second one was taken as a conjunction.

34.27, *και εν τω συντρεψαι*. The conjunction is omitted in BAQ, nor is it found in  $\mathfrak{A}$  *b<sup>s</sup>ībrī*. *και* apparently represents *waw*, which may have arisen as a dittograph of final *h* in YHWH, or *waw* may have crept into the Hebrew text of the translator through the influence of the labial *b*.

38.15, *και αναβαται*. The conjunction is omitted in BAQ.  $\mathfrak{A}$  *rōk<sup>h</sup>ē* does not have the conjunction; it may be that by dittography *r* was read as *wr*, or the *w* may be a dittograph of final *h* in the preceding word. — 18, *και αναβησεται*. The conjunction is omitted in BAQ, nor is it found in  $\mathfrak{A}$  YHWH *ta'ālēh*. It appears that Sch. is based on a Hebrew text which by dittography of final *h* read YHWHw.

39.14, *και καθαρισαι*. BAQ omit *και* as in  $\mathfrak{A}$  *l<sup>t</sup>ahārāh*. The conjunction *w* may have been introduced through dittography of initial *l*. — 23, *Ισραηλ και ανθ ων*. BAQ omit *και* and translate  $\mathfrak{A}$  *yīsrā'ēl 'al 'āšer*. It seems that Sch. is based on a text in which final *l* of *yīsrā'ēl* was doubled and the second was read as *w*.

Other readings of Sch. seem to be based on haplography in the Hebrew text:

38. 14, *εν τη ημερα: ουκ* (ουχι A) *εν τη ημερα* BAQ. Judging from  $\mathfrak{H}$  YHWH *halō' bayyōm*, it seems that Sch. goes back to a text in which *halō'*, on account of its resemblance to what precedes and follows, was omitted through haplography.


39. 18, *αιμα: και αιμα* BAQ. Cf.  $\mathfrak{H}$  *tō'kēlū w'ēdam*. Sch. goes back to a text in which *w* was left out by haplography. — 23, *μοι: εις εμε και* BAQΓ. Cf.  $\mathfrak{H}$  *bī wā*. Sch. probably goes back to a text in which *waw* resembled *yod* and consequently was dropped through haplography.

An interesting problem is presented in 30. 9, *ηκει κς* where BAQ omit *κς*. Cf.  $\mathfrak{H}$  *bā'āh*. It is possible that Sch. is based on a text in which the verse ended in *bā' YHWH*, *bā'yh* being read for *bā'āh*; then *yh* was understood as an abbreviation for YHWH. Or it is possible that through misreading and dittography *kōh*, the first word of verse 10, was read as *wh*, thus with *yh* giving rise to *bā' YHWH*. On the other hand, the question may be raised whether Sch. represents the original text.

The Syro-Hexaplar generally follows B against Sch. On account of the frequent agreements between B and the Syro-Hexaplar against Sch., one might assume that B and  $\mathfrak{H}$  represent the original version of the LXX. One cannot, however, come to such an easy conclusion. While the Old Latin texts are not uniform in their testimony, there are in those versions a sufficient number of agreements with Sch. to bear witness to the antiquity and the definite tradition represented by this text; cf. especially *sech* in 28. 16. If we were to recognize  $\mathfrak{H}$  as representing the true and original LXX, we should have to assume that some one revised this early version of Ezekiel on the basis of the Hebrew to produce the Scheide text and that this version was sporadic and individual and did not become the accepted version. According to such a view, Sch. would represent this sporadic revision which was intended for private use rather than for the Church in general. Such a theory is clearly untenable, for the preservation of *sech* shows that the Sch. tradition was widely current.

It appears that already long before Origen's time serious differences had crept into the text of the original LXX; that originally the latter may have had more agreements with the Hebrew than the text of B or  $\mathfrak{H}$  would indicate, and that Sch. represents an early tradition which may be closer to the original LXX than

either B or  $\mathfrak{H}$ . Perhaps some of the agreements in the LXX with the Hebrew were lost in the course of time and were later restored by Origen from the Hebrew when he marked them with the asterisk. A comparison of  $\mathfrak{A}$ , B, Sch.,  $\mathfrak{H}$ , and the Old Latin indicates that there were at least two pre-Origenian traditions of the LXX; one of these is represented by Sch., the other by B and  $\mathfrak{H}$ . Of supreme importance is 36. 8, where Sch. alone among extant Greek versions has the correct rendering of the Hebrew, which is also preserved in the Old Latin of Tyconius. The evidence of the passages cited above rather supports the view that Sch. bears witness to an old version of the LXX. Incidentally the new text also helps to confirm the authority of the Massoretic tradition. It is evident from a comparison of Sch. with the uncial and minuscule MSS.,  $\mathfrak{H}$ , and the Old Latin that this text represents the LXX previous to its separate development in three centres: Antioch, Caesarea, and Alexandria. The authority of B as our best source for the original LXX must yield to this new evidence.



## EXPRESSION OF THE CAUSATIVE IN UGARITIC

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IN THE FIRST few years after the discovery of Ugaritic (the language of ancient Ras Shamra) its verbal system presented many problems, some of which are now reaching the stage of solution. Among the most widely discussed of these was the question of the causative. Most scholars expected a causative with *h*-preformative, more or less like the Hebrew *hifl*, and this view gained support because of the generally Canaanite character of Ugaritic. However, a number of verbal forms in the *š*-causative (*šafel*) were soon identified in the texts. The question arose: How was the causative verbal relation<sup>1</sup> of Semitic expressed in Ugaritic? Did Ugaritic use the *š*-form, or the *h*- (or '-)form, or both?<sup>2</sup>

In order to decide this question, we must investigate all words which seem to be causative in form or in meaning. The meanings alone would not be sufficient evidence; many words with causative meaning, or with meanings which in other Semitic languages are expressed in the causative, may not be in the causative stem in Ugaritic. However, we cannot judge by written form alone, for the paucity of vowel-indication in the Ugaritic script conceals many formal differences; thus we must not be led to exaggerate the relative frequency of *š*-forms as against possible *h*-forms merely because the *š*-forms are so much easier to discern.

The evidence for *š*-causative is considerable:<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The term causative is here used for the whole field of relations expressed by the causative stems in Semitic. See E. A. Speiser, "Studies in Semitic Formatives," *JAOS* 56 (1936). 23-4; H. S. Nyberg, "Wortbildung mit Präfixen in den semitischen Sprachen," *Le Monde Oriental* 14 (1920). 250 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Albright showed the existence of probable *hifl*-*afel* forms in *JPOS* 14 (1934). 112-3, cf. also in his translation of the Keret text, *BASOR* 63 (Oct. 1936). 27, note 12a. Ginsberg argues for the *šafel* as against the *afel* in *JRAS* 1935. 52-3, and in his forthcoming article "Ba'l and 'Anat," *Orientalia* 1938. 3-4. Friedrich recognized the *šafel* in his *Ras Shamra* (*Der alte Orient* 1934. 1). 27.

<sup>3</sup> The Ras Shamra tablets are referred to as in J. A. Montgomery and Z. S. Harris, *The Ras Shamra Mythological Texts* (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* IV 1935). 43-4, 85, 131. Most important

*ašsprk 'm b'l šnt*, Dan. vi 28. Pres. "I shall cause you to be counted with ..."

Verbs with strong roots:

*ašrb glmt*, Keret 204. Pres. "I shall cause the girl to enter."

*ašrb'*, Dan. 2 v 3 "I shall make four-fold."

*yšrb'*, Dan. 2 v 12-3 "he made four-fold."

*alp ytbh lktrt yšlh m ktrt wyššq bnt hll snnt*, Dan. 2 ii 30-1 ff.

Pret. "a bull he slaughtered for the K.; he gave the K. to eat; he gave to drink the ..."

*wyšlh mnh*, K i 5. Pret. "and he gave him to eat."

*tšlh m tššq ilm*, Dan. 2 v 29. Pret. "she gave the gods to eat and to drink."

*šlh m ššq ilm*, Dan. 2 v 19. Inv. f. sg. "give the gods to eat and to drink."

*mšpdt*, Dan. 1. 172, 183. Part. f. pl. *bkkt* "leaders of the lament."

*šqrb tr*, T 2. 18. Inv. "sacrifice an ox."

*šb'd*, C 12, 14, 15. Inv. "continue (cause to extend far)."

*šb'r amrr kkbkb*, B iv 16. Pf. "A. caused (was caused?) to light like a star."

Root *hlk*:

*ašhlk*, Dan. 3 R 11 "I cause to go."

Roots I *y*:

*laših m*, E 2 "that I may cause them to leave" (context unclear).

*mššu*, Dan. 2 i 28, 46. Part. "causing to come out, emitting."

*wytṭb lymn aliyn b'l*, B v 109. Passive(?) short pret. "and (Kuthar-and-Hasis) was caused to sit to the right of A.B." (with assimilation of *š* to *ṭ* of the root *yṭb*).

*yṭbn*, A vi 33. Pret. "he caused him (Ba'l) to sit (upon his throne)" (context broken).

*ṭṭbn ilm*, T 33. 6. (context broken).

*šrd b'l bdbhk*, Keret 77. Inv. "cause Ba'l to come by means of your sacrifice."

*šrd b'l bdbhh*, Keret 169. Pf. "he caused Ba'l to come by means of his sacrifice."

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tablets published since: F (*Syria* 1935.247-66), Dan. (Ch. Virolleaud, *La légende phénicienne de Danel*, 1926), Keret (Ch. Virolleaud, *La légende de Keret*, 1936), I (*Syria* 1936.150-73), J (*Syria* 1936.209-28), K (i: *Syria* 1936.335, ii: *ibid.* 1937.88).

Roots II *w*:

*wṭṭb mlakm lh*, Keret 136 "and he caused the messengers to return to him" (assimilation of *š* to *ṭ* of root).

*špq ilm*, B vi 47 ff. Pret. "he caused the gods to be sated."

Roots III *y*:

*wyššq*, Dan. 2 ii 30-1. Short pret. "and he gave (them) to drink."

*tššqy*, Dan. 2 v 29. Pret. "she gave to drink."

*ššqy*, Dan. 2 v 19. Inv. f. sg. "give to eat" (context for these forms under *lhm* above).

*yšly*, Dan. 1. 185. Pret. "he sacrificed."

*tšlynh*, A i 15. Pret. "she brought him up."

*šly*, Dan. 1. 192. Inv. "sacrifice."

*šly 'zn ldgn*, Syria 16 (1935). 178. Pf. "'zn has offered up to Dagân."

*šlyt tryl ldgn*, *ibid.* 177. Pf. 3. f. sg. "Tryl has offered up to Dagân."

Geminate Roots:

*ašqlk tht* ..., Dan. 2 vi 44. Pres.? "I shall cause you to stoop under ...."

Uncertain because of obscure context:

*tšḥtann*, Dan. 1. 151.

*tšknenn*, T 26. 11.

*šlbšn*, D v 23.

*tšnpn*, T 23. 6.

*šnst*, K ii 12.

*šskn-m'*, B i 21.

*tššq*, A ii 10.

In *t*-reflexive stem:

*yštql dnīl lhklh*, Dan. 2 ii 25 "Dan'il entered into his temple."

*tštql ilt lhklh*, K ii 18, as above.

*tšthwy* (?), A i 38, B iv 26, viii 28, etc. Pret. "she bowed down."

For the *h*(')-causative, the evidence is necessarily far less clear: several words seem to be causative in their meaning and in the way they are used, but their written forms can usually be interpreted in several ways, as representing either the causative or some other



stem. Each form must therefore be tested in all the readings which its written occurrence permits, to see which reading (verbal stem) best fits the meaning which its context demands. The suspected *h*(')-causative words are therefore arranged here according to the possible readings of their written forms.

Apparently 'causative (afel) form:

*akn lh*, Keret 15. Apparently inv.<sup>4</sup> "set (prepare) for her"; perhaps pf. "he has prepared for her" (root *kân*). In either case *a* would represent the preformative of an 'causative. This form cannot be read as intensive, for the intensive of *kân* is expressed in Ugaritic by the Polel stem (*yknnh* B iv 48 "he created him"). The spelling could represent the simple stem (qal) only in the first person of the preterite, which would hardly be suitable here. In meaning, this form is similar to the cognate Hebrew *hēkîn* "he prepared" (*h*-causative).

*ḥzk al tš' lqrth abn ydk mšdpt*, Keret 116-8. Albright:<sup>5</sup> "thou shalt not shoot thy arrows at his city; look at thy hand: it is withered." If *abn* (root *bin*) is imperative, parallel to the negative imperative *al tš'*, it too shows the *a* preformative of the 'causative. However, elsewhere in Ugaritic (B v 122) as in Hebrew, it is the qal of this root which means "to see"; in Hebrew the causative means "to understand", and perhaps some related meaning is involved here. It is also possible that *abn* may not be a verb at all.

Forms which may be 'causative or intensive:

*ymš'i larš*, A v 4. Short pret. ("apocopate"). "he caused (them) to find the earth; he sent to earth." The final ' of the root *mš'*, since it is not followed by a vowel, reveals here the preceding *i* vowel of the second syllable. This vowel would occur here only in the derived stems; in the qal the vowel of such laryngal roots is *a*.<sup>6</sup> As between the intensive and the causative, to which we are therefore restricted, all probability is on the side of the causative; in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Akkadian it is only the causative of this verb which has this meaning, and the intensive does not occur.

<sup>4</sup> W. F. Albright, BASOR 63 (Oct. 1936). 27, note 12x.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 30, reading *tš' lqrth*; but the word division may be *tš'l qrth*.

<sup>6</sup> Harris, JAOS 57 (1937). 153; H. L. Ginsberg, *Tarbiz* 4 (1933). 382.

*amid*, Keret 58. "I increased" (context broken). Here too the *i* vowel points to a derived stem, causative or intensive.

Forms which may be afel or qal:

*ašb skn iliby*, Dan. 2 ii 16. Pret. "I set up the monument of my ...". *ašb* (root *nšb*) cannot be read as intensive, for then the *n* of the root would appear in the writing. If it is qal the form would be *'aššubu*; if afel, *'aššibu*. The causative of this root means "to set up" both in Hebrew and Aramaic; the simple stem (qal) of *nšb* in Aramaic also means "to set up," but in Akkadian "to be fixed." The question whether this word is in afel or qal is complicated by a parallel passage *nšb skn ilibh*, Dan. 2 i 27. In this passage the verb may be qal participle "setting up a monument," or perfect or imperative, or nifal participle "there stands a monument of his ...". The interpretation depends upon one's understanding of the whole scene. If *nšb* is qal, then *ašb* too must be qal; if *nšb* is nifal, *ašb* is probably afel.

*lys' alt tbt k lyhpk ksa mlkk*, A vi 27. Apocopate. "indeed he will pull up the posts (or: remove the ...) of your seat; he will overturn the throne of your royalty." Here too the intensive is eliminated, since it would have to show the *n* of the root *ns'*. The causative of this root in Hebrew and Aramaic means "to remove," while the qal usually means "to go off," as it does in Akkadian. However, the early meaning of the qal was "to pull up (the tent-pegs)," as may still be seen in Hebrew *wayyissā'ēm* (Judges 16. 3), and it is difficult to tell whether *lys'* was in the afel or the qal.

*kbbh btt ltb t*, B iii 21. Apocopate. The verb (root *nbṭ*) is probably *tabbīt*, in the afel; as in the cases above, it cannot be intensive. However, it may possibly be an otherwise unknown qal meaning "to be apparent."

*wykn bnh bbt šrs' bqr b hklh*, Dan. 2 i 26, 43. Apocopate. Either afel "and he will install his son in (his) house, his offspring within his temple"; or less probably qal "let there be his son in his house." The intensive would be in the Polel stem (see under *akn lh* above).

Forms which may be afel, or intensive, or qal:

*tn aḥd bbnk amlkn*, A i 45-6 (old numbering 17-8). "give one of your sons that I may make him king"; also *nmlk* A i 48, 54

"let us make king." While this consonantal writing could be vocalized to represent any of the three stems, it is directly causative in meaning; the causative stem, which has this meaning of the root in Hebrew and Aramaic (and Arabic), is more probable than the intensive.

*wašlṭk*, Dan. 2 vi 28 "and I will make you rule; I will give you power." The argument here is as in the case above. However, it must be remembered that in many roots the intensive stem too expresses causative meaning.<sup>7</sup>

*šmm šmn tmṭrn*, A iii 6, 12. Pret. "the heavens rained oil." This passage may be read with *tmṭrn* in the causative stem and *šmn* as direct object, or, perhaps less probably, with the verb in the qal.<sup>8</sup> The intensive would in any case be most improbable, since its meaning in this root, where it occurs, is "to cause to rain."

*dyšb' hmlt arš*, B vii 51-2 "(it is I) who will sate the people of the earth." The causative meaning here would be possible in either the afel or intensive stem; the afel would be more probable.

*y'sr wyšqynh ytn ks bdh*, K i 9-10; *y'sr wyšqynh*, Dan. 2 vi 30-1. Apparently "he ... and gave him to drink (root *šqy*); he gave a glass into his hand." The first is parallel to *wyšlḥmnh*, and both seem clearly to be causative in their contexts. However, this root occurs in Ugaritic in the *š*-causative: *wyššq*, while the writing *yšqy* represents the qal "he drank" (Dan. 1. 215, 2 i 11). These two apparent causatives may be haplographic errors for the *š*-causative form (one *š* instead of two; but why in identical phrases?); or they may be in the intensive stem with causative meaning. This would seem more probable than having two causative forms, an afel by the side of the šafel, in the same root.

The difficulty in finding indisputable evidence for the 'causative arises from the fact that by far the most common verbal form in Ugaritic is the preterite, while it is precisely the preterite in which

<sup>7</sup> Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 250, points out that the increased use of the intensive in causative meaning is rather a later development.

<sup>8</sup> Albright's reading of the parallel *tlk* as causative (in JPOS 1934. 112) is improbable, as Ginsberg has recognized; in Hebrew the root *hlk* in the sense "to flow with (something)" is used in the qal.

the 'preformative of this causative stem is lost. Imperatives, participles, and perfects of the afel would show its characteristic 'preformative. Even in the preterite, however, it is possible to determine key types which betray the afel by their form. Thus any I *n* root which is at the same time III ' could be readily distinguished in the apocopate: the intensive would have the *n* of the root; the qal would have an *a* vowel in the second syllable<sup>9</sup> (which would be revealed by the written final *a*), while the afel would have an *i* vowel.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, any I *n* with a laryngal for its second or third radical could be distinguished in the first person singular: here again the intensive would write the *n*; the qal would have an *i* vowel in the preformative<sup>11</sup> (revealed by the written ' of the first person); and the afel would have *a*, as is true of the preformative of all derived stems except the *t*-reflexives.<sup>12</sup>

On this evidence we must conclude that in Ugaritic the living form for the expression of the causative relation was the šafel stem.<sup>13</sup> It occurs chiefly with the direct causative meaning, though some words show other meanings which occur in the causative stem.<sup>14</sup>

This evidence also makes it probable that Ugaritic had a number of words in the afel form. They are fewer by far than the šafels, and most of them have specialized meanings: *akn* "prepare," *ykn* "he installed," *abn* "notice" (?), *ymši* "he sent," *ašb* "I set up" (?), *tbṭ* "it looks," *tmṭrn* "it rains." Some verbs seem to express the direct causative relation: *amlkn* "that I may make him king," *ašlṭk* "I will give you power" (?), *dyšb* "who will sate."

Because of its occurrence in such few cases and specialized meanings, the afel may be judged to be the older form of causative

<sup>9</sup> See note 6 above.

<sup>10</sup> The preterite of derived stems had *i* in the second syllable; cf. Harris JAOS 57 (1937). 153, note 12.

<sup>11</sup> H. L. Ginsberg, *Tarbiz* 4 (1933). 382; Harris, *loc. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Harris, *ibid.*, note 12.

<sup>13</sup> This has been held throughout by Ginsberg, who failed, however, to admit any afel forms.

<sup>14</sup> *šqrḅ* has the specialized meaning "to sacrifice" (as its cognate does in Hebrew); *š'ly* has the same specialized meaning (also as in Hebrew), but also the direct causative "to bring up." Some of the šafel words occur in uncertain contexts, so that their exact sense is not clear.

expression in the history of Ugaritic, and of the dialect group from which it developed. This bears out the correlation which has been shown in the incidence of the causative formative and of the third person pronouns.<sup>15</sup> Akkadian and Minaean, which have third person pronouns in *š* (*š*), have *š* (*š*) causative stems; Arabic, Sabaean and Ethiopic, Aramaic, Hebrew and Phoenician, which have third person pronouns in *h*, have *h* and *'*(*y*) causative stems. In Ugaritic the pronouns of the third person are *hwt*, *hyt*, *hmt*;<sup>16</sup> it is not surprising that its early causative stem should have had the *h*(*'*) formative.

The form of the *h*(*'*)-causative seems to have been: imperative *'aqtil*, preterite *yaqtīlu*, similar in its preformative to the Arabic *aqtala*,<sup>17</sup> and in its stem vowel to the Hebrew *hiqtīl*.

How then did the *š*-causative develop in Ugaritic?

In Aramaic there are a number of verbs in the *šafel*, borrowed from Akkadian: *šēziḅ*, *šaklel*, etc. In addition there are several *šafels* which must have been formed in Aramaic: e. g. *ša'beḏ* "to enslave," which could not have had this phonetic form in Akkadian. These *šafels* of Aramaic origin could have been patterned upon the borrowed Akkadian causatives: the large group of *šafel* loan-words had established that form in Aramaic as a recognized causative construction, and then a few Aramaic verbs came to be expressed in the causative on the same pattern.<sup>18</sup>

In Ugaritic, however, the *šafel* is far more frequent, and one is led to trace its history further back. There are, in fact, many traces of an early *šafel* in West Semitic. In the south, Minaean has an *š*-causative and *š* in the third person pronouns, while its close neighbor Sabaean has *h* in both; Arabic and Ethiopic have *s* in the *t*-reflexive stem *istaqtala* by the side of *'* in the causative active; Ethiopic also has, in addition to its *'*-causative, a large number of verbs with an old *s*-causative.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, nouns

<sup>15</sup> For this important correlation and for the analysis of the causative form, see Speiser, "Studies in Semitic Formatives" I JAOS 56 (1936). 22-33.

<sup>16</sup> B iii 26, viii 28, Dan. 1. 129, 133; Dan. 1. 138, 143; Dan. 1. 150. Cf. J. A. Montgomery JAOS 56 (1936). 440-1.

<sup>17</sup> On the relation of *h* to *'* forms in the causative, see Speiser, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

<sup>18</sup> On the question of old Aramaic *šafels*, see C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss vergl. Gram. sem. Spr.* I 525.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Grammar*, tr. Crichton, p. 131, 135, 148, 158.

with preformatives in š (Arabic *s*) exist in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic, and have been shown to be related to the š formative in the causative stem.<sup>20</sup>

To sum up: Although the *h*(') form was the regular expression of the causative in that part of the Semitic area which had *h* in the third person pronouns, nevertheless the š-causative was also known over much of this area, appearing in verbal stems and, apparently, as noun-prefix. In Ugaritic the š form came to be favored over the common *h*(') stem, and causatives came to be expressed in the šafel instead of the afel. In the course of time, the afel ceased to be used for expressing the causative, and any new causatives that arose were undoubtedly formed in the šafel, as the only living stem with that function. But a number of words in the afel, which had long developed specialized meanings, were no longer felt as direct causatives, and so were not expressed by the šafel, but remained as formulae in their old afel inflection.

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<sup>20</sup> Nyberg, *op. cit.*, p. 197 ff.

## THE RESTORATION OF ORDER BY DARIUS

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IN THIS JOURNAL 54. 40-50 (1934), I attempted a complete restoration of a cuneiform inscription of Darius in the Old Persian, to which I gave the title "The Restoration of Order in the Empire";<sup>1</sup> I accompanied it with the Akkadian version, in which I enjoyed the collaboration of my colleague Prof. E. A. Speiser, without whom I could not have ventured into the Akkadian field. Since then, Prof. F. H. Weissbach has republished a part of this same inscription in *ZDMG* 91. 80-6 (1937), with the help of certain other fragments which he had identified as belonging to it. It is in the light of these additions that I wish to treat the inscription again.

With one exception, the fragments were published by Père V. Scheil in Vols. xxi and xxiv of the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse, Mission en Susiane* (Paris, 1929 and 1933). Scheil himself identified as belonging together two OP fragments and one Elamite, given in 21. 61-4, and six OP fragments and a nearly complete Akk. copy on the two sides of a tablet, in 24. 116-25. To these, Weissbach has added two Elam. fragments, given by Scheil 21. 71-6, as Nos. 20 and 21; one small OP fragment, given by Scheil 21. 23 at the right of the middle row of fragments, and indicated by a question-mark; an OP fragment of unknown provenience, which Weissbach had listed in his *Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* as *Inc. b*, page xxix and page 130.

Of this inscription, then, we have 10 OP fragments, 3 Elamite fragments, and a nearly complete Akkadian copy.

After this article was in galley-proofs, I received Weissbach's article in *Zeits. f. Assyr.* 44. 140-69 (1938), which lists an eleventh OP fragment (his  $\beta$ , containing portions of lines 1-4 and of 46-51), and a second Akkadian fragment, both in the Louvre, unpublished, but to appear in a new volume by Scheil. The data in his article have been used here as far as possible.

The first part, down to the middle of line 30 in the OP version, contains the praise of Ahuramazda, the titles of Darius, the statement of his acquisition of the empire and the list of the provinces;

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<sup>1</sup> Scheil, *Mémoires* 21. 116, entitles it "Conquêtes et Politique de Darius."

all this is a duplicate of the Nakš-i-Rustam inscription, except that the list of provinces is slightly changed. No comment to my version of this portion is here needed, except as follows: in line 4, *adā* should be *adadā* (on the evidence of Frag. 11); in line 6, *XŠ* (misprint) should be *XŠm*; in line 9, read *dahyūnām* for *DAHnām*, and in line 10, read *būmiyā* for *BUyā*, to get the proper number of characters in the line (so Weissbach); in line 19, normalize *aθahy* on the evidence of the Daiva-Inscription (*Language* 13. 292-305); in line 24, *Kaduš* should be replaced by *Maka* or *Maciyā* (cf. *JAOS* 56. 217-8); in line 28, *Sakā* should perhaps be replaced by *utā* (cf. below, on Akk. 20); and the next to the last name in the list of provinces, now in line 30, should be left blank, both in the OP and in the Akk.

With the middle of line 30 a new section begins, and this is where my previous version went astray. My OP text contained one more section than the Akk. version, because of my failure to unite more closely the fragments at my command; Weissbach has succeeded in doing this, showing that my fragment 5 should not be fitted into lines 31-38, but into lines 35-41, thereby eliminating four lines from the total length of the text. I am happy to admit and confirm the correction, and to present here this portion of the text of the inscription, into which there fits also Weissbach's *Inc. b*, given in a typeset facsimile by C. Bezold in a review of Weissbach's *Keilinschr., Zts. f. Assyr.* 25. 394 (1911), the improved readings of which were utilized by Weissbach in his recent article.

For clearness as to the relation of this fragment to the other fragments, a transcript of Bezold's plate in *ZA* 25. 394 is here given, showing the right margin and the number of characters in each line, as well as the position in the complete inscription:

Position in Inscription		Line of Fragment	Characters in Line
31	: -du-u-ša-+-+	1	
32-33	ma-: -da-ha-ya-a-va	2	26
33-34	ya-ma-: -a-ja-:	3	20
34-35	a-: -a-u-ra-ma-za	4	24
36	ma-: -na-i-ya-: -ja-ta-i	5	27
37	ya-: a-sa-ta-i-ya	6	24
38	va-na-a-: -ta-ra	7	24
39	ya-a-: -ta-ya-ma-: sa	8	24
40-41	na-i-ya-: -vi-i-ma	9	22



Position in Inscription		Line of Fragment	Characters in Line
42	: -xa-ša-a-ya-θa-i	10	26
42-43	ka-ra-ta-ma-: -+-+	11	27
44	ta-ma-+-+	12	28

The number of characters per line is not so nearly uniform as in the version represented by the other fragments, and there may be some variations in the text, especially in line 3, where the replacement of (lost) *a-ya-u-da* by *ya-u-di-i-na-i-ya-: -a-ha* would add 6 characters without changing the meaning (for the reading, cf. Dar. NRa 32), thus bringing the line up to normal length. Variation is seen also in line 10, where *xšāyaθi[ya]* was written in full instead of the ideogram *XŠ* of Fragment 7.

In presenting lines 30-45 of the inscription, the portion in which Weissbach has made improvements, I shall use the same notation as in my previous article, but using the new revised numbering of the lines:

Fragment 5, lines 31-37 (no line-ends) ; Scheil 24. 125.

Fragment 6, lines 33-45 (line-ends at left) ; Scheil 24. 123.

Fragment 7, lines 35-49 (line-ends at left) ; Scheil 24. 124.

Fragment 9, lines 31-44 (line-ends at right, but a different line-length) ; Bezold, *Zts. f. Assyr.* 25. 394.

Fragment 10, lines 34-37 (no line-ends) ; Scheil 21. 23, marked ?.

Their readings will be indicated by raised numerals placed at the beginnings and the ends of the extant passages, except that the readings of Frag. 10 will be set between asterisks; passages not extant in any fragment will be set in italics within square brackets, and characters which are extant only in such badly damaged form as to make their reading dubious apart from their context, will also be set in italics. But in the commentary, all linguistic citations are in italics.

In this notation, it should be remembered that the extant characters of each fragment overrun the ends of the lines as here given, only in Fragment 9, which overruns the ends of lines 32, 33, 34, 40, 42. Frag. 6 began line 41 with [*rda*]*tiy*, the *ma* which begins the line in Frag. 7 being in Frag. 6 at the end of the preceding line. As the inscription is now restored, lines 31 to 43 inclusive each have 21 characters, and line 44 has 22 characters; with this,

we may compare the length of the lines at the beginning of the inscription, where the line-ends and the formulaic character of the text give certainty to the restoration:

Line 1,	22 characters
Lines 2- 4,	21 characters
Lines 5-10,	22 characters
Line 11,	21 characters
Lines 12-17,	22 characters

Lines 18-29, with *Ma-ka* <sup>2</sup> in line 24 between *Ōataguš* and *Gadāra*, and ending with *Skudra*, will contain 255 characters, which gives 9 lines of 21 characters each and 3 lines of 22 characters each. Line 30 will begin with the word-divider, followed by a lost name of five characters (estimated; the name is lost also in the Akk.), then a divider and the name *Karkā* (proved by the Akk.); which, with the remainder of the line here given, makes the average 21 characters:

- 30 [ : θātiy : Dāra-]  
 31 [yavauš : XŠ : vasaiy : t]<sup>5</sup>ya<sup>9</sup> : d<sup>5</sup>uš<sup>9</sup>[karta-]  
 32 [m : āha : ava : naiḃam : a]<sup>5</sup>kunava<sup>59</sup>m : da-  
 33 h<sup>6</sup>yā<sup>6</sup>va<sup>9</sup> [ : ayauda : aniya]<sup>5</sup> : ani<sup>9</sup>ya<sup>5</sup>m :  
 34 a<sup>6</sup>ja<sup>\*</sup> :<sup>9</sup> a<sup>\*</sup>va : a<sup>6</sup>[dam : ]<sup>5</sup>akunavam<sup>5</sup> [ : vašn]<sup>9</sup>ā  
 35 : <sup>6</sup>A<sup>\*</sup>urama<sup>\*</sup>z<sup>9</sup>dāh<sup>657</sup>ā<sup>7</sup> : yaθā : a<sup>5</sup>[niya : a-]  
 36 <sup>6</sup>ni<sup>\*</sup>ya<sup>9</sup>m : <sup>7</sup>nai<sup>\*</sup>y<sup>7</sup> : ja<sup>65</sup>ti<sup>9</sup>y : ci<sup>5</sup>[nā : gā-]  
 37 <sup>67</sup>θav<sup>\*</sup>ā : kaš<sup>\*</sup>ci<sup>9</sup>y : <sup>6</sup>a<sup>7</sup>s<sup>5</sup>tiy<sup>9</sup> : d<sup>5</sup>[ātam : ]  
 38 <sup>67</sup>tya : manā : hacā<sup>6</sup> : a<sup>9</sup>va<sup>7</sup>nā : tar<sup>9</sup>[sati-]  
 39 <sup>67</sup>y : yaθā : hya<sup>6</sup> : tauvi<sup>79</sup>yā : tyam : sa-<sup>9</sup>  
 40 <sup>67</sup>kauθim : naiy<sup>6</sup> : jati<sup>7</sup>[y : ]<sup>9</sup>naiy : vi-  
 41 <sup>7</sup>ma<sup>9</sup>rda<sup>6</sup>tiy : θā<sup>6</sup>tiy<sup>7</sup> [ : Dārayavauš : ]  
 42 <sup>79</sup>XŠ<sup>9</sup> : vaš<sup>6</sup>nā : Au<sup>6</sup>ramazd<sup>7</sup>[āhā : dasta]<sup>9</sup>ka-  
 43 <sup>7</sup>rtam :<sup>9</sup> va<sup>6</sup>saiy :<sup>6</sup> tya :<sup>7</sup> [paruvam : naiy]  
 44 <sup>7</sup> : gāθavā<sup>6</sup> : kar<sup>69</sup>tam<sup>79</sup> [ : ava : adam : gāθa-]  
 45 <sup>7</sup>vā : akuna<sup>6</sup>va<sup>6</sup>m :<sup>7</sup>

§ 4. 30-41. Says Darius the king: Much that was done ill, that I made good. Provinces were in uproar, one man smote another: the following I effected by the favor of Ahuramazda, that one man not smite another at all, each person is in his place. The law which

<sup>2</sup> If *Maciyā* be used, then we have 258 characters, making 6 lines of 21 characters and 6 of 22 each.

is mine, of that he is afraid, so that the stronger smites not the weak, nor harms him.

§ 5. 41-45. Says Darius the king: By the favor of Ahuramazda, much handiwork which before was put out of its place, that I put back into its place. ....

§ 6. 45-50. ....

§ 7. 50-52. ....

#### NOTES

This version follows Weissbach's, except in *ci[nā]* 36. The language is at several points confirmed by the idioms used in the Daiva-Inscription of Xerxes found by Herzfeld at Persepolis and available in *Lang.* 13. 292-305. The notes take up the differences from my previous version.

30 *θātiy* to 34 *aja*: this represents my previous 30 *θātiy* to 33 *ajana*, combined with 34 to 37 *dahyāva*; essentially with the omission of 34-7, and of the repeated *θātiy*: *Dārayavauš*: *XŠ*.

31-2 *duškartam*: assured by Frag. 9; the trace of the character *du* in Frag. 5 is ambiguous.

32 *āha*: its addition makes the line of the proper length.

32 *naibam*: shown by the Daiva-Insc. 43, to be the regular word for "good", rather than \**vauv* (= Skt. *vasu*, Av. *vohu*), which appears in OP only in a few personal names.

33 *ayauda*: this fits the line-length better than my previous *yaudatiya* with a resumptive *tyā* immediately following.<sup>3</sup>

33 *aniya aniyam*: masc., not fem. as I previously supposed. For the use of the masc. with *dahyāva*, cf. Daiva-Insc. 31 and note thereto, *Lang.* 13. 299.

34 *aja*: not *ajana*.

34 *adam*: the addition gives the line its proper length. From here the text goes on at my older line 38.

36 *ca-i-+-+*: here stood a word of four characters, the first two being extant in Frag. 5. The only possibilities seem to be *citā*, known from Bh. 2. 48 and 63, and a hitherto unknown *cinā*. OP' *citā* "so long" is used only with correlative *yātā* "until";

<sup>3</sup> In the Daiva-Insc., *a-ya-u-da* should be normalized not *ayuda*, with Herzfeld *AMI* 8. 56-77 (whom I followed in *Lang.* 13. 294), but *ayauda*, since the corresponding verb in Avestan has the present-tense stem *yaoza*, "boil" = OP *yauda*. Equation with Skt. *yudh-*, Av. *yaod-* "fight", is possible, but somewhat less likely because of the difference in present formation: *yudhyāti*, *yūidyēiti*.

it is possible, but not probable, that *ciṭā* alone was used in the meaning "until", with the connotation "so that". *Cinā* seems to me more likely, as an instrumental adverb from the stem *ci-*, meaning "whereby", = "so that"; or in an indefinite meaning, "at all", after a negative, as here, and followed by a supplementary statement. The latter interpretation seems to me better, since the word can then be equated with Avestan *cinā*, given by Chr. Bartholomae in the *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* 594-5 as following a negative and having the meanings, in combination with the negative, "auch nicht, gleicherweise nicht, ebensowenig, nicht einmal, ne . . . quidem". The *nicht einmal* meaning is that which fits here, and I have adopted it in my translation. The only objection to the equation is that the Avestan *cinā* (and its declinable derivative stem *cina-*) are equated with Skt. *canā*; but the *i*-vowel may be original in the Avestan forms, rather than secondary from *-a-*, and Av. *cinā* may therefore be exactly equivalent to the restored OP *ci[nā]*.

37 *asti*y: certain in Frag. 9, although in Frag. 6 the last characters of this line are *a* and a very fragmentary character which in Scheil's drawing does not agree with *sa*.

38-9 *tar[sati]*y: the first two characters assured by Frag. 9, thus replacing my previous [*apariyā*]ya.<sup>4</sup>

39 *tauviyā*: nom. sing. masc. of the comparative; for the formation, cf. Av. *staoyah-* "stronger", Skt. *sthavīyas-*.

39-40 *sakaušim*: as established by Frag. 9; cf. *JAOS* 56. 219-20.

40-41 *vimardati*y: with the prefix, as shown by Frag. 9.

42-3 *dastakartam*: the *dasta-* is established by the Elamite *ŠU-MEŠ-ma h[u-ut-tuq-qa]* "in (=with) the hand made", in the corresponding place; cf. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 91. 85.

43 *paruvam naiy*: established by the corresponding Elamite *ap-pu-qa in-ni* "formerly not"; cf. Weissbach, *ZDMG* 91. 85.

45 ff.: Weissbach's latest restoration, in *ZfA* 44. 159-60, using the reverse of Frag. 11, completes the text in 52 lines, which seems to be correct. In 45-49 (= my old 50-55) there are still considerable gaps. In the final section, the wording is correct as I gave it in *JAOS* 54. 43-4, though the ideogram may have been used for *Auramazdā*. The publication of Fragment 11 is an essential preliminary to further comment.

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<sup>4</sup> But the idiom of the ablative with *apariyāya* is assured by the Daiva-Insc., lines 49 and 51-2, cf. the note thereon in *Lang.* 13. 303.

The three Elamite fragments are so distributed that with the aid of the OP and Akk. versions and of the Nakš-i-Rustam texts it is possible to make a tentative restoration of the 34 lines corresponding to the first 44 lines of the OP, except for a very few words. Two of the three fragments are inscribed on both sides, so that we have five fragments of text, as follows:

Frag. 1, lines 4-11 (line-ends at left); Scheil 21. 71, obverse.

Frag. 2, lines 9-13 (no line-ends); Scheil 21. 75, obverse.

Frag. 3, lines 13-21 (line-ends at left); Scheil 21. 63.

Frag. 4, lines 27-36 (line-ends at left); Scheil 21. 72, reverse of Frag. 1.

Frag. 5, lines 30-34 (no line-ends); Scheil 21. 75, reverse of Frag. 2.

The same notation is used as for the OP transliteration, namely raised numerals to indicate the fragments and italics for letters present only in ambiguous traces, as well as for those entirely lost. Line 13 is given twice, since the line-divisions in Fragments 2 and 3 were different. After line 20 there is a blank space of one line in Frag. 3, though no text seems to have been omitted. The division in lines 30-34 is according to Frag. 4, the extant text of Frag. 5 here overrunning the line-ends.

A serious difficulty develops when the relative position of the texts on obverse and reverse is studied. Line 32 on Frag. 5 stands opposite line 11 of Frag. 2, its obverse, which indicates an inscription of 42 lines, a length made probable by the amount of OP text; but lines 9 and 30 are opposite each other on Frag. 1 and Frag. 4, which gives an apparent total of 38 lines. This inconsistency can be explained on the basis that Frag. 1-4 was inscribed on the front and back of a tablet, and on the top and bottom edges as well; 17 lines on the front, 4 on the bottom, 17 on the reverse, 4 on the top edge, which brings lines 9 and 30 opposite each other. Frag. 2-5 was on a tablet which was inscribed front and back only, or perhaps also on the bottom edge, but without text on the top edge. In any instance, Frag. 3 represents another copy, since its text overlaps that of Frag. 2, and it runs from line 13 to line 21, ending at an edge—whereas lines 18-21 on Frag. 1-4 must have been on the bottom of the tablet. Also, the stopping of Frag. 3 at line 21 indicates a half-way mark which is confirmed by our other calculations, though we may wonder why Frag. 3 has a line of empty space

before line 21, which must have been matched by another blank somewhere on the reverse.

I wish to emphasize again that this text is only tentative; the original may have had alternative writings in almost any portion of the restored parts. Above all, I should not have ventured to give it here if I had not enjoyed the assistance of my friend and colleague, Professor E. A. Speiser. My hope is that this tentative text will assist in the utilization of any further fragments which may be found to belong to this document.

I here use, with a few slight modifications, Weissbach's old system of transliteration, that the reader may more easily compare this text with the material published in his *Keilinschriften*. For the readings now proposed by Weissbach himself, cf. *ZfA* 44. 161-2.

- 1 [<sup>na</sup>pu-ap ir-ša-ir-ra <sup>na</sup>pu-ra-más-da ak-ga <sup>d</sup>mu-ru-un da-aš-]
- 2 [-da <sup>na</sup>pi-ik hu-be da-aš-da ak-ga <sup>1</sup>ruh<sup>id</sup> be-ip-la-iš-da]
- 3 [ak-ga ši-ya-ti-um be-ip-la-iš-da <sup>1</sup>ruh<sup>id</sup>-ir-ra-na ak-ga]
- 4 [<sup>1</sup>da-ri-ya-ma-u]-<sup>1</sup>iš <sup>1</sup>sunkuk<sup>1</sup> [ir hu-ut-taš-da ki-ir ir-še-ki-]
- 5 [-ip-na] <sup>1</sup>sunkuk ki-ir ir-še<sup>1</sup>-[ik-ki-ip-in-na da-]
- 6 [-ut]-<sup>1</sup>te-nu-um-ir-ra <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [<sup>1</sup>da-ri-ya-ma-u-iš <sup>1</sup>sunkuk ir-]
- 7 <sup>1</sup>ša-ir-ra <sup>1</sup>sunkuk <sup>1</sup>sunkuk-ip-in-na <sup>1</sup>[sunkuk da-a-u-iš-pe mi-]
- 8 <sup>1</sup>-iš-ba-da-na-aš-pe-na <sup>1</sup>sunkuk <sup>d</sup>mu<sup>1</sup>-[ru-un hi uk-ku-ra-ir-]
- 9 <sup>1</sup>-ra ir-ša-<sup>2</sup>na ša<sup>2</sup>-da-<sup>2</sup>ni-qa ha-te<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-[iš-da-aš-ba <sup>1</sup>ša-ak-]
- 10 <sup>1</sup>-ri <sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1,2</sup>ak-ga-man-<sup>1</sup>nu-ši-ya <sup>1</sup>par-sir<sup>12</sup> [<sup>1</sup>par-sir <sup>1</sup>]
- 10 <sup>1</sup>-ri <sup>1</sup>ha<sup>1,2</sup>a-qa-man-<sup>1</sup>nu-ši-ya <sup>1</sup>par-sir<sup>12</sup> [<sup>1</sup>par-sir]
- 11 <sup>1</sup>ša-ak<sup>1</sup>-[ri <sup>1</sup>]<sup>2</sup>har-ri-ya <sup>1</sup>har-ri-ya<sup>2</sup> [ši-iš-ša a-ak <sup>1</sup>da-ri-]
- 12 [-ya-ma-u]-<sup>2</sup>iš <sup>1</sup>sunkuk na-an-ri za-u<sup>2</sup>-[mi-in <sup>na</sup>pu-ra-más-da-]
- 13 [-na hi <sup>1</sup>da-a]-<sup>23</sup>ya<sup>3</sup>-u-iš <sup>1</sup>ap<sup>2</sup>-[pa . . .
- 13 <sup>23</sup>-ya<sup>3</sup>-u-iš <sup>1</sup>ap<sup>2</sup>-[pa <sup>1</sup>ú mar-ri-ra me-ša-me-ra-qa <sup>d</sup>par-sip ik-]
- 14 <sup>3</sup>-qa-mar<sup>3</sup> [<sup>1</sup>ú ik-ki ma-ir-da-nu-ip man-na-ut-me <sup>1</sup>u-ni-]
- 15 <sup>3</sup>-ni ku<sup>3</sup>-[ti-iš ap-pa <sup>1</sup>ú ik-qa-mar ap tur-ri-qa hu-be hu-ut-tuk-]
- 16 <sup>3</sup>-qa da-at<sup>3</sup>-[da-um ap-pa <sup>1</sup>ú-ni-na hu-be ap-in mar-ri-]
- 16 <sup>3</sup>-ud-da ap<sup>3</sup>-[pa <sup>1</sup>ú-ni-na da-at-da-um hu-be ap-in mar-ri-]
- 17 <sup>3</sup>-iš <sup>d</sup>ma<sup>3</sup>-[da <sup>d</sup>hal-la-tam-ti <sup>d</sup>par-tu-ma <sup>d</sup>har-ri-ma <sup>d</sup>ba-]
- 18 <sup>3</sup>-ak-tur<sup>3</sup>-[ri-iš <sup>d</sup>su-ug-da <sup>d</sup>ma-ra-iš-mi-iš <sup>d</sup>sir-ra-an-qa <sup>d</sup>]
- 19 <sup>3</sup>ha-ru-ma<sup>3</sup>-[ti-iš <sup>d</sup>sa-at-da-ku-iš <sup>1</sup>maš-ši-ya-ap <sup>d</sup>]
- 20 <sup>3</sup>gan-da<sup>3</sup>-[ra <sup>d</sup>hi-in-du-iš <sup>d</sup>ša-ak-qa <sup>d</sup>u-mu-mar-qa-ip <sup>d</sup>ša-ak-]
- 21 <sup>3</sup>-qa ti<sup>3</sup>-[ik-ra-qa-u-da-ap <sup>d</sup>ba-pi-li <sup>d</sup>aš-šú-ra <sup>d</sup>har-ba-ya]
- 22 [<sup>1</sup>ya-u-na-ip AN.KAM<sup>id</sup>-ip <sup>d</sup>ša-ak-qa ap-pa AN.KAM<sup>id</sup> mi-ud-]
- 23 [-du-man-na <sup>d</sup>iš-ku-ud-ra <sup>d</sup>+.-+.-+.-+ <sup>1</sup>kur-qa-ap a-ak]

- 24 <sup>1</sup>[*da-ri-ya-ma-u-iš* <sup>1</sup>*sun**kuk* *na-an-ri ir-še-ik-ki ap-pa*]  
 25 [+ - + - + *hu-ut-tuk-qa hu-be ši-iš-ni-na* <sup>1</sup>*ú hu-ut-da-ra*]  
 26 [*da-a-ya-u-iš* + - + - + *ir-qa ki-ir hal-pi-iš hu-be* <sup>1</sup>]  
 27 <sup>4</sup>*u hu*<sup>4</sup>- [*ut-da-ra za-u-mi-in* <sup>nap</sup>*u-ra-más-da-na sa-ap ir*-]  
 28 <sup>4</sup>-*qa ki-ir in-ni*<sup>4</sup> [*za-ma-ak* + - + - +]  
 29 <sup>4</sup>*qa-te-ma mur-da*<sup>4</sup> [*da-at-da-um ap-pa* <sup>1</sup>*ú-ni-na hu-be*]  
 30 <sup>4</sup>*iq-qa-mar ip-še-man-ba sa-ap*<sup>4</sup> [<sup>1</sup>*ib*<sup>5</sup>*ba*<sup>4</sup>-*ak-ra* <sup>1</sup>*iš*-  
 31 <sup>4</sup>*tuk-ra*<sup>5</sup> *in-ni ir-qa za-ma-ak in*<sup>5</sup>*ni*<sup>4</sup> *ir-qa ra-ma-ak*  
 32 <sup>4</sup>*a-ak*<sup>5</sup> <sup>1</sup>*da-ri-ya-ma-u-iš* <sup>1</sup>*sun**kuk*<sup>4</sup> *na-an-ri za-u-mi-in*  
 33 <sup>4nap</sup><sup>5</sup>*u-ra-más-da-na ŠU-MEŠ*<sup>5</sup>*ma hu*<sup>4</sup>-*ut-tuk-qa ir-še-ik-ki*  
 34 <sup>4</sup>*ap*<sup>5</sup>-*pa ap-pu-qa in-ni qa-te-ma hu*<sup>4</sup>-<sup>5</sup>*ut-tuk*<sup>5</sup>- [*qa ir*]-<sup>5</sup>*še*<sup>5</sup>- [*ik*]-  
 35 [-*ki* + + + + + ]-<sup>4</sup>*ri-ap* <sup>1</sup>*ú*<sup>4</sup>[  
 36 ]<sup>4</sup>*qa*<sup>4</sup>[

## NOTES

1 ff. I have used a suspended *d* to designate the horizontal wedge-determinative.

5-6 *da-ut-te-nu-um-ir-ra*: with reversal of the order of the elements in the compound, as compared with NRa 6 *te-nu-um-da-ut-ti-ra*, as Scheil 21. 73 points out.

19 *maš-ši-ya-ap*: equivalent to OP *macyā*, as in Elam. NRa 25 = OP NRa 30. The length of the line seems to demand this reading rather than the shorter *ma-ak-qa* Bh. 1. 14 = OP *maka* Bh. 1. 17.

23: There is a name of a province here, that is lost in all versions.

25: The gap is for a word representing the *duš*- of OP *duškartam*.

26: The gap is for the correspondent of OP *ayauda*. For the *aniya aniyam* that immediately follows in OP 33, and recurs in OP 35-36 (Elam. 27-28), I have set *ir-qa ki-ir*, which is in part extant at its second occurrence; space seems to be lacking for *da-a-e da-a-e*, in both places.

28: The Elam. text here is inadequate to fill the line, although by the meaning we seem to need only the equivalent of OP *cinā* (if that be the correct restoration in OP 36).

29 *da-at-da-um*: for OP *dātam*, borrowed into Elam. Weissbach, ZDMG 91. 83, restores as *da-ut-tam*; NRa (Elam.) 16 has *da-at-tim*, according to Stolze's photograph (so Weissbach, *Keilinsch. d. Achäm.* 88); but the Daiva-Inscription of Xerxes has *da-at-da-um* (according to photograph in my possession, Elam. 14-15), and this is what I have followed.

Finally, Weissbach in *ZDMG* 91. 84-5 and *ZfA* 44. 162-4 offers some alternatives to the Akkadian text (Scheil 24. 116-21, with plates), which Professor Speiser prepared for inclusion in my article in *JAOS* 54. 47-50. It is to be remembered that in the restorations Speiser was misled by the defective character of my OP version. The essential changes are as follows:

- 4: Wb. omits *iš-tin*, thinking the space inadequate.
- 11: Wb. omits *û*.
- 14: Correct *ma-da-a* (misprint) to *ma-da-a-a*.
- 20, at end: Wb. has *i-na nār<sup>m</sup>[ar-ra-tum û šá]*, which means *utā* instead of *Sakā* in OP 28; this agrees with the *Daiva-Insc.* 23-4, rather than with *NRa* 28-9.
- 21: Wb. restores at the end [*mat<sup>m</sup>pu-û-ta mat<sup>m</sup>ku-û-šu*], though he admits (*ZfA* 44. 168) that the space is inadequate for the restoration of more than one name, unless the characters are unusually crowded.
- 23: Wb. has *b[ab-ba-nu-û]* for [*da-mi-iq-ti*].
- 24: Wb. omits the restored *-šû-nu* of Speiser's text.
- 25: Wb. has [*a-na-ku e-pu-uš i-na*] instead of *-[nu ki pa-na-ma e-te-pu-uš] i-na*.
- 26: Wb. restores *ša nišē<sup>mes</sup>* instead of *a-ga-šû-û-nu*.
- 28: Wb. restores *p[a-li]h-u-* (= OP *tarsatiy*), instead of *ku-[ul]-lu-*.
- 31-33: Weissbach's proposed text is the following; I set \* before words differing from the readings of Speiser, who however proposed (or considered) them all, *JAOS* 54. 50.
- 31 ..... \**dul-lu-um* (?) *ma-a-du šá i-na*
- 32 \**pa-na-ma [i-na áš]-ri-šû la ep-šu a-na-ku i-na*
- 33 *áš-r[i-šu \*e-(te-)pu-u]š \*a-mu-ur-ma bir-tum*

The last passage then agrees perfectly with the OP, beginning with *dul-lu-um* 'Arbeit', = *dastakartam* OP 42-3, to *e-pu-uš* (or *e-te-pu-uš*) = *akunavam* OP 45. He regards the character GUR as the stonemason's error for *pa*. After *akunavam*, however, he sets [*utā : avai-*] 46 'nam : didā', to correspond with (Scheil's reading) *a-mu-ur-ma bir-tum* "(and) I saw: a wall ..." Even with the insertion of *utā*, line 45 of the OP has then but 17 characters, which makes it plain either that another word stood there or that *a-mu-ur-ma* and *avainam* are not to be read. For Akk. 33, therefore, I still feel that Speiser's reading (given *JAOS* 54. 48) is better.



## LAPSES OF OLD TESTAMENT TRANSLATORS

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NO BOOK has been so frequently translated as the Hebrew Bible and none has been the object of such profound and critical scholarship, and yet no book has probably been less accurately translated than that same Bible. The main difficulty is, of course, that Hebrew and English are so very different from each other in vocabulary, grammar, and syntax. The task of the translator is not an easy one.<sup>1</sup> There are a thousand and one things to keep in mind, and it is little wonder that slips so frequently occur. It is the purpose of this paper to note a few of the many instances where translators of the Old Testament have erred through inattention to Hebrew grammar and syntax.

The order of words in a Hebrew sentence is scarcely ever what it would be in English. All scholars know this, and yet they often fail to apply their knowledge. An illuminating example is Josh. 21:43, where all translators have followed the Hebrew order of words to give the totally wrong rendering, "So Yahweh gave Israel all the land which he had sworn to give to their fathers." What the Hebrew actually says is, "So Yahweh gave Israel all the land which he had sworn to their fathers to give to them," i. e., "to Israel" (with the direct object first and the indirect object second, as is usual in Hebrew).

More illuminating still are the many instances where the *casus pendens* construction in the Hebrew has been overlooked. Scholars have quite generally recognized this construction in Gen. 1:4, which reads literally, "God saw, as for the light, that it was good," or in idiomatic English, "God saw that the light was good." What God saw was not "the light," as used to be understood by reproducing the Hebrew order of words, but "that the light was good." This construction is a very common one in most of the Semitic languages, and it is found in the Old Testament much more frequently than is generally recognized. For example, in Deut. 9:13 אֶת־הָעָם is regularly taken as the object of the pre-

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<sup>1</sup> For some of the difficulties see the present writer's "Translation Difficulties in the Old Testament," *Religion in Life* III 491-506.

ceding verb, but closer inspection shows that it is to be taken as *casus pendens* and the verb as the perfect of instantaneous action: "I see, as for this people, behold it is a people stiff of neck," or in idiomatic English, "I see that this people is indeed a stiff-necked people."

Similarly, Deut. 5:12, with its variant Exod. 20:8, is not to be translated, as it is universally, "Observe (*var.*, remember) the Sabbath day to keep it holy," but "Be careful (*var.*, remember) to keep the Sabbath day holy." The words, אֲתֵיּוֹם הַשַּׁבָּת, are not the object of שָׁמַר, but are in the *casus pendens*, and the verb שָׁמַר has here, not the meaning "to keep, observe," but "to be careful," as so frequently elsewhere. If any other proof of this were necessary, it would be sufficient to compare two passages like Deut. 8:1, "All the charge that I am enjoining on you today, you must be careful to observe," and Deut. 7:11, literally, "So you must be careful, as for the charge, namely, the statutes and ordinances that I am enjoining on you today, to observe them," or in idiomatic English, "So you must be careful to observe the charge, namely, the statutes and ordinances that I am enjoining on you today." In these two passages the author is saying exactly the same thing, using two different constructions to emphasize the word "charge": by placing it at the beginning of the sentence in Deut. 8:1 and by putting it in the *casus pendens* in Deut. 7:11.

Other examples of the *casus pendens* construction, properly translated into idiomatic English, are as follows: "For I fear that he will come and slay me, as well as the mothers and children" (Gen. 32:12); "Be assured that your sin will find you out" (Num. 32:23); "But you must remember that it is Yahweh, your God, who has been giving you power to gain wealth" (Deut. 8:18); "That all the peoples of the earth may know that the hand of Yahweh is strong" (Josh. 4:24); "I alone am left, and they seek to take my life" (I Kings 19:10, 14); "For those who keep his covenant and remember to observe his precepts" (Ps. 103:18). And these are only a few of the many instances where translators have failed to recognize the *casus pendens* and have erred accordingly in their translations.

Another construction that is frequently overlooked is the explicative use of *waw*. It is found in one of the passages quoted above, Deut. 7:11, "So you must be careful to observe the charge, namely, the statutes and ordinances that I am enjoining on you today."

The *waw* used with **אֶת־הַחֲקִים** in the Massoretic text is omitted in some thirteen Hebrew manuscripts and in the Samaritan version, as it is in the same context in Deut. 6:1. This shows that the *waw* is not conjunctive, as ordinarily taken, but explicative, and so it is to be translated "namely." Similarly, in Exod. 20:4 the *waw* prefixed to **כָּל־תְּמוּנָה**, as is shown by its omission in the parallel passage, Deut. 5:8, is explicative, "You must not make for yourself a carved image, namely, any likeness of that which is in the heavens above, or which is on the earth below, or which is in the waters under the earth." The *waw* is not to be taken as conjunctive, as it regularly is, nor is it to be deleted with the editors of all three editions of the Hebrew text in Kittel's *Biblica Hebraica*.

Sometimes the failure to recognize the *waw* explicative leads to a totally wrong interpretation, as, for example, in Lev. 18:7, usually translated, "The nakedness of thy father and the nakedness of thy mother thou shalt not uncover; she is thy mother; thou shalt not uncover her nakedness." The verse, however, reads literally, "The nakedness belonging to your father, namely, the nakedness of your mother, you must not uncover; since she is your mother, you must not uncover her nakedness," or in better English, "You must not have intercourse with her who belongs to your father, namely, your mother; since she is your mother, you must not have intercourse with her." The last half of the verse, with its first clause circumstantial, shows quite definitely that the *waw* with **עֲרוֹת אָמֶךְ** is not to be taken as conjunctive, as it is by all translators, but as explicative.

This same passage also illustrates another construction that Old Testament translators are continually overlooking—more often than any other. All scholars are perfectly aware of the fact that Hebrew expresses logical subordination by grammatical co-ordination, the grammatically subordinate clause appearing with comparative rarity. In the verse under discussion, Lev. 18:7b, there are two grammatically co-ordinate clauses in Hebrew, but the first is clearly circumstantial and should accordingly be translated, "since she is your mother."

Another illustration of the same construction, universally overlooked, is Exod. 7:14b, 15a, where we have, it is true, four grammatically co-ordinate clauses, but to translate them as independent clauses is to fail utterly to bring out the thought of the Hebrew. The first clause, with its verb as participle, is clearly circumstantial.

The second clause is just as clearly adverbial to it,<sup>2</sup> telling how Pharaoh is stubborn. Since a clause can be construed as a noun and hence can be in any case (nominative, genitive, or accusative), this clause is to be taken as being in the accusative; not as the object of a verb, but in the adverbial accusative or the accusative of manner. The main clause appears at the beginning of verse 15, and the clause that follows, with its verb as participle, is of course circumstantial. Hence it is quite incorrect to translate these clauses as four independent sentences, as is regularly done, but instead they must be translated as follows: "Since Pharaoh is stubborn, in that he refuses to let the people go, go to Pharaoh in the morning, just as he is leaving the water."

When once it is recognized how clauses may appear in the adverbial accusative in Hebrew, the construction is seen to be of common occurrence, and its accurate reproduction in English makes a translation quite different from the accepted versions, as a few examples will show: "Search was made, beginning with the oldest and ending with the youngest" (Gen. 44:12);<sup>3</sup> "So Joshua captured all the cities of those kings, as well as all the kings themselves, and put them to the sword, putting them under the ban, as Moses, the servant of Yahweh, had commanded" (Josh. 11:12);<sup>3</sup> "You have acted foolishly by not keeping the command of Yahweh, your God" (I Sam. 13:13);<sup>4</sup> "So he remained there with Yahweh for forty days and nights, without eating bread or drinking water" (Exod. 34:28); "I found<sup>5</sup> that you had indeed sinned against Yahweh, your God, by making yourselves a molten bull, having quickly swerved from the path that Yahweh appointed you" (Deut. 9:16); "Only be very strong and resolute to be careful to do just as my servant Moses commanded you, without swerving therefrom either to the right or to the left, in order that you may succeed in

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<sup>2</sup> For this kind of clause see the writer's articles, "The Co-ordinate Adverbial Clause in Hebrew," *JAOS* 49. 156 ff.; *AJSL* 47. 51 f.

<sup>3</sup> To change the verbs of the co-ordinate adverbial clauses in these two passages from the finite form to the infinitive absolute, as is regularly done, is seen to be quite unnecessary and wrong, when once the construction is recognized.

<sup>4</sup> To change נָחַם to נָח in this passage; as is regularly done [but see Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, ad loc.], is again quite uncalled for and wrong.

<sup>5</sup> All translators take this verb as intransitive, "I looked," whereas it is clearly transitive, its object being the clause immediately following.

all that you undertake" (Josh. 1:7); "So Joshua made a surprise attack on them, by marching all night from Gilgal" (Josh. 10:9); "You are to eat it just as you would a gazelle or a deer, the unclean and the clean eating it together" (Deut. 12:22). To the extent that the translator fails to recognize these adverbial clauses, to that extent he fails to do justice to the Hebrew. They are not to be translated as independent clauses, as is universally done, but as subordinate clauses, since that is their equivalent in English. A translation, to be accurate, must reproduce the idiom of the original in the idiom of the language into which it is translated and not simply produce a literal word by word rendering, which is often no translation at all.

Closely related to the clause in the adverbial accusative is that in the accusative of specification. A good illustration is found in Lam. 2:17, which verse, rather strikingly, contains three clauses in the accusative, each of a different kind. The clause, *אשר זמם*, is in the accusative as the object of the verb *עשה*. The last clause, *ולא חמל*, is in the adverbial accusative, expressing the manner in which the action of the preceding verb, *הרס*, was carried out. The clause, *אשר צוה מיט־קדם*, has regularly been taken as a relative clause, but to do this is to destroy the parallelism of the passage and turn the poetry into prose:

"Yahweh has done what he planned; he has carried out his word,  
Which he decreed long ago; he has devastated without mercy."

The clause in question is not relative, but is in the accusative of specification, "in the matter of that which he decreed long ago," or in more acceptable English, "as he decreed long ago." Hence the verse should be translated as follows:

"Yahweh has done what he planned, he has carried out his word;  
As he decreed long ago, he has devastated without mercy."

This is poetry, with the parallelism of the original preserved, and it is to be noted, furthermore, that the parallelism is climactic, another thing that is lost in the ordinary translation.

The fact that the grammatically co-ordinate clause is sometimes logically subordinate has at times an important bearing on Old Testament problems, as, for example, that of the content of the Decalogue. All scholars have read Exod. 20:2 = Deut. 5:6 as an independent sentence. Most of them have made it introductory to the Decalogue, but some have made it the first command,<sup>6</sup> when it

<sup>6</sup> E. g., J. M. P. Smith, *The Origin and History of Hebrew Law*, pp. 6 f.

is no command at all, but a mere statement of fact. They have been forced to do this because they delete the command prohibiting images (Exod. 20: 4 = Deut. 5: 8) as a late insertion into the Decalogue. Closer inspection of the text, however, shows how utterly wrong both conclusions are. The clause in question is clearly a circumstantial clause, with the subject first, as is usual with this type of clause, and the divine name, "Yahweh," is not to be taken as the predicate, but in apposition to the subject "I."<sup>7</sup> Hence the first command in the Decalogue has to be translated, "Since I, Yahweh, am your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of a state of slavery, you must have no other gods beside me." This makes utterly impossible the reading of the two verses as separate sentences or the deletion of the command prohibiting images. Hence the Decalogue must stand as it appears in the Hebrew text; but whether that was its original content is quite another matter. It has generally been thought that the arrangement in ten laws is primitive, but there is no assurance of this whatsoever. It is an arrangement found in no other Oriental law-book, and it is much more likely to be late rather than early, a purely mechanical arrangement that smacks of artificiality.

All translators, apparently without exception, ignore the consecutive or consequential force of **ו** and **למען** with the infinitive construct, some scholars even going so far as to deny the usage.<sup>8</sup> Note, however, a passage like Judges 2: 11 f., "Then the Israelites did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh, by serving the Baals and forsaking Yahweh, the God of their fathers, who had brought them out of the land of Egypt, and by running after alien gods, from among the gods of the peoples that surrounded them, and by paying homage to them, so that they provoked Yahweh to jealousy." The last clause is introduced by *waw* consecutive with the imperfect (**וַיַּעַשׂוּ**) and hence can only be interpreted as consequential. Now with this compare a passage like Deut. 9: 18, "Then I prostrated myself before Yahweh, as I did before, for forty days and nights, without eating food or drinking water, because of all the sin that you had committed, in doing what was evil in the sight of Yahweh,

<sup>7</sup> So the present writer as long ago as 1927, *The Old Testament: An American Translation*; cf. also Poebel, *Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. Sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament* (1932).

<sup>8</sup> See, e. g., Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon*, p. 775.

thus provoking him to jealousy." Here we have a different construction, the infinitive construct with the preposition ל (להכעיס), but the meaning is exactly the same, so that the ל is clearly consequential. And the same must be true of למען in such a passage as II Kings 22:17, "Because they have forsaken me and have sacrificed to alien gods, thus provoking me to jealousy (למען הכעיסני) by all the work of their hands, therefore my wrath shall be kindled against this sanctuary and it shall not be quenched." The three passages exhibit three different constructions, but they are exactly parallel, with the character of the first unequivocal and hence determining the character of the other two.

It is apparent, then, that there must be a goodly number of instances in which ל and למען with the infinitive construct must be interpreted as consequential, and the translator must ever keep a sharp lookout for these occurrences if he essays an absolutely correct translation. Another of the occurrences is Amos 2:7, "A man and his father go in to the harlots,<sup>9</sup> thus profaning (למען חלל) my holy name," or "to the profanation of my holy name," as against the regular translation "in order to profane my holy name," which is quite incorrect, since לִמְעַן here is not final, but consequential.<sup>10</sup> Hence a passage like I Kings 2:27 is to be translated "So Solomon ousted Abiathar from being priest to Yahweh in fulfilment of (למלא) the word of Yahweh, which he spoke concerning the house of Eli at Shiloh." The ordinary translation of יהוה למלא את־דבר here, "in order to fulfil the word of Yahweh,"

<sup>9</sup> This word, הַזְנוּת, has been universally mistranslated. It is a collective with the generic article, literally "the maidens," i. e., "the harlots," as the context indicates; probably religious prostitutes.

<sup>10</sup> The exact equivalent of לִמְעַן in Greek is ἵνα. In classical Greek this is always final, but in the New Testament it is often consequential, particularly with the verb πλῆρω, as most modern translators of the New Testament have recognized, but all of them have been inconsistent in their interpretations: Moffatt gives ἵνα with πλῆρω its consequential force only in Matt. 1:22, 12:17, 21:4, making all the others final; Goodspeed sees the consequential force in twice as many passages, Matt. 1:22, 2:23, 8:17, 12:17, 21:4, John 12:38; Torrey, the most consistent of all, sees the consequential force in all passages except three, which, doubtless through an oversight, he makes final, John 12:38, 15:25, 17:12. In only three passages do all the translators agree in their interpretations, viz, Matt. 1:22, 12:17, 21:4, all taken as consequential. This lack of consistency among competent scholars is an interesting commentary on the very subject that our paper discusses.

makes the mistake of taking ל with the infinitive construct as final, when it is clearly consequential; exactly as it is in English in such a sentence as "The tower rose to a height of a thousand feet, to become the tallest in the country."

Another usage of ל with the infinitive construct is that expressing degree. A good illustration is Deut. 9:8, "Even at Horeb you provoked Yahweh to anger; indeed Yahweh was angry with you to the point of destroying you" (להשמיד אתכם), or in better English, "indeed Yahweh was angry enough with you to destroy you." The same phrase and the same construction appear in Deut. 9:19, "For I stood in dread of the anger and wrath, with which Yahweh was angry against you to the point of destroying you," which in better English could be translated, "For I stood in dread of the anger and wrath which Yahweh had against you to your destruction," where the ל of the Hebrew has its exact equivalent in the English "to." One other illustration is Ruth 2:10, "Why have I found such favor in your sight that you should take notice of me (להכירני), when I am a foreigner?"

And so the list of lapses on the part of Old Testament translators might run interminably on. Our illustrations only indicate a few of the many places where translators have gone astray. No man, of course, can attain perfection, and venturesome indeed is he who would essay it. He has undertaken the impossible. But man has always been attempting the impossible, and each endeavor, with all its failures, has been a stepping-stone to a better effort. None can attain perfection, but each can add his mite to the attainment of what in the end may at least approximate perfection.



## HEBRAICA

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(1) *dârôm*, "the South" = the circle of the ecliptic?

Professor Burrows has presented an admirable historical study of the later use of the word in his article "Daroma" in *JPOS* 1932, 142 ff., and so with confinement to its application to the Southland of Judah. He gives no further suggestion for the etymology of the cryptic word. But it has a broader and more ancient signification than in its Jewish application to the Judaeen Negeb. It appears first in the North Israelite Blessing of Moses, Dt. 33: 23, according to which Naphtali is promised the possession of "West (= Sea) and South (*dârôm*).” The word is originally a general term for the south without local application. All through the Bible it refers to that point of the compass, at Eze. 40: 24, etc.; 42: 14 ff., in the plan of the temple; at Job 37: 17; Eccl. 1: 6 and 11: 3 (at these two last places in contrast to the north); at Eze. 21: 2 it is paralleled with *tēmānā(h)*, the more common word for the south, and then more particularly precised as the Negeb—a passage which may represent the first instance of the late localization of the word (the English translations generally fail in distinguishing the three words). The word occurs elsewhere only in the Aramaic Christian-Palestinian dialect (see Schulthess, *Lexicon*, 48), where it is used of the point of the compass, e. g., at Is. 43: 6, Luke 13: 29. It is accordingly common to both Hebrew and Aramaic. For its etymology the writer suggests derivation from the root *dûr*, with its sense of "circle," and so with reference to the ecliptic, the great southern circuit of the sun. Arabic derivatives of that root are similarly used by the Arabian astronomers. That such an astronomical term was used early by the West Semites is no cause of suspicion; the Babylonians knew of the ecliptic as "the path of the sun": see Meissner, *Bab. u. Ass.*, II, 406. The final syllable *-ām* is then the old accusative ending. For the surviving ending in *-ā* in nouns of direction see Ges.-Kautzsch, *HG* § 90 d-g, e. g., in the words for north and east at Is. 15: 5; for the survival of the acc. in fixed noun-forms see Bauer-Leander, *Hist. Grammatik*, p. 528. For the nasal suffix we have numerous examples, e. g.,

*yômâm* = Syr. *ʾimâm*, also S. Arab. *yumm* (Rhodokanakis, *Studien z. Etymologie*, I, 65), *ʾôlâm* (see the writer's note in *JQR* 25, 267 f.). In place-names this suffix appears, e. g., in Adullam, and constantly with distraction of the long vowel, presented as *-aïm* (see Ges.-Kautzsch, § 88). In general for these terminations see H. Torczyner's *Die Entstehung des semitischen Sprachtypus* (1916). The vocalization of our word appears to be North Canaanite.<sup>1</sup>

(2) *yām sūp* ("the Red Sea") = *Ultimum Mare*?

The translation throughout in the Greek is 'the Erythraean, i. e., Red Sea,' except at I Kings 9: 26, where the Grr. have unanimously ἡ ἐρυθρά θάλασσα, i. e., vocalizing as *sōp* instead of *sūp*. This gives a novel but admirable name for that Sea, which as an arm of the Indian Ocean is *ultimum mare*. The usual translation as 'Sea of Sedge' has never explained itself. The Red Sea is a deep body of water without, to my knowledge and upon inquiry, any particular aquatic flora. It has become customary to explain the name by a revision of the tradition of the crossing of the Red Sea at the Exodus, whereby the waters crossed were those of the swampy pools in the isthmus of Suez, with which theory the identification of the word *sūp* with Egyptian for papyrus would agree. (Reference may be made for the discussion to W. M. Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 42 ff., 101, and his article "Red Sea," in *Enc. Bibl.*)

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<sup>1</sup> Subsequent to the writing of the above there has come to hand D. Nielsen's *Ras Shamra Mythologie u. Biblische Theologie* (Leipzig, 1936). He presents (pp. 17 ff.) a strong argument for the determinative force of final *m* in many such cases in S. Arabic, e. g., the divine names *Adm*, *Ilm*, *Waddm*, at times exchanging with *n*, e. g., both *Šhrn* and *Šhrm*. With this phenomenon he combines Ras Shamra *elm*, as not "gods" but "the god," which he finds also in Phoenician *ʾlm*; and he compares the name of the Ammonite deity *Milkôm*. This outlook throws light on numerous Hebrew place-names in *-âm* > *-aïm*, e. g., Kiriathayim, accusative of "the City" (cf. *ἐς τὴν πόλιν* > "Stambul"; Kartan Jos. 21: 32 = Kiriathayim, 1 Ch. 6: 61; etc. And so in Heb. *yômâm* = *hayyôm*, 'this day, to-day' (as in Arab.). Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, I, pp. 473 f. (c, d, e) notes as though with indefinite mimation such nominal forms, place-names and adverbial forms, but in these instances the mimation is generally of definite meaning. We have to recognize the early fluid exchange of final *m* and *n*, even in Canaanite dialects, e. g., the Moabite masc. pl. in *-n*, along with intrusions in Biblical language (Ges.-K., § 87 e). Consequently the word under discussion should mean "the circuit."

But the writer has always wondered why the Red Sea should have been given so insignificant a name as Sedge Sea. The critics' plea of the ignorance of the ancients is shallow. The sea was well enough known from early times as the avenue of commerce with the distant Orient; the tradition of the crossing makes it a deep sea, Ex. 14: 21 ff.—it was no mere swamp in that tradition. The word *sûp* is used of "the flags" among which the ark containing the infant child Moses was placed, Ex. 2: 3; was the definition and so ultimately the vocalization taken from there? At all events the Greek translation with *ultimum mare* is most ingenious; if not correct, it is one of the cases in which a translation betters the original. The only writer known to me who has remarked this unique Greek rendering is B. Moritz in his *Arabien* (1923), 71, he holding however that it refers to the Gulf of Akaba as "farthest" in relation to the Gulf of Suez. Here also may be a note on other references to this *Ultimum Mare*. Psalm 72: 8 prays that the king "may have dominion from sea to sea, and from the River to the ends of the earth" (cf. Zech. 9: 10, BSira 44: 21). Commentators generally find the Euphrates in "the River," but are indefinite about the seas, as though here we have Messianic exuberance. Among the commentators, so far as I find, only the Reformation scholar Geier, and Ewald, Baethgen, Cobb place that extension between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. (See Gunkel's Comm. for various interpretations.) It is supported by v. 10 according to which the tributaries will come from Tarshish and the Isles on the one side and Seba and Sheba on the other. This definition of the seas is supported by Ex. 23: 31, where the Deity sets "thy border from the Yam Suph to the Sea of the Philistines, and from the wilderness (*midbār*) to the River." Objection might be made that our usual geographical polarization is not made, N — S, E — W. However P. K. Hitti in his recent admirable *History of the Arabs* (1937), 476, cites the Arab geographer Ibn Khallikan's specifications of the extent of the Seljuk empire at the end of the eleventh century in these terms: "His kingdom extended in length [i. e., in longitude] from Kashgar, a town at the extreme end of the land of the Turks, to Jerusalem, and from Constantinople to the Caspian Sea." Such a statement is far more obscure to our cartography than the Biblical one. To sum up, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea-Indian Ocean are the two *Ultima Maria* of Biblical geography.

## (3) The land of Cabul.

Josephus is the first to give an interpretation of this place-name at I Kings 9: 13, as "not pleasing," and subsequent commentators have in vain attempted to establish the meaning "good-for-nothing," and so the Chicago Bible renders it. But our oldest authority, the Greek Bible, translates the word with τὸ ὄριον, "the border," i. e., "the march-land." It is simply a phonetic (Phoenician?) variant of *gēbûl*, which has that meaning; cf. Phoen. *pelek* for *peleg*. The depreciative interpretation is due to the conclusion that the name was given by Hiram in his displeasure at Solomon's rate of payment of his debt, with the translation, "and he called them the land of Cabul to this day"; but that the verb is to be impersonal, after frequent usage, is demanded here by the final "unto this day." Translate with the Jewish Version and Moffatt, "and they were called," etc.

(4) "in the land" = Akk. *ina māti*.

I Kings 4: 19 concludes the list of Solomon's officers with "and one lieutenant in the land." The Old Gr. attached to this the first word in v. 20, obtaining "in the land of Judah," and either this reading has been adopted by modern critics, e. g., by Stade, who however retains "Judah" in the next verse, or another tribal name has been invented in lieu of "Judah" (see Kittel in *BH* ed. 3). But by "the land" is meant the royal province of Judah, which had its particular vice-regent. At once is to be compared the Assyrian *šākin māti*, the governor of the home-province of Ashur (see Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, 7), as well as the frequent occurrence of the expression *ina māti* for the king's remaining in residence. This usage appears again at 9: 18, 'Tamar in the steppe in the land,' which has puzzled early translators and modern critics, and also at II, 8: 1.

## (5) The multiplicative expression.

Jer. 16: 18 reads, "And I will repay their sins *ri'sônā(h)* *mišnē(h)*." The Grr. translate this phrase with διπλᾶς "two-fold" (and so a gross error in Cod. B is to be corrected). The Syriac and Vulgate translated the first word with the adverb "first," which has been followed by the English and American Versions in general. Some critics simply cancel the first word "as omitted in

the Gr." [!], e. g., Kittel in *BH*. Graf and Cornill have attempted rewriting. But the phrase is correct and means just what the Gr. has, 'two-fold.' We may only note as strange, but perhaps idiomatic, not the expected cardinals, one and two, but an adjective 'first,' followed by a noun, "double." It is the multiplicative expression,  $1 \times X = X\text{-times}$ , well known in Aramaic, e. g., Dan. 3: 19, common in Syriac, and represented in the Greek Gospel of Mark 4: 8, 20 with *ἐν τριάκοντα*, etc., "thirty-fold," etc.; as long recognized by students cognizant of the Aramaic; and yet the most recent commentator on Mark, Lohmeyer (1937), still ignores the idiom. For the troubles of the Greek textual critics (whether *ἐν*, *ἐν*, *εις*, *εις*) see Westcott and Hort, *et al.*

This idiom in Jeremiah might appear to be an Aramaism. But it also occurs in an ancient pure Hebrew text. I Sam. 1: 5 reads: "And to Hannah he would give a portion *'ahat 'appa'im*." The recent English Versions follow the Syriac in translating with "a double portion." But the phrase has been long debated, especially because of the variants in the Greek and the Latin. Smith in his Commentary and Kittel in *BH* change the text to conform with the Greek, "one portion, but [reading *'ēpes*] he loved her." (Rather a sorry reward for the best loved wife!) Jerome has a remarkable *tour de force* for the second word, *tristis*. The Syriac recognized the idiom and is correct. *'appa'im*, generally the "nostrils," but also the "face" (e. g., Gen. 3: 19) is here used as dual of *'ap* meaning "person." Gesenius in his *Thesaurus*, I, p. 127, properly insisted on this interpretation comparing Syriac *'appā*, "person." This use of the singular is now corroborated from Ras Shamra, by no. 5 of the first published tablets, where the whole personality is expressed in the phrase *'ap unpš*, "face and soul [psyche]," just as in Heb. *pānīm* came to mean the person. The passage means "a portion of  $1 \times 2$  persons," i. e., "a two-persons' portion." And this is simply what we expect.

With regard to the 'face' as representing the person, as in the phrase, "the Face of God," I recall my note on the occurrence of its use to express the divine Person at II Cor. 4: 6, where Paul speaks of 'the light of the knowledge of the Glory of God in the Person of Jesus Christ,' the earliest use of the term in Christian theology.<sup>2</sup> As may not have been recognized, this use of "face"

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<sup>2</sup> *JBL* 1934, 88.

appears in a kindred Semitic field. In Sura iii, 18 of the Koran the Prophet is bidden to say, "I have resigned my face to God." On this Baidhawi comments: "I have given my whole soul and person to him. . . . 'Face' is used to express 'self,' because the face is the most honorable of the external members of the body, and the theatre of the faculties and senses." The comment is of interest as coming from a Semitic interpreter, even as the Prophet's use of the term vouches for its widespread Semitic vogue.

(6) A case of arithmetical proportion.

At I Kings 5: 30 we read of 3300 officers "ruling over the people" in Solomon's *corvée*, but at 9: 23 there are 550 such officers. Now at 5: 27 there is a levy of 30,000 laborers for Lebanon, but at 5: 29 the figure is increased by 70,000 carriers, 80,000 hewers, i. e.,  $30,000 + 70,000 + 80,000 = 180,000$ . The increase from the lower to the higher figure of the officers was cleverly made by some computer:  $550 : 3300 = 30,000 : 180,000$ . It may be noted that the figure 3300 was changed by the Chronicler (II, 2, 17) and by the OGr. here to the round number 3600, which some modern text-critics too easily accept.

(7) The word for the harlot's fee.

At Hos. 2: 14 and 9: 1 this word appears as *'etnā(h)* and *'etnān*. It is generally recognized that the word in its variant forms is connected with the root *ntn*, "to give." (Otherwise now G. R. Driver, who finds here an Aramaism, *Journ. Theol. Studies* 36: 293 ff.) But it is to be related immediately to the Phoenician development of *ntn* > *ytn*, for which see Harris's ingenious explanation in his *Gram. of the Phoen. Language*, 44. The present Heb. noun arose by further process of *yit-* to *'it*. The second Nun in the alternate form may represent an artificial attempt to relate the word to the Heb. root; n. b., the remarkable vocalization of the second syllable. Further, the verbal forms at Hos. 8: 9, "*they hired* lovers" (*hitnû*) and v. 10, "*they will hire* among the nations" (*yitnû*) are denominatives from the noun just studied. N. b., the peculiar vocalization of the second verb, where a Hifil is expected.

(8) Hebrew "word" = "reason."

At Ben Sira 37: 16 is read: "The beginning of every work is *dābār* (var. *mê'mār*). And before any action is thought

(*maḥšēbet*).” The Gr. translates the first word with *logos*. The parallelism requires the identification of “word” with “reason.” This possibly overlooked case is the earliest instance of that identification in the Semitic, probably under Greek influence. Cf. the use of *logos* at Heb. 4: 12, “the reason of God,” while the hypostatization of the divine Logos or Reason at John 1: 1 has its roots in long Semitic usage. Indeed it is striking to compare with our verse the introduction to the Gospel of John, “In the beginning was the Word.”

(9) Light from the Arabic.

(a) The ancient versions are mostly used as correctors of the Hebrew text and their intrinsic linguistic and literary interest is generally ignored. The following two cases are specimens of the Greek knowledge of vocables known only in the Arabic.

At Dan. 9: 4 the OGr. translates **סִיח**, properly (“Ah,” with *ιδου* “behold,” i. e., reading the word like the sole Arabic *’inna*. (I have earlier noted this in my *Daniel*, *ad loc.*)

At Kings I, 18: 42 and II, 4: 34, 35 occurs a verb *gāhar*, translated customarily in the former case with “he bowed himself down” (in worship), in the second with “he stretched himself” (upon the dead boy’s body). In the first case the Greek translators agree with the current translation, although the root is not otherwise known to us. But in the two verses in II Kings no less than five different translations are offered by the Grr. in text and glosses, plus a Lucianic translation of the Heb. vocable appearing variously as *γλαδ*, *γααδ*, *γαλαδ*. This variation from the Heb. *ghr* is usually explained (e. g., by Benzinger) as by the common corruption of the final letter. But further in the OGr. the verb is translated with *διέκαμψεν*, in Lucian with the correspondent *συνέκαμψεν*, along with his original *ἠνδρίσατο*, both of which can only be explained from the well known Arabic root *jahada*, “to act strenuously,” used especially of fighting in the holy war, giving the well-known noun *jihād*. That is, the root *ghd* was read by the Grr., the received transliteration is correct. The translation has the idea of the prophet “struggling” upon the child’s body, by a kind of full-length chiropractice, just as in the similar miracle Elijah “stretched himself upon the child three times” (I, 17: 21). Note that the Gr. *ἀνδρίζεσθαι* is also used *in sensu obscoeno*; i. e., those early translators knew a verb *ghd*, which is otherwise found only in the Arabic.

(b) All English translations, and so far as I know, all commentators present at I Kings 10: 25 (= II Ch. 9: 24) among the list of "presents" which "every man" gave to King Solomon, "vessels of silver and gold and raiment and armor and spices," etc. But armor, as the vocable is generally translated elsewhere, is rather a questionable gift as from aliens. It occurred to the writer from the translation of the Grr. here with *στακτή* = Lat. *stacte* (and so in the Old Latin here), that the Heb. word *nšq* must mean myrrh. He subsequently discovered that Ewald long ago had made this suggestion, that the word must mean "some kind of perfume, as it is in the Arabic," but without observation of the Greek corroboration of his etymology.<sup>3</sup> *Stacte* is the best quality of Arabian myrrh.<sup>4</sup> The word thus belongs to the Arabic root *našaqa*, 'to smell,' and so by regularity our word should be spelt with a Sin, *nšq*, and so distinguished from the word for armor. There arises with this derivation the question of the relation of the theme with Heb. *nšq*, "to kiss": see the discussions cited in Ges.-Buhl, *Hwb.*, 527. Compare the corresponding theme, of etymological and social interest, of the "The Sniff-kiss in Ancient India," as treated by the late Professor Hopkins in *JAOS* 28, pp. 120-134.

(c) In the Greek Supplement to I Kings 2, v. 46a it is read that Solomon *ἤρξατο ἀνοίγειν τὰ δυναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου*, i. e., "began to open the . . . of Lebanon." For attempts to interpret the otherwise unique word represented with a blank see the writer's note in *ZAW* 1932, p. 128, e. g., Winckler's suggestion of "opening the mines." But the word must mean dynastic states, *imperia*, or the like. The passage makes sense by reverting the verb "to open" to Heb. *paṭaḥ*, and giving it the common Arabic meaning of "to conquer"; i. e., "he conquered the kingdoms of Lebanon." The same meaning of the root is doubtless to be found in the *n. pr.* Jephthah, reduced from Yiptaḥ-il, 'God-conquers.' Again I find that Ewald has anticipated me as to the sense without, however, giving the Arabic parallel (*ib.*, Eng. tr., III, 261).

(d) "His delight is in the fear of the LORD," Is. 11: 3.

The variety of translations of this phrase is remarkable. The Versions all read otherwise, or missed, or ignored. Poole in his

<sup>3</sup> *Gesch. Israels* III, 391; Eng. tr., III, 285.

<sup>4</sup> See W. H. Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 112 ff., with citation of Pliny's account of the drawing of the precious sap.



*Synopsis critica* gives a half column to the interpretations of the phrase, in which the first word would normally be translated "his smelling." It is a humor of exegesis that he cites one commentator who holds that the sense of smell is less liable to error. The AV, following the same psychology, offers "a quick understanding," however very honestly in the margin giving as a variant "scent, or, smell." In English first with the RV do we obtain a fairly standard translation, as given in the title above, followed by subsequent translators (Moffatt's Bible omits the phrase, whether on ground of criticism or personal repugnance is not known). This interpretation is anticipated by Luther, "sein Gefallen." But modern commentators still object, e. g., Gray, who after a half page of discussion concludes that the phrase is quite improper, "the fear of Y. was not a smell." But there is in Arabic a similar phrase from the root *nps* (= Heb. *npš*), parallel to the Heb. root *rûh*, the basis of our word in question, and which includes the ideas of breath, smell, etc.; the VIth form of the Arabic verb, *tanāfasa* means "to take pleasure (in)"; I note a case in Ibn Khaldun's *Prolegomena*, Cairo ed., 1930, p. 2. In either case, Arabic and Hebrew, the verb means to take a good, satisfying breath, to refresh one's self with the atmosphere.

(e) "After thee, O Benjamin!", Jud. 5: 14; Hos. 5: 8.

Various emendations of this text have been proposed; Moore, at Judges, remarks after considering various alterations that it is rash to emend in this desperate context. But comparing the prepositional phrase 'aḥarêkâ with the equivalent warā'aka (see Wright, *Arab. Gr.*, II, p. 75), it simply means, "Back!", and so "Look out for yourself!" In the Koran, Sura xiv, 19 occurs *min warā'ihī jahannum*, literally "Hell is back of him," on which Baidhawi comments, making it identical with *min bayni yadayhi*, "in front of him," i. e., with either preposition = "may he look out for Hell!" Cf. also Sura xi, 94.

(f) The caritative name-form "Solomon."

In *JQR* 25 (1936), 263, I have noted the diminutive, caritative formation of this name, properly represented in the Arabic with Sulayman, *via* the Syriac. There may be noted Baidhawi's comment (at Sura cvi) on the same form for the name of the Prophet's clan of Quraish, that it was so pronounced "for magnification,"

i. e., *ad honorem*, which gives another slant on the use of the diminutive.

(g) The Ras Shamra locative with *Hē*.

Despite the vowellessness of the Ras Shamra script the locative *šmm* "heaven," is *šmmh* (as in Heb.),<sup>5</sup> which must indicate the presence of a breathed *h* at the end. I may compare the cases cited by Wright in his *Arab. Gr.*, II, § 226, for the same phenomenon in Arabic poetry, where the same termination in fem. nouns (as in Hebrew) is breathed and pointed as a consonant, i. e., *-ah*.




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<sup>5</sup> See Montgomery and Harris, *R. Shamra Myth. Texts* 21.

THE ORIGIN OF THE EARLY DYNASTIC STYLE  
(STUDIES IN ORIENTAL ARCHAEOLOGY II)

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MOORTGAT HAS RECENTLY given an excellent picture of the development of Mesopotamian figure representation from the Uruk-period to the Early Dynastic.<sup>1</sup> The beginning of the development is characterized by a very fresh, lively, and rather naturalistic, but undisciplined, style; the figures are scattered all over the field, not standing in rows on a line which represents the ground. The forms are full and swelling, the lines curving and swinging; we feel the exuberance of unspoiled power and force. The end is marked by order and discipline, by fixity and rigidity. The figures no longer float in the field, but have an absolutely fixed position determined by a rigid scheme of lines. The forms of the figures are rather hard and restrained and the lines are sharp and geometric. The power of abstraction has taken hold of life and given it a new organization; witness the coat of arms of the various towns showing the Imdugud with various animals in strictly antithetical compositions.

The foregoing very condensed characterization may be supplemented by the description of two figures in the round, not analyzed by Moortgat. One belongs to the Jemdet Nasr period and was found recently by H. Frankfort.<sup>2</sup> It is of stone, but looks very soft in texture. The forms are round and swelling; the limbs are thick and fleshy, and the breasts are large and full, while the nose is big and curved. The modelling is not very detailed, but exact in rendering the natural forms. The artist reproduced a human being in a general, but faithful, manner; he did not stylize it, but preserved the impression of the living being as such. Stylization, on the other hand, is apparent at once in the other figure, which was found at Al Ubaid and belongs to the Early Dynastic period.<sup>3</sup> It has an inscription telling the name of the person, Kur-lil. Kur-lil

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<sup>1</sup> Anton Moortgat, "Fruehe Bildkunst in Sumer," *Mitteil. Vorderasiat. Ges.* 40, part 3, Leipzig, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> *Illustr. London News*, Sept. 22, 1936, p. 584, fig. 4-5; *Arch. Orientforsch.* 11. 264.

<sup>3</sup> *Ur Excavations*, I. 27, pl. 9.

is seated on the ground with his legs crossed and the hands clasped in front of the body, in the common Mesopotamian manner. The forearms are, however, not held horizontally as in the statues of Gudea, but obliquely with the hands on a higher line than the elbows; the upper parts of the arms are likewise slightly divergent from the perpendicular pose and so are the contours of the legs. Consequently the figure resembles a cone with the head as the apex. The human figure has been fitted into a geometric scheme. If we look at the figure in sideview we likewise see that all the contours converge towards the top, so that the human figure is approximated to a geometric one as closely as possible. Furthermore, not only the contours but all the lines as well, follow the geometric scheme. The upper contour of the leg bulges upwards, the forearms form a kind of gable which likewise points upwards, and even the eyes are set obliquely in the face. The forms are no longer full and swelling as in the earlier figure, but rather dry and hard, while the lines (for instance, the lids of the eyes and the lips) are geometric, not organic. Summarizing, we may say: the human figure has been organized according to a preconceived scheme.

Moortgat has pointed out admirably that the development from one style to the other was not abrupt, but that several characteristic features of the later style occur already in the earlier one, such as the antithetical group, the groundline, and others. Nevertheless, he rightly emphasizes that a change in style took place at the beginning of the Early Dynastic period in so far as the earlier loose style had disappeared and order and discipline had become supreme.<sup>4</sup> A comparison between two examples of the antithetical group, one from the Uruk and the other from the Early Dynastic period, make this difference clear.<sup>5</sup> Although the antithetical composition as such means the subordination of the figure to a scheme, the example from Uruk is much looser; we have the feeling that the pattern is not rigid, but that we could expand or compress it. The forms of the animals are full and swelling, and the lines are as round and swinging as in other monuments of the period. It is significant that only extremities, namely necks, legs, or tails, cross one another, not whole bodies. The crossing of bodies, on the other hand, is characteristic of many pictures of the Early

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<sup>4</sup> Moortgat, loc. cit. 70, 90.

<sup>5</sup> Moortgat, loc. cit. 34 fig. 1 and 85 fig. 12.

Dynastic period. The pattern has become rigid and the figures petrified.

What are the reasons for this change and for the origin of the new, rigidly organized structure? Moortgat leaves the question open, whereas Christian explains it on ethnic grounds.<sup>6</sup> A conquering people might have brought the new style with it. A conquest at the beginning of the Early Dynastic period is indeed very probable,<sup>7</sup> but, for the following reasons, it is not possible to explain the new style as introduced from outside. First, since the script proves that the Sumerian language was spoken in Mesopotamia before such a conquest,<sup>8</sup> the invaders were either so few in number and so easily absorbed that they could not impose their language and thus also their style upon the conquered, or they were of related stock; in the latter case, the style of their art would not differ so much from the earlier one. Secondly, the main features of the new style are not discernible in the arts of the surrounding countries from which the conquerors might have come. We find abstraction and linearity contrasting with Mesopotamia naturalism in Persia, as shown by the Susa-I style, but not order and discipline.<sup>9</sup>

We must, therefore, look for another explanation. Are there any analogies for such a change from an indefinite to a disciplined style? I think there are. The change in the style of Egypt from the prehistoric to the dynastic period is described by various scholars with almost the same words as Moortgat used for Mesopotamia.<sup>10</sup>

The wall paintings at Hierakonpolis and on early sculptured

<sup>6</sup> Moortgat, loc. cit. 54. Christian, f. d. d. WZKM 43 (1936). 237 f.

<sup>7</sup> Speiser, *AJA* 37 (1933). 466; V. Müller, *JAOS* 57 (1937). 87; Legrain, *Ur Excavations* 3, 2; Jordan, 3. *Bericht Deutsch. Ausgrab. Uruk = Abh. Preuss. Ak. Phil.-Hist. Kl.*, 1932, Nr. 2, 37. A definite change in architecture at the beginning of the Early Dynastic period is well exemplified by the temple of Sin at Khafaje: Frankfort, *Progress of the work of the Oriental Institute in Iraq 1934/5*, 29.

<sup>8</sup> Legrain, *Ur Excavations* III. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Moortgat, loc. cit. 17; M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 100-102; H. Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East* 1, pl. 1 f.; *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires* 13.

<sup>10</sup> A. Moret, *Histoire Ancienne* 1; *Histoire de l'Orient* 91 ff.; L. Curtius, *Die Antike Kunst* 1. 20 ff.; F. Matz, *Jahrb. Deutsch. Archæol. Inst.* 37, 1922, 41.

palettes<sup>11</sup> do not show the figures arranged in friezes and standing on groundlines, but scattered all over the field as on vase fragments from Bismya and Khafaje and on other Mesopotamian monuments.<sup>12</sup> Also the forms of the figures on the palettes differ from the later ones by being full, round, swelling, naturalistic and powerful. The style of the Gilgamesh figure on the knife-handle from Gebel El Arak which imitates an Asiatic model of the Jemdet Nasr period has hardly been modified by the Egyptian artist.<sup>13</sup> We feel in these monuments an undisciplined life of brutality and wildness. The palette of Narmer exemplifies the new style of the historic period.<sup>14</sup> Discipline and order have been established. The figures are fixed to a groundline. The pharaoh, as the most important person, dominates the composition, the other figures being subordinated to him and put at places fixed by the composition as a whole. The figures themselves have changed in form; they appear rather abstract and sober; the contour is sharp; straight lines and angles prevail instead of curved and swinging forms. We shall not speak of petrification as in Mesopotamia, but of linearization. Furthermore, the special scheme of the Egyptian silhouette with parts of the body in sideview and others in frontview is being developed.<sup>15</sup> It is true that the new style did not arise within one year and that there is still some of the former indefiniteness in the palette of Narmer in comparison with later monuments, but the stylistic change seems to have been more abrupt in Egypt than Mesopotamia.

In Egypt we have proof that the change in style coincided with a conquest, namely with the conquest of Lower Egypt by the kings of Upper Egypt and with the establishment of a strong and centralized monarchy replacing the loose federation of clans.<sup>16</sup> In Egypt, just as in Mesopotamia, the conquerors did not differ con-

<sup>11</sup> M. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, fig. 32; Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt* 108 f., 231 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Moortgat, loc. cit. 79, 84; B. Meissner, *Babylonisch-assyrische Plastik* 7, fig. 12; Banks, *Bismya* 268; Scharff, *Zeitsch. Aegypt. Spr.* 71 (1935). pl. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Frankfort, loc. cit. pl. 12; Scharff, loc. cit. 95, pl. 1. cf. Heinrich in 5 *Bericht. Uruk* (1933). 20.

<sup>14</sup> Swindler, loc. cit. fig. 34; Capart, loc. cit. 244 f.; Frankfort, loc. cit. pl. XI.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Curtius, loc. cit. 124 f.; Matz, *Jahrb. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 38/9 (1923/4) 3 f.

<sup>16</sup> Moret, loc. cit. 181 f.

siderably from the conquered in ethnic stock, although the Asiatic admixture might have been greater in Lower Egypt.<sup>17</sup> We are thus forced to the conclusion that the conquest as such was influential in the sense that the shock upset the old pattern of culture and established a new order. But Moret has shown admirably that an internal mental development went side by side with the external political one: writing developed from the pictographic to the phonetic stage.<sup>18</sup> Definite and fixed terms and orders could be given and a well organized administration could be built by the pharaoh. Oral commands and oral tradition, always exposed to change, gave place to written forms; tradition was made permanent. Egypt entered the historic period.

Scholars used to begin the historical age in Mesopotamia with that period which we now call Early Dynastic.<sup>19</sup> I think we are justified in retaining this use, although the excavations have shown that the preceding phases of civilization were already highly developed and writing was known in some of them. But writing made a great step forward and reached a higher level with the Early Dynastic period.<sup>20</sup>

There is a third example of the change in style under consideration. It took place in Greece at about 700 B. C. I showed the origin of a new style of sculpture some years ago<sup>21</sup> and shall do it for architecture elsewhere. Other scholars have followed me in regard to sculpture and have pointed out the same change in pottery and in the decorative arts.<sup>22</sup> The style of the Geometric period down to about 700 B. C. is loose and indefinite. In sculpture, the figures are often thin-like skeletons with the limbs spreading off from the body. The vases are decorated with zones of linear ornaments. These zones are arranged in a specific composition, it is true, illustrating the shape of the vase: large zones, for instance,

<sup>17</sup> Moret, loc. cit. 172 f. <sup>18</sup> Moret, loc. cit. 96 ff. <sup>19</sup> Moret, loc. cit. 332.

<sup>20</sup> V. Gordon Childe, *Man Makes Himself* 171 ff.; Moret, loc. cit. 149; Legrain, *Ur Excavations* III, 5; Falkenstein, *OLZ* (1937). 95 ff.; Moret, loc. cit. 32 f.

<sup>21</sup> V. Müller, *Fruehe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien*, Augsburg, 1929.

<sup>22</sup> Buschor, *Plastik der Griechen*, Berlin, 1936, 13; R. Hampe, *Fruehe griechische Vasenbilder* 20 ff.; E. Kunze, *Kretische Bronze-reliefs*, Stuttgart, 1931; F. Matz, *Gnomon* 9, 1933, 460. The difference between the two styles is, however, much greater than in Mesopotamia or Egypt, which fact supports the hypothesis of Oriental influence in Greece.

emphasizing conspicuous parts. Nevertheless, the composition is not a closely knit and centralized unit, but a loose aggregation of various elements which consist of rather thin and unsubstantial lines. Weight and substantiality are characteristics of the following style, after 700 B. C. The number of zones is reduced and they are filled with weighty figures instead of ornaments.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the composition has become unified and fixed, the elements being subordinated to an embracing scheme. Figurines now display the *blockstyle* with the limbs not spreading off, but close to the body. The arms mostly hang by the sides vertically and the division between the upper and lower parts of the body is marked by a belt, so that the figure seems to be encased in a fixed composition of lines. The exploding energy of the preceding style has been disciplined; an organized structure has appeared.

The other traits which accompany the change of style in art are likewise present in Greece. The Geometric age was illiterate, writing having come in at the end of the period, although we must call the period which begins at about 700 proto-historic rather than historic.<sup>24</sup> Great economical and political changes are indicated by the beginning of colonization in the second half of the eighth century and by the rise of tyranny in the first half of the seventh,

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<sup>23</sup> Swindler, loc. cit. fig. 199, 202, 211, 258; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, 3, pl. 1, 12, 15.

<sup>24</sup> Carpenter's date for the introduction of the alphabet, namely about 700, might be a little too late, but a much earlier date is excluded on several grounds: oriental motives taken over in the Geometric period are completely changed in style (cf. the centaur in the Metropolitan Museum at New York; cf. G. Richter, *Handbook of the Class. Coll.*, 1930, 52, fig. 29; Kunze, *Ath. Mitt.* 55, 1930, Beilage 38) whereas the Greek letters reproduce Phoenician ones rather closely as do Greek works of the Early Orientalizing period (cf. V. Müller, loc. cit. 89). The uncertainty of early historical dates in Greek history, for instance of the founding of colonies, proves that written records were non-existent in the eighth and rare even in the seventh century. The alphabet was probably used first by merchants and sailors who came in contact with the Orientals, as the early occurrence of inscriptions on vases seems to prove, and we might assume that the higher classes were first reluctant to adopt it; but it cannot have taken centuries before the alphabets spread from business to government. For the alphabet see Carpenter, *AJA* 37 (1933). 8 ff.; opposing views are expressed by Ullman, *AJA* 38 (1934). 359 ff., Harland, *AJA* 38 (1934). 90 ff., and Blakeway, *Journ. Rom. St.* 25 (1935). 143. For the uncertainty of early dates in Greek history see Burn, *Journ. Hell. St.* 55 (1935), 130 ff.



the latter establishing a new social order.<sup>25</sup> A conquest such as in Mesopotamia and Egypt did not occur in Greece, but the contact with Oriental civilization beginning in the eighth century and proved by imported objects and Greek imitations of Oriental motives can be taken as an equivalent.

We draw the following conclusions: A new style arises in all three leading civilizations of antiquity with the beginning of the respective historical periods. Its chief characteristic is a definite organization which subordinates all elements to a comprising scheme. Consolidation takes place and order and discipline are substituted for earlier indefiniteness and looseness. This new style was not imposed from without as is proved by the following facts: Writing had existed in Mesopotamia before this change; the establishment of the united kingdom in Egypt was an internal affair; there was no conquest of Greece by foreigners about 700. We thus have an internal development. But, we ask, was the development purely internal and is it irrelevant that the change coincided with an upheaval, namely conquests in Egypt and Mesopotamia, and contact with the outside world in Greece? We are forced to the conclusion that a releasing force, a catalysator, was needed to materialize the change. The case is clearest in Egypt where the influence of the new political order on the other phases of life is unmistakable. We may, therefore, conclude that the analogous events in Mesopotamia and Greece were of equal importance. The releasing force is thus as necessary as the internal development; both together create something new which has no actual antecedents in the previous life of the nation. The internal development is the condition for the creation of the new style, but the actual creation depends on historical events and, therefore, not on racial, ethnic, or other predispositions. We must say: the origin of a new style at the beginning of a historical period is explainable on historical grounds, that is on events, not on predispositions.

It goes without saying that there are differences between the new styles in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Greece, only the essential feature, i. e. the new order, remaining the same. These differences are due to the varying predispositions, different lines of development and the different historical situations. The Egyptian works,

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<sup>25</sup> *Camb. Anc. Hist.* III, 548 ff., 649 ff.; C. A. Robinson, *Am. Hist. Rev.* 42 (1936). 68 ff.

for instance, are generally higher in quality and show the more delicate Egyptian style, characterized by long and straightlined forms in contrast to the more contracted Mesopotamian style which prefers curved and dynamic forms.<sup>26</sup> In Greece, the abstract and linear style precedes the naturalistic style and does not follow it as in Egypt and Mesopotamia. Furthermore, the development in Egypt and Mesopotamia takes place under similar conditions, but independently, because the Mesopotamian influence occurred some time before and brought to Egypt the late predynastic style.<sup>27</sup> In Greece, however, the Orient was the releasing force and gave the models for the new style. We abstain from all valuations, whether such influences have to be taken as good fortune or as disaster, namely that they were helpful in furthering the development, or whether they gave it a wrong direction. People may even differ whether the order of the historical style was a blessing or whether the earlier youthful, although undisciplined power, was preferable.<sup>28</sup> The author will be satisfied if the reader accepts the foregoing argumentation as sound reasoning about historical facts.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Cf. Scharff, loc. cit. 105 f.

<sup>27</sup> Scharff, loc. cit. 105; Christian, *Mitt. Anthr. Ges. Wien*, 66, 1936, 216.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Schott in *5 Bericht Uruk*, 54.

<sup>29</sup> The author hopes that A. Toynbee's monumental *Study of History*, Oxford, 1934 will make discussions of this kind more popular.

# ANOTHER CASE OF THE PREDICATIVE USE OF THE GENITIVE IN SUMERIAN

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IN AN ARTICLE entitled "Le suffixe du relatif et le suffixe du génitif en Sumérien" which appeared in RA XXXII (pp. 191-98), Thureau-Dangin on pp. 193 and 194 compares the following two passages (here given in his transliteration and translation):

Förtsch, VS XIV, No. 179, col. 9, ll. 4 ff.

maš-da-ri-a	(Ce sont) présents
Bára-nam-tar-ra	qui pour Baranamtarra,
dam Lugal-an-da	l'épouse de Lugalanda,
PA-TE-SI	PA-TE-SI
Lagasa <sup>ki</sup> -ka-ra	de Lagaš,
ezen še-kú	en la "fête de la consommation du grain"
<sup>d</sup> Nanše-ka	(fête) de Nanše,
mu-na-gigin-na-am <sub>5</sub>	sont arrivés.

and

Nikolski, Drevnosti II, 2, No. 157, col. 4, ll. 2 ff.

maš-da-ri-a	(Ce sont) présents
Bára-nam-tar-ra	qui pour Baranamtarra
dumu-mín ì-tu-da-a	au (jour) où elle accoucha d'une fille,
é-gal-la	au palais
mu-na-gigin-na-kam	sont arrivés.

Thureau-Dangin believes that the phrase maš-da-ri-a-....-mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>-ge<sub>13</sub>-na-am<sub>5</sub> in the first text, where the relative clause mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>-ge<sub>13</sub>-na is followed immediately by the enclitic verb form -am<sub>5</sub>, "is," and the phrase maš-da-ri-a-....-ge<sub>13</sub>-ge<sub>13</sub>-na-kam in the second text, where the relative clause mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>-ge<sub>13</sub>-na and the enclitic verb form -am are separated by a *k*, are identical, both meaning "(Ce sont) présents qui .... sont arrivés." In view of this assumed identity he feels that the only possible explanation of the *k* in the second text is that it is inserted to avoid the hiatus between the two vowels. Thus he finds support for his theory that the *k* so frequently noted in Sumerian genitive phrases

is not an organic part of the genitive element and serves no other purpose than the avoidance of a hiatus.

Now if it is true—as I believe I have shown in many articles with absolute conclusiveness—that the *k* is an organic part of the genitive element, the two phrases referred to by Thureau-Dangin obviously cannot be identical; in point of fact they are not identical. For only the first phrase, *maš-da-ri-a-...mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>-ge<sub>13</sub>-na-ám<sub>5</sub>*, means “(the various objects enumerated on the tablet) are (= -am<sub>5</sub>)<sup>1</sup> the gifts that have arrived for her (= *maš-da-ri-a-...-mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>-ge<sub>13</sub>-na*),” while the second phrase, *maš-da-ri-a-...-mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>-ge<sub>13</sub>-na-kam*, clearly means “(the various objects enumerated) are (= -am) (part) of (= -k) the gifts that have arrived for her,” or “they belong to the gifts that have arrived for her.” In other words, the *k* which the second phrase inserts between the relative clause and the enclitic verb form is not a meaningless insertion, but represents the genitive element -(a)k, which here after the -a of the relative clause appears without its amissible vowel *a* in complete conformity with the rule given in *Grundzüge d. Sumer. Gram.* § 349 for cases in which the genitive element follows words or grammatical elements ending in a vowel.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As to their grammatical forms the substantive *maš-da-ri-a* and the verb forms *mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>(n)-ge<sub>13</sub>(n)* and *-am<sub>5</sub>* are singulars since, according to *Grundzüge d. sumer. Gram.*, § 132, Sumerian does not form a plural of substantives denoting things. Properly -(a)m therefore means “is,” while “are” properly is -(a)meš. The plural idea, however, is expressed by the repetition of the verbal root in *mu-na-ge<sub>13</sub>(n)-ge<sub>13</sub>(n)* (*ibid.*, §§ 444 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> The same form of the genitive element is observed in ll. 14 f. of the first passage referred to above, *ezen-še-kú-<sup>d</sup>nanše-ka* (grammatically analyzed: *ezen-še-kú-<sup>d</sup>nanše-k-a*), “on the occasion of (= -a) the *še-kú* festival (= *ezen-še-kú*) of (= -k) *Nanše* (= <sup>d</sup>*nanše*).” For -a, “on the occasion of,” cf. also l. 5 of the second passage, *DUMU.MUNUS-i-tu-da-a*, “on the occasion of (= -a) her having given birth to a daughter (*DUMU.MUNUS-i(-n)-tud-a*).” *Intud-a* is the independent verb form *i-n-tu(d)*, “she has given birth to . . .,” substantivized by means of the formative element -a, and thus means literally “(the fact) that she has given birth to . . .” (*Gram.*, § 429). The equivalent of Thureau-Dangin’s “au (jour) où elle accoucha d’une fille” would necessarily be *u<sub>4</sub>(d)-DUMU.MUNUS-i(-n)-tud-a-a*. Note also that it is very unlikely that all of the presents were delivered on the very day the birth took place and that in the other case referred to at least some of the presents might well have been delivered before the beginning of the festival.

It will be noted that syntactically the genitive here is used as a kind of "predicate noun" or "predicate adjective," a usage already known from phrases such as . . . . mà-kam, "(some object) belongs to me," literally, "it is (= -am) (the property or a possession) of (= -k) me (= mà)," and . . . . za-kam, "(some object) belongs to thee," literally, "it is (= -am) (a possession) of (= -k) thee (= za)." For inscriptional passages in which these phrases and other phrases of this kind occur see § 181 of my *Grammatik*.





COPTIC OSTRACON MERTON 1

# COPTIC OSTRACON MERTON 1

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IN THE summer of 1935 Mr. Wilfred Merton of London showed me two ostraca and two papyri of his collection and gave me permission to publish them. He also supplied me with excellent photographs of them and allowed me to make handcopies of them in ink. I want to express here my profound thanks to Mr. Merton.

In this article I am publishing one of these items, namely, the Coptic Ostrakon Merton No. 1. It measures from the extreme top to the bottom 19 cm, and at the widest place, which is the horizontal edge over the first line, 15.5 cm. The six lines of the Coptic inscription are written in clear ink, each line between the horizontal rills of the burned clay.

To save space the scribe frequently employed ligatures of letters, such as **mp** for **mnp** (l. 1), **ϣ** for **ap** (ll. 1, 2, and 4), **np** for **hnp** (l. 2), etc. The end of sentences and clauses is marked with a dot, except for the first sentence, which ends with three vertical dots. The *hori* (l. 4) is written horizontally for lack of space between the rills. In the word for "prophet" (l. 6) note the ligature of the letter *phi*, *eta*, and *tau*. For other peculiarities of the scribe I refer to the reproduction on the accompanying plate.

The contents consist of a conflation of biblical sentences expressing a devotional meditation on effectual prayer.

## Transcription

ⲡ Ⲛⲉ ⲙⲡⲣ ⲕⲁ ⲁⲣⲓⲕⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲙⲣⲱⲙⲉ · ⲉⲙⲟⲛ  
ⲙⲡⲉⲕ ⲱⲗⲏⲗ ⲱⲛⲡ ⲁⲛ: ⲁⲣⲓ ⲓⲣⲏⲛⲉ ·  
ⲙⲛ ⲟⲩⲟⲛ ⲛⲓⲙ · ⲧⲁⲣⲉⲕ ⲱⲗⲏⲗ  
ⲓⲛ ⲟⲩⲡⲁⲣⲉⲥⲓⲉⲓⲁ ·  
ⲡⲁⲓ ⲡⲉ ⲡⲛⲟⲙⲟⲥ  
ⲁⲩⲱ ⲛⲉⲡⲣⲟⲩⲏⲧⲏⲥ

*Translation*

Behold, do not put blame (but) have pity on man, else  
thy prayer is not received. Make peace (εἰρήνη)  
with everybody in order that thou mayest pray  
with (the result of obtaining God's) forgiveness (πάρεσις).  
This is the law (νόμος)  
and the prophets (προφῆτης).





## THE NAME ASHUR IN THE INITIALS OF A DIFFICULT PHRASE IN THE BIBLE

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THE DIMINUTIVE book of Nahum abounds in textual difficulties of all sorts, which every exegete and commentator tries his best to unravel, but perhaps the greatest of these difficulties is the enigmatic phrase in 1: 12 *'im šelēmim we-kēn rabbim we-kēn nagozzū we-ābār*, on which many fertile brains have exercised their acumen and ingenuity, for the most part in vain. The difficulty is not alone of a grammatical or syntactical nature, such as the conditional particle *'im* in an apparently declarative sentence, or the duplicate *we-kēn*, which, besides, has an entirely different meaning from that which it receives here, or the incongruity of one verb of the predicate being in the plural and the second verb in the singular; it concerns also the context and the general trend of the discourse, namely the problem whether the address is to the Assyrians or the Judeans. Thus most of the early exegetes took it as directed to the Assyrians, while many modern commentators prefer to construe it as addressed to the people of Judah.

The rendering of this phrase in the ancient versions is variable and fails to throw any light on the true meaning of the sentence. The Septuagint's *κατάρχων ἰδάτων πολλῶν* evidently leads to a different reading, *mōšēl mayyim rabbim*, "ruler of many waters," an epithet applied to God of the preceding phrase; similarly the Peshitta. The Targum, as usual, paraphrases and introduces its own interpretation: "if they will be unanimous in their advice and numerous in the number of nations that gather to harass thee, Jerusalem, and will traverse the Tigris and pass the Euphrates and come to afflict thee, etc." The Vulgate is closely literal: *si perfecti fuerint, et ita plures, sic quoque attendentur, et pertransibit*. It is evident from the Targum that the words were considered an allusion to mighty Assyria which was about to be crushed in order to set Judah free from its yoke. This interpretation is reflected also in medieval Jewish commentaries, with the difference that some of them construe the word *šelēmim* as "peaceful" (Ibn Ezra, Kimhi, et al.) instead of "intact or perfect" (Rashi, et al.). As a

matter of fact, most of the early interpreters of the book of Nahum took this phrase as an allusion to the invasion of Sennacherib: "if they, namely the Assyrians, were once intact and so many and yet were mown down, and he, namely Sennacherib, passed away." Similarly the Revised Version and the American Jewish Version: "though they be in full strength, and likewise many, even so shall they be cut down, and he shall pass away."

Modern commentators for the most part refer the entire sentence to Judah and emend it to suit their purpose. So Duhm, who reads *'im šālem yōm 'anōtek*, "if the day of thy affliction is complete," omitting half of the sentence as superfluous; so Marti, who reads *šālmū yeme rībī*, "completed are the days of my strife"; so also Gray, who amplifies as follows: "The thought is that the period during which Yahweh has constantly been under the necessity of punishing Judah for its sins has now come to an end; a new dispensation may now be expected from him." Other commentators take their cue from the reading of the Septuagint mentioned above, although following a different construction. Thus Bickell obtains the following expression: "The haughtiness of a tyrant is like the high tide, which soon subsides and disappears"; Wellhausen prefers the following rendering: "May the great waters be ever so full, they will yet come to naught and pass away"; Haupt somewhat similarly: "How high the tide was soever, it has ebbed and subsided"; Sellin, who is concerned with the alphabet of the first chapter of Nahum and is bent upon restoring it to its completeness, formulates the phrase in this manner: "Rulers passed and so many were cut down." Needless to say, there are some exegetes who, like Ehrlich, consider the sentence hopelessly damaged and beyond repair.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, no one has yet noted the fact that this difficult phrase, *'im šelēmim wēkēn rabbim*, is acrological in character, the initial letters yielding the name Ašur. Since this is so, it stands to reason that the four words constitute a characterization of mighty Assyria, which after a period of unparalleled glory and splendor is now on the brink of doom and destruction. I suggest therefore the construction of *'im* and *kēn* as substantives, the former meaning "tribe, people," in which sense it occurs in Ps. 117. 1 (pl. *'ummim* || *gōyyim*, an unusual masculine form on the side of the feminine *'ummōt*, which has its counterpart also in Arabic; the postulated sing. would be *\*'om*, from *\*'um*).

*Kēn* would signify "base, support."<sup>1</sup> The sense of our phrase would then be: "A nation of perfect people and support of mighty men," namely Ashur, was cut down, and passed away. Eliminate accordingly the second *wēkēn*, which is senseless, as a dittography (curiously enough the first *wēkēn* is wanting in the Septuagint, Targum, and Peshitta), similarly the plural suffix of the verb *nagozzū*, unless we take it as a case of attraction to the genitive, which is plural, instead of to the nomen regens, which is singular (Gesenius-Kautzsch-Cowley, § 146a). This interpretation yields good sense and, further, is not at variance with the masoretic text.




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<sup>1</sup> [The combination of *šlm* and *kēn* points strongly, in view of the above connection with Ashur, to the Assyrian legal clause *šalmu ū kēnu*, the phrase signifying "an indivisible whole"; see provisionally Koschaker, *Neue Keilschriftliche Rechtsurkunden aus der el-Amarna Zeit*, 118, note 3. The sense would be, then, that a seemingly indestructible body was cut down and passed away. A fuller discussion will be given elsewhere. E. A. S.]

## THE USE OF THE WORD *An* 安<sup>1</sup>

J. K. SHRYOCK

PHILADELPHIA

DURING THE nineteenth century, western sinologists were much interested in Chinese grammar, and produced a large number of treatises on the subject. Among the scholars in this field were Wade, Rémusat, Marshman, Parker, Bridgman, Goodrich, Wells Williams, H. A. Giles, Chalmers, Gonçalves, Medhurst, Eitel, Crawford, Callery, Summers, Stanislas Julien, Edkins, Morrison, and De Guignes. This work culminated in the exhaustive work of von der Gabelentz, which is still generally considered the best treatment of Chinese grammar.<sup>2</sup>

The method of approach was to show how the Chinese expressed the categories of Latin grammar. Glancing through von der Gabelentz, one finds such headings as Ablativ, Activum, Adjectiv, Adverbiale Bestimmungen, Conjunctionen, Copula, Dativ, and so on down the alphabet. How was the passive voice, the subjunctive mood, or the accusative case expressed in Chinese?

It must be admitted that such exercises are an admirable preparation for the translation of Chinese into some European language. We owe these scholars a great debt for their careful and exhaustive

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<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted to Professor Roland G. Kent, Dr. A. W. Hummel, and Dr. Zellig S. Harris for assistance in the preparation of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Among the grammatical works produced were:

J. Summers. *A Handbook of the Chinese Language*. Oxford, 1863.

Stanislas Julien. *Syntaxe nouvelle de la langue chinoise*. Paris, 1869-70.  
2 vols.

J. Edkins. *A Grammar of the Chinese Colloquial Language*. Shanghai, 1857.

J. Marshman. *Clavis Sinica*. Serampore, India, 1814.

J. P. Abel-Rémusat. *Éléments de la grammaire chinoise*. Paris, 1822.

R. Morrison. *Chinese Grammar*. Serampore, 1815.

J. G. Bridgman, a translation of P. Premare. *Notitia Linguae Sinicae*. Canton, 1847. Premare's work was published in 1831.

T. F. Wade. *Yü-yen Tzu-erh Chi*. Shanghai, 1867.

C. W. Mateer. *A Course of Mandarin Lessons*. Shanghai, 1892.

K. F. A. Gützlaff. *Notices of Chinese Grammar*. Shanghai, 1843(?)

Georg von der Gabelentz. *Chinesische Grammatik*. Leipzig, 1881.

The first systematic work on Chinese grammar was *Arte de la lengua mandarina*, by P. Francisco Varo, a Dominican, published at Canton in 1703.

work. In so far as such methods are sound, von der Gabelentz has left relatively little to be done.

But can works produced by such a method be called studies of Chinese grammar? They are rather studies in how the various Chinese constructions may be translated into European languages. They tell us that certain Chinese sentences must be rendered by nouns in a certain case and verbs in a certain tense when translated, but they do not show that the Chinese think in the same categories that we use.

The weakness of the older method has been increasingly realized by western sinologists. In 1909, Hirth wrote that the categories of grammar were:

"A sort of philosophical necessity, the principles of thought peculiar to the human mind. Speaking, therefore, of the Verb Passive, for instance, I do not mean to show how the 'Passive' is formed in Chinese, but simply answer the question: What are the means at the disposal of the language for expressing that change taking place with an active verb which in Western language is expressed by giving it the passive form?"<sup>3</sup>

More recently, Margouliés has written, "Le fait est que, dans toutes les langues européennes et la plupart des langues asiatiques, malgré des différences souvent considérables, la grammaire suit une voie suffisamment analogue pour permettre une méthode unique d'étude. Pour le chinois, cette méthode s'avère inapplicable: les différences touchent aux points vitaux des langues et la grammaire chinoise doit forcément être construite d'après des principes à part, se basant sur des éléments qui ne trouvent pas d'équivalents dans la grammaire européenne. Rechercher et préciser ces éléments représente déjà un travail bien difficile."<sup>4</sup>

As a result of this feeling that a new method must be developed for the adequate study of Chinese grammar, and of the great difficulties inherent in such a task, the attack has somewhat slowed down. In the twentieth century, great progress has been made in the study of Chinese phonetics and the reconstruction of pronunciations as far back as the sixth century. There have been attempts to show that pronouns were declined in ancient Chinese. But generally speaking, the scholars of the present have shown a ten-

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<sup>3</sup> Hirth, *Documentary Style*, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Margouliés, *Petit Précis de Grammaire Chinoise écrite*, p. 3.

dency to avoid the obstacles so bravely attacked by their predecessors. Some modern works on the Chinese language hardly mention grammar at all, while others continue the methods of the last century.<sup>5</sup>

It is certainly not correct to say that Chinese has no grammar. "La langue chinoise écrite a une grammaire très élaborée et très stricte."<sup>6</sup> But it is a grammar which cannot be forced into the categories of Latin, or of the languages based on Latin. Chinese is an isolating language, without inflections. Consequently it possesses no syntax of form, but it does possess a syntax of order, and this latter must be investigated more fully than has yet been done.

But the difficulty of this task is enormously increased by the fact that Chinese writing is ideographic, and even the present forms are as old as the Christian era. This has resulted in the preservation of old meanings and constructions which would have been lost in languages written phonetically. We now need a dictionary in order to understand Chaucer, who wrote as recently as the Ming period. The Manchus were rising to power when the Book of Common Prayer was assembled, but it would be incorrect today to use *let* in the sense of *hindered* except in a game of tennis or a legal document. Yet even in modern Chinese we may strike words and phrases used in the sense of 500 B. C. During the intervening centuries there has been a semantic development in Chinese as in European

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- <sup>5</sup> Among the grammatical works of this century are the following:  
 F. Hirth. *Notes on the Chinese Documentary Style*. Shanghai, 1909.  
 F. W. Baller. *A Mandarin Primer*. 14th ed., Shanghai, 1929.  
 ———. *Lessons in Elementary Wen-li*. Shanghai, 1912.  
 Georges Margouliés. *Petit Précis de Grammaire Chinoise écrite*. Paris, 1934.  
 B. Karlgren. *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese*. Paris, 1923.  
 ———. *Sound and Symbol in Chinese*. London, 1923.  
 ———. *Philology and Ancient China*. Oslo, 1926.  
 J. J. Brandt. *Wenli Particles*. Peiping, 1929.  
 M. Courant. *La langue chinoise parlée, grammaire de Kwan-hwa septentrional*. Paris, 1914.  
 E. von Zach. *Sinologische Beiträge*. Batavia, 1930.  
 T. F. Wade. *Wen-chien Tzu-erh chi*. Shanghai, 1903. 2 vols.  
 E. Haenisch. *Lehrgang der chinesischen Schriftsprache*. Leipzig. 4 vols. (Vol. III was published in 1933.)

The author regrets that he has seen only the volume on Chrestomathie of Professor Haenisch's work, so that his statements may not apply to it.

<sup>6</sup> Margouliés, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

languages, but the ideographic nature of the writing has resulted in the accumulation of meanings associated with a given word, and seldom are even the oldest meanings lost. This result affects the phrasing and the word order, increasing the difficulties of the grammarian. For although there are many styles of composition in Chinese, varying with the period and the subject matter, there is one Chinese language, the whole of which must be considered.

We can observe in English a tendency that has run its full course in Chinese. We speak of "a bad cut," of "cut glass," and we "cut the rope," using the same word as three different parts of speech without a change of form. Yet there is no danger of a misunderstanding because, like the Chinese, we use the context, the word order, and particles to make clear the meaning. It has been said that there are no parts of speech in Chinese. But it would be more accurate to say that it is seldom a Chinese word is limited in such a way that it must always be translated by the same English part of speech, for there is no syntax of form, or inflection.

Chinese grammar must base its categories upon the way in which the Chinese think, and while, as Hirth says, there are certain forms and molds of all thought, there is room for considerable differences within these forms. The structure of Chinese is quite different from the structure of Latin, and just as Semitic grammar has freed itself from Latin domination, so Chinese grammar must develop its own system of classification.

The Chinese divide words into two broad categories, "real words" <sup>7</sup> and "empty words." <sup>8</sup> These classes might be described as words which have content, and words which indicate relationships between content-words.

The content-words are divided into two classes: "dead words," <sup>9</sup> and "living words." <sup>10</sup> The grammars consider these classes as equivalent to our nouns and verbs. The "empty words" are said to include all parts of speech except nouns and verbs. It is more than doubtful whether this western explanation is correct. Pronouns are not considered empty words, nor are words or phrases which we would translate by adjectives and adverbs. Occasionally the meaning of a word, or convention, limits its use so that it would always be translated by the same English part of speech, nouns, verbs and pronouns, <sup>11</sup> but there do not appear to be any words

<sup>7</sup> 實字

<sup>8</sup> 虛字

<sup>9</sup> 死字

<sup>10</sup> 活字

<sup>11</sup> Examples are 書 book, 看 to see, 你 you.

which are always translated by adjectives or adverbs, and there are few words which must always be translated by nouns, verbs or pronouns. Generally content-words may be used as we use nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The part of English speech by which a word is translated depends upon the meaning of the sentence or phrase, which is indicated by the context, the word order, or by "empty words" which we would call particles.

The essential question is, how do the Chinese think in speaking and writing? It would appear that the essential distinction in their minds is between content-words and relationship-words. While they do make a relatively unimportant distinction between "dead words" and "living words," it would be better not to consider these as corresponding to nouns and verbs, but rather as indicating different uses of content-words. And it may be maintained that the Chinese in their grammatical structure do not have the categories of adjective and adverb. Phrases and words which we translate by adjectives and adverbs are merely relative positions between content-words.

The relationship-words would include such English parts of speech as conjunctions, prepositions, interrogative pronouns and adverbs and exclamations. They are written by words which are or have been used as content-words. Apparently what has generally occurred has been that a content-word has been used to write a relationship-word with the same sound. The two categories of words are distinct, however, and represent a fundamental difference.

Chinese grammars having been written as far as possible in accordance with Latin grammar, treat largely of parts of speech, and of subject, predicate, and object, which in Chinese are generally arranged in this order. But it may be useful to consider a single Chinese word, observing the different ways in which it is used, for this the grammars do not do. A study of such an illustration will indicate the reasons for the preceding generalizations.

The word used for illustration is *an* 安, having as a content-word the meanings "peace, quiet, to place, at ease." It is formed of two primitives indicating a woman in a house. As Chinese words go, its uses are relatively simple and easy, so that we might expect to find our study quiet and peaceful; but unfortunately, as many men have found when they had secured a woman under their roof, the result is not as peaceful as we expected.

The following sentences illustrate the ways in which *an* is used.



The Chinese phrase is given first, then the English translation given in Giles' Dictionary with the translation of Wells Williams where it differs from Giles,<sup>12</sup> and finally, in parentheses, the content-words put into noun form.

*An* is used as a surname, and frequently as a place-name, but as such uses would add nothing to the other illustrations, examples will not be given. Such uses might give difficulty to a westerner who did not recognize them, but would not be mistaken by a Chinese reader.

#### *An* as a Content-Word

1. 平安 A state of peace. (Peace peace.)
2. 偷安 To steal repose, to shirk work. (Theft ease.)
3. 安樂公 A man of pleasure. (Ease joy man.)
4. 安民 To quiet the people. (Peace people.)
5. 安心 To put the mind at rest. (Quiet mind.)
6. 老者安之 To soothe the aged. He quieted the aged.  
(Elders quiet them.)
7. 安放 To place, to arrange. (Place place.)
8. 安席 To arrange guests at table. (Place mat.)
9. 安命 To accept one's destiny. (Peace fate.)
10. 安息 To rest peacefully. (Peace rest.)
11. 安分 To do one's duty. Contented with one's lot. (Peace division.)
12. 安神 To set up an image or tablet in its shrine. (Place spirit.)
13. 安康 Hearty, robust. (Peace health.)
14. 安妥 Steady, secure. (Peace security.)
15. 安閒 Repose and leisure. (Quiet leisure.)
16. 問安 To inquire after a person's health; are you well?  
(Question health.)
17. 欠安 To be unwell. (Lack peace.)
18. 安固 Securely. (Peace security.)
19. 竟得安然 After all he lives in peace and happiness, or,  
does as he pleases. (End acquisition peace man-  
ner.)

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<sup>12</sup> Giles appears to have borrowed wholesale from Williams, and for *an* he has taken practically all of Williams' illustrations. Couvreur and von der Gabelentz give entirely different ones.

20. 吾輩則安然 Then we shall be at peace. (We then peace manner.)  
 21. 安抵 To arrive safely. (Peace arrival.)  
 22. 安安 Naturally, without constraint. (Ease ease.)  
 23. 安不上 It cannot be fixed, or done. (Peace lack supremacy.)

In the following eleven phrases, *an* is used as a content-word, but with special meanings.

24. 安息日 Sunday. (Quiet rest day. A modern Christian phrase.)  
 25. 安息 Parthia.  
 26. 安息香 Benzoin. (Incense from Parthia.)  
 27. 安南 Annam.  
 28. 安柱 Annam cinnamon.  
 29. 安人 The title of wives of officials of the sixth grade.  
 30. 安童 Servant boys.  
 31. 安本 Anban, the Chinese resident at Lhasa.  
 32. 安居 A technical Buddhist expression for keeping the rainy season, or Buddhist Lent.  
 33. 安家 Funds left behind for the use of the family. (Peace family.)  
 34. 生安白造 Made out of whole cloth, concocted.

*An* used as an interrogative particle

35. 安能如此 How can it be so? How can I act thus?  
 36. 如今安在 Where is he now?  
 37. 安是安非 Which is right and which is wrong?  
 38. 安有 How can ....? How is there ....?  
 39. 安敢 How dare you?  
 40. 安肯 How can I be willing to ...?  
 41. 主人安在 Where is the master?

In these sentences, Nos. 24-34, while interesting, need not concern us. They might prove troublesome to the western reader, but not to a Chinese, although even a Chinese scholar might not know the phrase for benzoin.

In the remaining sentences, in Nos. 1-3 and 15, *an* is translated by a noun, although in No. 15 it would be better rendered by an adjective. In Nos. 4-12, it is translated by a verb. In Nos. 13 and

14, it is translated by an adjective; in Nos. 16-22, by an adverb. Nos. 23 and 34 are idioms which cannot be literally translated. In No. 37, it is translated by an interrogative pronoun, and in Nos. 35, 36, and 38-41, by an interrogative adverb. Williams also says that it may be used as a preposition.

What shall we say of a word which, without any change of form, may require translation by any one of these different parts of English speech? Is it not better to give up the attempt to force Chinese into the categories of European grammar?

In Nos. 1-23, *an* is a content-word having the meanings "peace, quiet, ease, place." In the majority of these phrases, it is related to some other content-word, the related words affecting each other's meaning. In some instances the phrases might legitimately mean something else, but by convention have only a single meaning. For example, No. 15 might mean "to make leisure peaceful," and No. 16, "to ask peace"—but they do not.

The Chinese think in terms of content-words and their relations, and it will help in understanding how they do this to look at the nouns in parentheses after each phrase. It is interesting that nine of the English nouns used in these parentheses—ease, people, quiet, mind, place, rest, spirit, question and lack—are like the Chinese in that they may be used also as verbs without any change of form. We have no difficulty with these common words, and neither do the Chinese with their equivalents. The relations between such content-words are determined in one or more of three ways.

They are determined by the context. This is not illustrated well by the phrases given, because most of the phrases do not form whole sentences. But whether *an* has the meaning of "to place" or that of "to pacify" is clearly shown by the context. Followed by *mat*, *an* must mean "to place," but followed by *people*, it means "to pacify."

The relation is also determined by the position, or word order. *An* when preceding the word to which it is related appears to have a causative significance which usually makes it necessary to translate it by a verb. On the other hand, it follows its own attribute, and then would usually be translated by a noun.

This importance of position makes the punctuation of a Chinese text of fundamental importance. Many difficult texts are not punctuated, and it may be doubted whether any European learning Chinese as an adult should attempt to punctuate a classical text to

which there is no commentary. But it may be noticed that rhythm is of much greater importance in Chinese than in European prose, and once the rhythm is known, and the balance and correspondence of sentences, the task of punctuation can be completed.

It will be seen that this analysis leaves no place for adjectives and adverbs, nor do they appear necessary. It would be possible to translate all the phrases correctly into English without using either adjectives and adverbs, and those parts of speech are used only to make smoother English. A word like 大 "big" would generally be translated by an adjective, but in the Chinese, the relation would be between *bigness* and some other content-word.

Before leaving these generalizations, three apparent exceptions to them may be explained.

1. In No. 4, *an min* is translated "to pacify or quiet the people." Had the order been reversed, the meaning would have been changed, *min an* meaning "the people are at peace."

On the other hand, No. 1, *p'ing an* has the same meaning as *an p'ing*, both phrases meaning "peace." In this instance the word order makes no difference in the meaning.

These two constructions are frequently met. The difference between them might be explained in terms of different parts of speech, but this would be incorrect. A better explanation is that in the first construction the two words have different contents, and therefore a reversal of the word order changes the meaning, while in the second construction, the words define each other, and so their order is immaterial. The first construction is frequently met in English, but not the second. But the second is very common in Chinese, especially in the modern spoken language, for it helps to overcome the difficulty caused by the large number of homophones.

2. In No. 22, the phrase *an an* is translated "naturally." The reduplication increases the intensity, and this construction is common in Chinese. But in the phrase 日日 or "day day," the meaning is not intensified, and the translation would be "every day," or "daily." This also might be explained incorrectly as due to different parts of speech. A better explanation is that the reduplication indicates increase. Where the meaning of the content-word is such as to permit intensification, reduplication has that effect. But such a word as *day* does not permit this, so that the effect of reduplication is not to increase the intensity of *dayness*, which is impossible, but to increase the number of days.

3. In Nos. 19 and 20, *an* is followed by the particle *jan*, and this construction, which is very common, is translated by an adverb. Other illustrations are 果然 "certainly," 忽然 "suddenly," 斷然 "decidedly," 輒然 "immediately," and 自然 "naturally so, of course." But while such phrases are translated by adverbs, they do not indicate that Chinese possesses adverbs. In this construction, there are two content-words, and *jan* following one of these content-words shows that it indicates the manner of the other. We must translate this construction by an adverb. There are words in Chinese which mean "already," "now," "after," "before," etc., but while these are translated by adverbs, it is better to consider them as content-words. For example, the phrase 先生 "first-born," *hsien* meaning "before" in time or place, is really a phrase consisting of two content-words, and is generally translated by a single noun.

That Chinese possesses only two parts of speech "real words" having content, and "empty words" indicating relationship, is also shown by the varying ways in which so many Chinese phrases or sentences may be translated, and this is particularly true where in English we would use adjectives or adverbs. The distinction between "living words" and "dead words" is not essentially that between verbs and nouns, but rather between two ways in which content-words may be used.

There remains the use of *an* as an interrogative particle. Here we deal with what is really a different word, but one written by a content-word with the same sound.<sup>13</sup> As a particle, *an* is treated in works on Chinese grammar;<sup>14</sup> that is, illustrations of its use are given, with Chinese sentences and their translations. Even so, work remains to be done on the structure of such sentences. The important or variable word in the interrogation immediately follows *an*, and this gives the clue to the meaning. In Nos. 36 and 41, the phrase *an tsai*, which might be literally translated "where at," the use of *an* as a particle is indicated, and von der Gabelentz devotes a paragraph to this phrase. In No. 37, the use as a particle is also clear because of the presence of another Chinese device for showing an interrogation, the form "right-wrong." In Nos. 38-40

<sup>13</sup> Karlgren, *Analytic Dictionary*, p. 35.

<sup>14</sup> *An* as a particle is treated in von der Gabelentz, pp. 276, 486-87; by Brandt, p. 13.

there is nothing in the word order to show that *an* is necessarily used as a particle, and the meaning would be shown only by the context. This difficulty cannot be avoided when two different words are written by the same sign, but the context would usually indicate which word was intended.<sup>15</sup>

It is impossible to generalize concerning a language from the use of a single word, and *an* is used only as an illustration. But the illustration of this typical word shows that a new approach to Chinese grammar is desirable, and that there is still a great task awaiting adventurous sinologists.



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<sup>15</sup> The illustrations of the use of *an* are taken from English dictionaries, since the paper is concerned with the study of Chinese by western sinologists. Had Chinese sources been consulted, the result would have been even more complicated. The *Tz'u yüan* gives 141 phrases using the word. Yang Shu-ta, in the 詞詮 (Commercial Press, 1928), analyzes the use of *an* as a particle, finding six different uses, including its use as a conjunctive, and as a final particle.

# A STUDY OF THE USES OF LETTER “YŌD” BY DAVID BEN ABRAHAM AL-FĀSĪ<sup>1</sup>

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THE LETTER Yōd is the fifth of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet, which may be employed both as radical and as servile.<sup>2</sup> Its uses as servile letter are divided into three classes: (a) In the beginning of the word (prefixes<sup>3</sup>); (b) In the middle of the word (infixes), and (c) in the end of the word (suffixes). The Yōd is employed as prefix in twelve<sup>4</sup> formations, nine of which are with imperatives<sup>5</sup> and three with other forms.

(1) When the second radical of a trilateral imperative is vocalized with a Ḥolem, the prefixed Yōd is vocalized in three ways: (a) If the first radical is א, the Yōd takes either a Ḥolem, as in אָמַר, אִמַּר, or a Seghol, as in אָחַז, אִחַז (cf. Judg. 16:3+); (b) If the first radical is ה ח ע, the Yōd takes a Pataḥ, as in חָמַל, יְהִי (Prov. 10:3); (c) Before other letters the Yōd takes always a Hireq, as in יָבֵר.

(2) When the second radical of the imperative has a Pataḥ, the prefixed Yōd takes a Seghol before א ח ע, as in אָמַר, אִמַּר, and a Hireq before other letters, as in יָבֵר, יְבֵר; similarly, when

<sup>1</sup> The present study forms the Introduction to Part Ten (or Part Yōd) of the Hebrew-Arabic Dictionary of the Bible *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Alfāz* of David ben Abraham al-Fāsi, Volume II, the edition of which is in course of preparation. It presents a very interesting view of the beginnings of Hebrew philology in the tenth century, before the triradical theory of Hebrew roots was inaugurated by Judah Ḥayyūj. The various instances are profusely illustrated by the author with many examples, but most of these have been omitted in the present translation for reasons of economy.

<sup>2</sup> The division of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet into radical and servile was made by the author in his general introduction; cf. my edition of *Kitāb Jāmi' al-Alfāz*, I, p. lxxiii, and n. 100.

<sup>3</sup> The author's classification includes beside what he terms prefixes, infixes, and suffixes also instances of *Ketib* and *Qerē* of Yōd found in the Bible, as will be seen later.

<sup>4</sup> So all Mss., although a 13th subdivision is given later.

<sup>5</sup> The early Karaite grammarians took the imperative as the fundamental (or simplest) form of the verb, see *op. cit.*, p. lxxxv, and n. 124.

the last radical is א, as in יִבְרָא, בְּרָא, but if the first radical is א ע ה ה, the Yōd takes a Seghol: יִחַטָּא (Lev. 4:3 +).

(3) When the second radical of the imperative has a Šere and the first is a laryngal (א ע ה ה), the prefixed Yōd is vocalized in three ways: (a) With a Pataḥ: יִחַנֶּה. חַנֶּה (cf. Num. 1.50 +); (b) With a Seghol: יִחַנֶּה, חַנֶּה (Num. 24:4 +), and (c) With a Hīreq: יִחַנֶּה, חַנֶּה. Before non-laryngals the Yōd takes a Hīreq: יִחַנֶּה, חַנֶּה.

(4) When the second radical of the imperative has a Dagħesh, the prefixed Yōd takes a Shewa: יִחַנֶּה, חַנֶּה; also when the second radical is א ע ה ה (which usually do not take a Dagħesh), the Yōd takes a Shewa: יִחַנֶּה (Hos. 9:2), יַחַד (2 Sam. 15:14 +).

(5) When the imperative consists of three consonants but its stem is bi-consonantal (sic!), the prefixed Yōd takes a Hīreq in intransitive<sup>6</sup> formations: יִגַּשׁ, גַּשׁ (Lev. 11:7), יִפֹּר (cf. Job 37:1), and a Pataḥ in transitive formations: יִגַּשׁ (ibid. 40:19), יִשַּׁב (cf. Ps. 7:6).

(6) When the imperative is vocalized with a Hōlem and its stem is bi-consonantal, the Yōd is vocalized in three ways: (a) With a Qameš: יִחַם, חַם (Isa. 44:16); (b) With a Hīreq: יִבּוֹז, בּוֹז (cf. ibid. 24:3), and (c) With a Šere: יִבּוֹשׁ, בּוֹשׁ (Isa. 29:22), יִאֹר (cf. 2 Sam. 2:32), יַעֲרֹר (Jer. 6:22 +).

(7) When the imperative has a Shureq, the Yōd takes a Qameš: יִמּוֹךְ, מּוֹךְ (Lev. 25:25 +), and in transitive formations: יִקִּים, קִים, יִסִּיר, סִיר. Similarly, when the imperative has a Hīreq in intransitive and transitive formations, as יִגִּיל, גִּיל, יִבִּין, בִּין.

(8) When the imperative has two consonants, the Yōd in the imperfect (עֲתִיד) takes either a Šere: יִשָּׁב, שָׁב, or a Hīreq: יִקַּח, קַח; in the perfect (עָבַר) it takes a Qameš: יִשָּׁב.

(9) When the imperative begins with a Hē and its stem is only one consonant (sic!), as יִהְיֶה, הִיָּה, הִיָּה—the prefixed Yōd takes a Hīreq in intransitive formations: יִהְיֶה (Lev. 6:20), יִשָּׂה (Job 15:29), and a Pataḥ in transitive formations יִהְיֶה (Lev. 16:14 +), יִשָּׂה (Isa. 31:3).

(10) When the Yōd which is used in Hebrew in the beginning

<sup>6</sup> By "intransitive" (פִּי נִפְסָה) the author refers to *Qal* and by "transitive" (פִּי גִירָה) to *Hif'il*. Similarly Saadia in his *Kutub al-Lughah* (*JQR.*, N. S., XXIII, 333) uses the terms לִדְאָהָה (פִּי דְאָהָה) and לִגִּיר דְאָהָה (פִּי גִיר דְאָהָה) in reference to these conjugations.



of words (before stems) is occasionally replaced by a Waw, as *יָרָא*, *אָרָא*, etc., *תָּוָרָא* (Ps. 130:4); *יָסֹד* (Ex. 29:12 +), *תָּוָסֶד* (Isa. 44:28); *יָקָר פִּיקוּר אֵשׁ* (*ibid.* 10:16), *כְּמוֹקֶד* (Ps. 102:4); *יִשַׁע* (*ibid.* 20:7), *תָּוָשַׁע* (Jer. 23:6). I have discussed this formation here briefly, having already dealt with it in Part Waw.<sup>7</sup>

(11) Words (stems) occurring in Hebrew with prefixed Yōd and Waw which are occasionally omitted, as *יַעֲיָן* (2 Sam. 16:23 +), *נוֹעָצִים* (1 Kings 12:6 +), *עֲצָה* (2 Sam. 16:20 +); *יָלֵד*, *נֹלֵד* (Eccl. 4:14 +), *לָדָה* (Jer. 13:21). Similarly *יָקִים* (cf. Gen. 7:4 +) < *יָבֹל* (Judg. 6:4 +) < *בֹּל* (Job 40:20), *יָסֹד* (Ex. 29:12 +) < *הוֹסֵד* (Ezra 3:11 +), *יָקָר* (Isa. 10:16) < *הוֹקֵר* (cf. Ps. 102:4), *יָקָר* (Prov. 20:15 +) < *מוֹקֵד* (*ibid.* 25:17), *יָשָׁן* (Lev. 21:20 +) < *יִלְפָתוּ* (Job 6:18), *שָׁנָה* (1 Sam. 26:7 +) < *שָׁנָה* (Ps. 90:5 +).

(12) When the Yōd is written (Ketib) in the beginning of the word, but not read (Qere),<sup>8</sup> as *יַעֲמָדוּ* (Ezek. 47:10), *יַצְאוּ* (Jer. 50:8), and conversely, when the Yōd is read but not written,<sup>10</sup> as *יַעֲשֶׂה* (1 Sam. 20:2), *יַעֲבֹר* (Isa. 28:15).

(13) When the Ketib is a Yōd in the beginning of the word and the Qere is a Waw,<sup>11</sup> as *יָבֹאוּ* (Judg. 6:5), *יַחֲנֹנִי* (2 Sam. 12:22), *יַפְצְחוּ* (Isa. 49:13), *יַאֲשֶׁר* (Ps. 41:3), *יַחֲזֹל יִשִּׁית* (Job 10:20); and vice versa, the Ketib is a Waw and the Qere is a Yōd,<sup>12</sup> as *יַשְׁאֲנָה* (Isa. 5:29), *יַשְׁפִּטְמוּ* (Ezek. 44:24), *יַעֲשׂוּ* (*ibid.* 46:15).

The second class dealing with the Yōd in the middle of the word occurs in four<sup>13</sup> ways: (1) When the intransitive verb has a Waw, it changes to a Yōd in its transitive form, as *יָקִים*, *יָקִים*; *יָסֹד*, *יָסִיר*; *יָשׁוּב*, *יָשִׁיב*. (2) A Yōd occasionally replacing a Waw, as *יָלֹן* (Gen. 24:25 +), *לָלִין* (*ibid.* 23); *פָּנוּאֵל* (*ibid.* 29:31 +), *פָּנִיאֵל* (*ibid.* 31); *שָׁנוּאָה* (*ibid.* 29:31 +), *שָׁנִיאָה* (cf. Deut. 21:15). (3) The euphonic<sup>14</sup> (or emphatic) Yōd: *יָרְבוֹן* (Ps. 139:18),

<sup>7</sup> *Jāmi' al-Alfāz*, I, 465, 184 ff. Most of the author's examples cited in this and in the following paragraphs have been left out in the translation; see above, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> This and the following examples have been previously cited by the author.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Frensdorff, *Das Buch Ochia W'ochla*, Hannover, 1864, No. 124.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 125.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 134.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 135.

<sup>13</sup> So Mss., though a 5th subdivision is given later.

<sup>14</sup> The author employs the expression *הַרְבֵּה מִלֵּשׁוֹן* (*Jāmi' al-*

יִרְבִּין (Deut. 8:13); יָכְלוּ (Isa. 1:28 +), יִכְלִיּוֹן (*ibid.* 31:3). (4) The Yōd is written but not read,<sup>15</sup> as דִּבְרֵיו (Ps. 105:28), וּמִדְּבָרָיו<sup>16</sup> (Ps. 119:161); and conversely, the Yōd is read but not written,<sup>17</sup> as צִוְאוֹרִי (Gen. 33:4), וְעֶמְדוֹ (Ex. 27:11), מִרְיָבוּ עָלוּ (1 Sam. 2:10); such instances are found mostly in the description of the Temple (in Ezek. 40-48). (5) When the Ketib is a Yōd and the Qere is a Waw,<sup>18</sup> as גַּיִם (Gen. 25:23), יַעִישׁ (*ibid.* 36:5 +); and vice versa, the Ketib is a Waw and the Qere is a Yōd,<sup>19</sup> as תַּלְלוֹנוּ (Num. 16:11 +), עֲנוּיִם (Isa. 32:7 +).

The third class, which concerns the Yōd at the end of the word, occurs in eight<sup>20</sup> ways. (1) Pronominal suffix of first person has various formations: (a) Nouns, singular: אֲכִי, בִּשְׂרִי בְנִי, and plural: בְּנֵי יְדִי, רִגְלֵינוּ יְדִי; (b) Verbal forms, as nouns, singular: עַד בָּאִי (Gen. 48:5 +), עַד שׁוֹבִי (2 Chron. 18:26), or פָּעִלִי (Ps. 95:9), דְּבָרִי (Num. 11:23 +), and plural: מַעֲשֵׂי (Ps. 45:2 +), דְּבָרֵי (Deut. 11:18 +), also in the perfect: עָשִׂיתִי, שָׁמַעְתִּי; (c) Accusative in the singular and plural, masculine and feminine, perfect and imperfect, of second and third persons, as הוֹרְגִי (Ps. 27:11 +), הַבִּינִי (*ibid.* 119:27 +), יִדְעָתִי (Isa. 45:4), עֹזְבָתִי (Deut. 28:20 +), הוֹרוּנִי (Job 6:24), עֹזְבוֹנִי (1 Kings 11:33 +), יִלְדָּתִי (Isa. 49:14 +), יִלְדָּתִי (Jer. 20:14), רֵאִי (Gen. 16:13), רֵאִי (Ps. 22:8 +); there is no need to enumerate here all the formations where a Yōd is employed in the pronominal suffixes, for it would be to no purpose.

(2) Nouns ending in Yōd, as נִקָּה < נָקִי (Jer. 49:12), עֲנִי < נָקָה (Jer. 49:12), עֲנָה (Ex. 22:22), קָלִי < קְלִי (Lev. 2:14), אֲצִלָּה < צָלִי (Isa. 44:19); the pronominal suffix for the first person takes another Yōd, as פָּרִיִּי (Prov. 8:19), בְּכִיִּי (Ps. 6:9).

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*Alfāz*, I, 235, 12) to indicate the so-called "pleonastic" letters for euphonic or emphatic purposes, as illustrated here and later. For its use by Saadia and the Hebrew rendition פִּיאֹר by Dunash b. Labrat see Bacher, *Anfänge d. hebräischen Grammatik*, 56 f. and 111, n. 3. Cf. Lane, Dozy, and Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, 661 f.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Frensdorff, *op. cit.*, No. 129.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 131.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 128.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 138, 140, 144, and 148.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 139, 141, 145, and 147; cf. also *Minḥat Shai* on 1 Kings 17:15.

<sup>20</sup> So Mss., though a 9th subdivision is given later; cf. nn. 4 and 13, above.

(3) Verbs in which the imperative ends in a Hē have their passive participles with a Yōd: רָאוּ, רָאָה; עָשׂוּ, עָשָׂה; אָפּוּ, אָפָה.

(4) The construct state of plural nouns, etc., as in יָדֵי, אֲנָשֵׁי, נְשִׂאֵי, קְרוּאֵי, עֵינֵי.

(5) The construct state of nouns which end in the singular in a Hē take in the plural a Yōd,<sup>21</sup> as רָאָה אֲנָכִי (Gen. 31:5), רָאִי פָנַי (Est. 1:14); עָשָׂה חֶסֶד (Jer. 9:23), עָשִׂי רְשָׁעָה (Mal. 3:19). These and similar examples may be clearly understood after careful study. Two such instances are misinterpreted by most scholars, who identify them with those mentioned above: וּבְמִרְאֵי (Eccl. 11:9), וּמִפִּי גֵר (Mal. 3:5), but they belong to the six instances where the Ketib is a Yōd and the Qere is a Hē, and will be mentioned later.

(6) The imperative of the feminine singular: בּוֹאִי (Jer. 47:6); its imperfect in the 2nd person: תִּשׁוּבִי, תִּקּוּמִי, and the 3rd person: תִּבּוֹא, תִּקּוּם, except the only instance תִּשְׁקָטִי (Jer. 47:7), which raises a question, though I am inclined to take the Yōd here as pleonastic.<sup>23</sup>

(7) The euphonic<sup>24</sup> (or pleonastic) Yōd, as מוֹשִׁיכִי (Ps. 113:9), חֲנֻכִּי (Isa. 22:16), חֲנֻכִּי (Isa. 22:16), מְקִימִי (ibid. 6), מְשַׁפִּילִי (ibid. 5), רִבְתִּי (Lam. 1:1), שְׂרַתִּי (ibid.); this Yōd also occurs with a Pataḥ, as כִּשְׁמִרֵי שְׂדֵי (Jer. 4:17), וְאֲרָגִים חֹרֵי (Isa. 19:9), אֲזִי חַיִּים (Ps. 124:3), and with a Šere, as מִשְׁכְּבִי (Lev. 18:22), עָלַי עֶשׂוֹר (Amos 6:6), בְּמוֹזְרָקִי (2 Kings 17:13), כֹּל נְבִיאִי כֹל חֹזֶה (Ps. 92:4); similar are the instances of בְּנִי in the Bible, which are followed by a single name: וּבְנֵי דָן הָשִׁים (Gen. 46:23), וּבְנֵי אֵלִיָּהוּ (Num. 26:8), as I have already mentioned in Part Bet.<sup>25</sup>

(8) When the Ketib is a Yōd and the Qere is a Hē,<sup>26</sup> as הָעֵמֶק (Josh. 18:24), פִּי יִקְלָל (2 Sam. 16:10), שְׂמִיעִי (ibid. 21:21), וּבְמִרְאֵי (Eccl. 11:9), וּמִפִּי גֵר (Mal. 3:5), הַשְׁלִשִּׁי (ibid. 23:18).

(9) When the Yōd is written but not read,<sup>27</sup> as וּתְבַתִּי (1 Sam.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Frensdorff, *op. cit.*, No. 94.

<sup>22</sup> So. Mss., Mas. text עָשָׂה, cf. Kennicott, De Rossi, Ginsburg's note *ad loc.*, and Mal. 3:15.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Ibn Janāḥ, *Kitāb al-Luma'*, 363, 23, and Ibn Bal'am's Commentary *ad loc.*

<sup>24</sup> See n. 14, above.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Frensdorff, *op. cit.*, No. 116.

<sup>26</sup> *Jāmi' al-ʿAlfāz*, I, 240, 58 ff.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 127.

25:34), טה יש לְכִי (2 Kings 4:2), שְׁכִנְיָךְ (*ibid.* 3); most of these forms are feminine, though some are not: נְשֹׂאֵי כְּלֵי יוֹאֵב (2 Sam. 23:37), בְּנֵי בְּנֵי-הַנֶּחֱמָה (2 Kings 23:10), אֲשֵׁי וּמִשֵּׁי (Ezek. 16:13), בְּלִי יַעֲשׂוֹן (Hos. 9:16), קִנְיָתִי (Ruth 4:5), שְׁנֵאֵי בָצַע (*ibid.* 8:35). Also conversely, when the Yōd is read but not written,<sup>28</sup> as מַעֲלֵי עֵינָיו (1 Kings 20:41), עַל יָדֵי עֲלִי (2 Kings 12:12), עַל־סֵרֶן (Job 7:1), וְרַעְתִּים כִּי כָל תּוֹכֵל (*ibid.* 42:2), and the like.



<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 126.

## NOTES ON HURRIAN PHONOLOGY

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UNTIL RECENTLY all deductions concerning Hurrian sounds were based only on material preserved in the cuneiform syllabic writing. In such a medium, itself re-designed for the purposes of Akkadian, Hurrian phonetic elements could receive adequate treatment only in so far as they approximated phonetic elements present in Akkadian. There were here no ready means for the expression of values for which the parent script had not provided. The result was an unduly simplified conception of Hurrian phonology. Frequent use of signs containing either *š* or *s* to express a single sibilant of Akkadian was regarded as proof that Hurrian had but one voiceless sibilant; and the constant confusion of voiced and voiceless stops led to the assumption of a single series of stops in Hurrian.<sup>1</sup> To be sure, scattered indications of departures from the phonetic repertoire of Akkadian were noted from time to time.<sup>2</sup> But the picture as a whole was naturally out of focus.

With the discovery of Hurrian material among the alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra there was provided a source for an independent estimate of the sounds of Hurrian. Nothing like a systematic survey is as yet possible. The available material is scanty and full of difficulties of its own. In a consonantal script the sense of individual lexical elements of this virtually unknown language is far more difficult to determine than it has been in the syllabic writing. On the other hand, such a script will allow consonants a greater measure of individuality than might be expected in syllabic texts.<sup>2a</sup> Above all, it furnishes means for checking previous phonetic deductions.

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<sup>1</sup> It is hardly necessary to give a list of those who have held these views, or to point out that I used to belong to that school myself.

<sup>2</sup> See already Bork, *Die Mitannisprache*, *MVAG* 1909 14 ff. For other suggestions cf. Speiser, *Mesop. Origins* 123 ff., and *JAOS* 53. 26 n. 39.

<sup>2a</sup> Another important difference is this: The Nuzi dialect of Akkadian was used in writings by Hurrians; the cuneiform signs reflect here Hurrian pronunciation. But the characters used in RŠ Hurrian texts were used simultaneously by the Semites of Ugarit and represent, therefore, contemporary phonetic values of Ugaritic. These characters are accordingly a primary phonetic witness.

Thureau-Dangin<sup>3</sup> and Friedrich<sup>4</sup> have been prompt to realize the value—and the limitations—of the RŠ Hurrian material for phonological purposes. Progress has been made also in certain specific details. Thus Ginsberg-Maisler<sup>5</sup> and Harris<sup>6</sup> discovered independently a special sign (the two-wedged š), which is used chiefly in Hurrian contexts. In the meantime, Berkooz<sup>7</sup> and Oppenheim<sup>8</sup> have given a fresh impetus to a further evaluation of the Hurrian syllabary through their recent studies of the Nuzi material. The problem is thus being approached from two directions.

Further progress in Hurrian phonology can be made by co-ordinating the testimony of the cuneiform syllabaries and the alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra. The discussion which follows attempts such a co-ordination with regard to some sibilants, the rest offering merely a few scattered observations. It is assumed at the outset that the Hurrian texts from Ras Shamra, the Hurrian material from Boghazköi, the letter of Tushratta in the "Mitanni" language, the related elements in the other Amarna letters, and the bulk of the non-Semitic material from Nuzi<sup>9</sup> represent one and the same basic language, for all the differences that lack of equally extensive sources in all these centers, divergences of script, and considerable geographic decentralization may have caused to become apparent. The underlying relationship is supported primarily by the constant recurrence throughout the area under discussion of

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<sup>3</sup> *Syria* 12. 249 ff. These comments are appended to his masterly treatment of the syllabic Hurrian material from Ras Shamra, *ibid.* 234 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Analecta Orientalia* (abbr. *An. Or.*) 12. 128 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *JPOS* 14. 244.

<sup>6</sup> *JAOS* 55. 95 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian* (abbr. *NDA*), Language Dissertations 23 (1937).

<sup>8</sup> See especially *WZKM* 44. 178 ff.; 45. 38 ff. (a review of Berkooz's monograph); *Revue Hittite et Asiatique* (abbr. *RHA*) 26. 58 ff.; *Afo* 12. 29 ff.

<sup>9</sup> The view that Hurrian constitutes the principal substratum at Nuzi about the middle of the second millennium B. C. (not in the Old Akkadian period, for which see Meek, *HHS* (abbr. (H) IX) has recently been attacked by Oppenheim, *Afo* 11. 56 ff. Oppenheim's arguments were promptly refuted by Friedrich, *ZDMG* 91. 212 ff., and more extensively by Speiser, *AASOR* 16. 136 ff. For the cultural and historical background of the Hurrians cf. my *Ethnic Movements*, *AASOR* 13. 13 ff.; Albright, in Leary's *From the Pyramids to Paul* (1935) 9 ff.; Götze, *Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrier* (1936); and Ungnad, *Subartu* (1936). Oppenheim has lately modified his position, cf. *Afo* 12. 29 n. 2 and, indirectly in *RHA* 26. 58 (cf. the title of his paper; cf. below, note 100).

such formatives and endings as *hi*,<sup>9a</sup> *ni*, *-n*, *na*, *va/wa*, *ve/we*, and *-š*, for which fresh evidence will be adduced below; by correspondences in numerals, personal names, and names of deities; and secondarily only by the identity of certain lexical elements and by a common chronological, historical, and cultural background. The sole purpose of the present discussion is to determine whether it is possible to discern at present, in certain significant instances, a common phonetic pattern, in spite of the fragmentary nature of the material at our disposal.

### A. Sibilants

The long-held view that Hurrian possessed no *š*-sound, or rather that in the Hurrian syllabary *š* represents *s*, has been questioned recently from several quarters. Thureau-Dangin<sup>10</sup> would see evidence for *š* (no doubt as distinct from and by the side of *s*) in Babylonian transliterations of Hurrian names; in the contracts from Dilbat *Te-eš-šu-ub-'a-ri* must contain *š*, since *s* would have been expressed differently. Oppenheim and Berkooz concentrate on the Nuzi material where, it is true, *š* and *s* are often confused in writing; but interchanges between sibilants and non-sibilants convince Oppenheim by their very variety that several types of sibilants should be presupposed,<sup>11</sup> while Berkooz adduces arguments in favor of *š*, *s/z*, and *ž*.<sup>12</sup> So much for interpretations based on the Hurrian syllabary. The alphabetic Hurrian material from Ras Shamra has been shown by Friedrich<sup>13</sup> to distinguish with regularity between *θ*<sup>14</sup> (= *t*, *š*) and *ś*, although both may be expressed in the Hurrian syllabary as *š*; thus we have *θmg*/<sup>d</sup>*šimigi*, alongside *'iwržr*/<sup>l</sup>*Ewirišarri*. Finally, Ginsberg-Maisler and Harris<sup>15</sup> have argued that the character transliterated as *ś* (or *š*<sub>2</sub>), which is written with two wedges, is not to be confused with the three-wedged *š* proper; it represents, instead, a Hurrian sound, which Ginsberg-Maisler would regard provisionally as *ž*, while Harris

<sup>9a</sup> For *-bi* in Nuzi cf. *JAOS* 55.443 n. 38 and Friedrich, *ZDMG* 91.212. On the occurrence of this suffix in Ras Shamra, see below, p. 197 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Syria* 12. 253.

<sup>12</sup> *NDA* 60-63.

<sup>11</sup> *WZKM* 44. 185-87.

<sup>13</sup> *An. Or.* 12. 129 f.

<sup>14</sup> In this discussion I have used *θ* for the Ras Shamra (RŠ) character representing the spirant which corresponds in Semitic to Arabic *tā*, and *ž* for the two-wedged sign which Friedrich transcribes *ś*.

<sup>15</sup> See above, notes 5-6.

introduces for it a purely conventional symbol  $\bar{z}$ , suggesting as possible phonetic interpretations a sibilant or an affricate.

On one point at least all these writers are agreed: that Hurrian recognized more than one sibilant. Beyond this important concurrence, however, their results vary, largely because the several discussions are devoted to different aspects of the same problem. Friedrich is content with his convincing demonstration of the fact that the  $\bar{s}$  of the Hurrian syllabary may represent one of two characters in RŠ Hurrian. The article was written before Harris had shown that his  $\bar{z}$  is not to be confused with the three-wedged  $\bar{s}$ ; otherwise Friedrich would have been obliged to state whether he regards  $\bar{s}$  as yet another definitely established sibilant of Hurrian. On the other hand, Harris confined his study to the problem of  $\bar{z}$ , and Ginsberg-Maisler limited the corresponding part of their article to the question of  $\bar{z}$ , which is, as we have seen, merely another symbol for the above  $\bar{z}$ . Lastly, neither Oppenheim nor Berkooz strayed far beyond the limits of the Nuzi material.

Before we proceed with this discussion, it will be necessary to review the available evidence. Hurrian contexts from Ras Shamra are restricted for the present to *Syria* 10, Tablets 4, 7, 28, 34 + 45, and apparently 30, 31, 35 to be designated hereafter as RŠ 4, 7, etc.); *Syria* 12, 389 f., and words in the "Seleg" text, *Syria* 15, 148 (cf. also the fragment, *ibid.* 153). The really significant text in the entire group is RŠ 4, on account of its length (62 lines), comparatively few gaps, and its use of word dividers. The short tablet marked RŠ 7 is complete, but of little assistance. No word dividers are employed here, nor do words end with the line; thus the first two characters of *kmrb* (<sup>d</sup>*Kumarbi/we*) are at the end of line one, the last two at the beginning of line 2. In fact, what little we know from this text is due primarily to the insight of the late Hans Bauer,<sup>16</sup> who obtained his results by comparing this tablet with the fragmentary texts in RŠ 31 + 45. The remainder of the material presents no connected contexts. It follows that RŠ 4 alone can be looked to for reliable contributions.

But even this text is not uniformly reliable. A comparison of the following three passages<sup>17</sup> will prove instructive in this connection.

<sup>16</sup> *OLZ* 1934 474 f.

<sup>17</sup> In the transcriptions which follow a subscript dot shows that a part of the character in question is missing.



RŠ 4. 7-8: 'il k[m]rḫ<sup>18</sup> sbl pzy t'nm kr. 'il kmrḫnθ<sup>19</sup>

ibid. 26-8: θr θbl tl-----lž k[r θr(θ)]

ibid. 32-3: ḫdn ḫdlr θbl [pzy?] t'nm.kr.ḫdn.ḫdlr

In the last passage we have names of two groups of deities (*ḫdn ḫdlr* = <sup>d</sup>*Hutena* <sup>d</sup>*Hutelurra*)<sup>20</sup> followed by *θbl - t'nama kr* and the same divine names. The middle passage has *θr* (a deity?)<sup>21</sup> followed by *θbl*, a long break, *t'nm k[r]*, and probably [*θr*] or [*θrθ*]. The first passage begins with *'il.kmrḫ* and ends with *kr. 'il kmrḫnθ*.<sup>22</sup> In all three passages the same sequence is observed. But instead of *θbl*, as in the two other citations, we have in one instance *sbl*; the *kmrḫ* of this section is, of course, the well-known god *Kumarbi/we*. The formulaic character of the above passages makes it certain that the *sbl* of line 8 is an error for *θbl*, of which there are two clear occurrences in lines 27 and 33. Incidentally, this error involves one of the two appearances of the *s*-sign in the present text. The other is in *psm*, line 53. It is logical, therefore, to regard also the latter reading as suspect. The same may be said of the only remaining occurrence of the *s*-sign in a RŠ text which is certainly Hurrian: RŠ 45 rev. 10.<sup>23</sup>

RŠ 4 introduces, in addition, *š* (the three-wedged character) and *z*. The former is found definitely in the form *'iršpn*, line 42 (and evidently is to be supplied in the preceding line). Examples with *z* are *ḫzhg*, 4. 24 (16, 20), and *anḫz*, 4. 11. On the other hand, both *θ* and *ž* are very common. In the other Hurrian tablets *š* is found in 7. 6, 10; 34 end, and 45 rev. 1; *z* appears in 7. 10. In 7. 6 there is the sequence *šθm* (with the *šādē*-sign), but Bauer<sup>24</sup> reads the word *'aθm*, on the analogy of 45 rev. 2.

To recapitulate this part of our inquiry, there is ample evidence

<sup>18</sup> The 'il before *kmrḫ* is hardly the Semitic word for "god."

<sup>19</sup> For *kmrḫnθ* = <sup>d</sup>*Kumarbi-ni-š* see below, p. 192 f.

<sup>20</sup> For this pair of names cf. Hrozný, *Archiv Orientální* 4. 121 ff.; Friedrich, *An. Or.* 12. 130.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. also RŠ 4. 61; 34. 3; perhaps to be connected(?) with *Seriš*, in *Boghazköi* (Götze, *Kleinasien* 121, 123, and in *Nuzi Arip-šeri*, HV 79. 36, *Nai-šeri*, N 177. 7, etc.)

<sup>22</sup> For the suffix *-θ* and the incorporating infix *-ni* see below, p. 193.

<sup>23</sup> The fragment published in *Syria* 15. 153 adds two occurrences of the *s*-sign. But the context is enigmatic; all that can be said about this piece is that it includes two names of Hurrian deities; cf. Friedrich, *An. Or.* 12. 129.

<sup>24</sup> *OLZ* 1934. 475 n. 2.

for both  $\theta$  and  $\bar{z}$ . The tablets contain also signs for  $s$ ,  $\bar{s}$ ,  $z$ , and  $\bar{s}$ . Of these, the first two appear to be due to scribal errors. Little doubt can be cast on the presence of  $z$ , in spite of the rare occurrences of the sign in question. As for  $\bar{s}$ , the corresponding character is certain in RŠ 4 in only one name;<sup>24</sup> but the other Hurrian tablets seem to indicate that a sound represented by this character may have been known to Hurrian.

With regard to phonetic values, it goes without saying that all we can expect at present is a general orientation rather than a satisfactory classification. On the basis of the foregoing remarks the elements at issue may be reduced to four, viz.,  $z$ ,  $\bar{s}$ ,  $\theta$ , and  $\bar{z}$ . Of these, the first three are well known from the Semitic texts of Ras Shamra, so that approximately analogous values may for the present be presupposed in each case for Hurrian as well:  $z$  would be the voiced sibilant,  $\bar{s}$  would fall within the *sin/šin*<sup>25</sup> range, while  $\theta$  would have the spirant value of the Arabic *ṯā*. As for  $\bar{z}$ , Harris<sup>26</sup> has established conclusively that the character in question is all but restricted to Hurrian texts. Its occurrences in Semitic contexts are rare, although seemingly regular with certain words. The Semitic instances require a thorough investigation. For our immediate purposes it may be significant that in the poem on the "Gracious Gods," *Syria* 14.128 ff., the word for "breast" in the phrase "sucking at the breast" is written *zd* in line 24, but *z̄d* in line 61. If we disregard the possibility of error in these two writings, this particular word for "breast" began with some sound which was intermediate between  $z$  and  $\bar{z}$ .<sup>27</sup>

We are now ready for the evidence of the Hurrian syllabary. There we have a gratifying amount of comparative material, but

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<sup>24</sup> For this name there is only a single citation from Boghazköi (*An. Or.* 12. 129), so that its Hurrian background is not quite certain. Our doubts on this subject gain some confirmation from the occurrence of the personal name *!Ir-ša-ap-pa* in the first Arzawa letter, Götze, *Verstreute Boghazköi Texte* 1. 11.

<sup>25</sup> These designations are employed in the present paper in an etymological sense only, without any implications as to relative priority or ultimate origin.

<sup>26</sup> See above, note 6.

<sup>27</sup> It may be of interest to recall that in the Semitic analogues (not to speak as yet of cognates) outside Ugaritic the initial consonant is also varied, owing doubtless to the onomatopoeic origin of the term; cf. e.g., Heb. *šad* and *dad*.

the evidence is bewildering at first. Thus the names of the deities *Šimigi/qa*, *Ša(w)uška*, *Aštabi*, *Tešub*, and *ašti*- "woman" appear in the RŠ tablets as *θmg*, *θw('u)θk*, *'aθtb*, *tθb*, and *'aθt*- respectively.<sup>28</sup> The personal name *<sup>1</sup>Ewirišarri* appears as *'iwržr* (*Syria* 14 pl. 25 b 1), while *<sup>4</sup>Iršappi* is rendered *iršp*. In other words the *š* of the syllabary may correspond to *θ*, *ž*, and *š*. The syllabary was obviously incapable of individualizing all of the spirants and sibilants of Hurrian.

Our first concern is with *θ*. We know that the same character is employed in the Semitic texts to represent an original spirant *t̥*. The syllabary uses in its place the sibilant *š*. We shall see presently that in the extensive material from Nuzi there is no sure exception to the equation *θ* = *š*, and the question is therefore in order whether *θ* in Hurrian texts was as definitely spirant as is, e. g., Arabic *tā*. On this point we get some hints from the Semitic texts of Ras Shamra. Here the šafels *yθθb* (bis), and *θθbn* (all three from rt. *yṯb*) and *wθθb* (rt. *ṯwb*) use *θ* in the preformative; in all these instances an original *š* was assimilated to the *θ* of the next syllable.<sup>29</sup> The assimilatory influence of spirant upon sibilant, especially when heterosyllabic and where the pressure of the paradigm is strong, is certainly not normal in Semitic; if anything, the reverse process would be expected.<sup>30</sup> It would seem that even in the Semitic dialect of Ugarit (*θ* (= *t̥*)) had begun to shift toward *š*, just as it was to in Akkadian, Phoenician, and Hebrew. The above examples would thus indicate not so much an assimilatory influence on the part of a spirant *θ*, but rather a sibilant leaning in *θ*.

To return to the Hurrian syllabary, our richest source is furnished by the Nuzi texts. The phonetic evidence has been worked over recently by Berkooz and Oppenheim, whose studies on the subject may now be consulted. As a first step, however, we need a critical appraisal of their respective methods in order to appreciate the results in their bearing upon the present problem.

Berkooz set out to examine the orthography and phonology of the Nuzi documents.<sup>31</sup> Since his was a comprehensive survey of the

<sup>28</sup> Friedrich, loc. cit. For *'aθt*- (in RŠ 4. 55: *'aθth[n]*); cf. id. *Die Welt als Geschichte* III/1 62. For the bearing of the form *'aθthn* on the question of the *-bi-* suffix in the RŠ texts see below, p. 197 f.

<sup>29</sup> See Harris, this JOURNAL, above, p. 104 f.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. e. g., Arab. *sādīt* > *sādis* "sixth."

<sup>31</sup> See above, note 7.

material, he utilized both the Akkadian and the non-Akkadian elements, but treated the evidence from the non-Semitic proper names separately, owing to the heterogeneous character of the two sources. Moreover, in evaluating such evidence as he had for sound shifts and sound changes in Hurrian names, Berkooz was careful not to draw conclusions from apparently related onomastic elements unless the relationship was confirmed by genealogy. For instance, he compares the names *Ta-an-ki-ia* and *Ta-ki-ia* (NDA 57) only because in both cases the father is *Taena*; *Gi-el-šu* and *Gi-ir-šu* (p. 60), because the parent is always *Šarramuli*, and so on. In studying unknown linguistic material, where, say, *tank-* and *tak-* or *gel* and *gir* might represent conceivably so many independent elements, the genealogical criterion is the only safe guide to comparisons. Caution in matters of this kind has contributed to the conservative nature of Berkooz's results. Nevertheless, arguments are adduced against the prevalent assumption that Hurrian had only one series of stops (p. 40), and valid objections are raised against the theory that the Hurrians had but one sibilant for the Akkadian *s* and *š* (pp. 60 ff.).

Berkooz's reasoning with regard to the sibilants in the non-Semitic proper names from Nuzi is of particular interest in the present connection. He finds that certain elements are written only with signs containing *š* (including *šawuška*, *šimiga*, *tešup*), while others are written with *z* only (e. g., *zigi*, *zili*, *zizza*).<sup>32</sup> The interchange of *s* and *š* in certain other elements is interpreted, therefore, as an indication that the Hurrians had in addition to *š* another (presumably voiceless) sibilant, which the Nuzi scribes failed to represent with consistency because it was foreign to Akkadian.<sup>33</sup>

So far the argument has been perfectly sound; we can scarcely criticize Berkooz for seeing his foreign sibilant in the element *šarri*, which he equates, with Ginsberg-Maisler and Harris, with RŠ *žr*.<sup>34</sup> His further argument, however, that the new sibilant was phonetically *ž* is not quite so valid. It is based on a comparison of the writings *Ku-uz-za-ri* and *Ku-uz-za-zi*, both of which represent a son of *Hamanna* (p. 62). It is true that the vacillation between *r* and *z* would justify such a conclusion. Unfortunately, however, the discrepancy may be graphic and not phonetic. The signs *zi* and *ri* may be confused in the Nuzi texts, very likely by the copyist, as I

<sup>32</sup> NDA 61.<sup>33</sup> Ibid.<sup>34</sup> Ibid. 62.

have shown elsewhere in safe Akkadian examples.<sup>35</sup> For this reason, no phonetic conclusions can be drawn from such cases.

Oppenheim has lately been pursuing Nuzi studies with great industry and marked success. Non-Semitic proper names have received his special attention as is evidenced by several unusually stimulating articles, to which is added a thorough and critical review of Berkooz's monograph.<sup>36</sup> This is not the place for a detailed estimate of Oppenheim's results. It is necessary, however, to state that these results are not always conclusive because of the author's failure to adhere rigidly to the genealogical principle of comparison. Thus he juxtaposes *Na-ip-šu-ur-ra* and *A-ri-ip-ḫu-ur-ra* (WZKM 44. 187), with entirely different initial elements, in order to demonstrate the interchange of *š* and *ḫ* in the respective final elements; and he loses sight of the inherent probability that *šurra* and *ḫurra* were not the same word at all. More serious is this excess of optimism when a comparison is made between *Ku-ur-tu<sub>4</sub>-ru-uk* (Gadd 33. 28) and *Wu-ur-tu<sub>4</sub>-ru-uk* (N 12. 21). This single instance of interchange between *k* and *w* is deemed sufficient to establish the existence of the labiovelar *gu*.<sup>37</sup> But when the references are checked, the first one turns out to be *w[u]*, not *ku*, so that the name is to be read in both instances as *Wur-turuk*. Lastly, not enough attention is paid to the possibility of scribal errors (*ki/di*, *ra/ša*, *ḫi/še*) for which there are abundant examples in the Akkadian and easily controlled material from Nuzi;<sup>38</sup> no phonetic conclusions should be based on examples where the likelihood of such errors has not been considered. Similarly, graphic peculiarities can not be ignored. The comparison of *A-wa-ta-gi* with <sup>sal</sup>*A-wa-sag-gi* (WZKM 44. 186) is to be deleted for the simple reason that the text in which the alleged *\*Awasaggi* occurs (N 516. 5)<sup>39</sup> writes *ta* almost exactly like *sag* (in the unambiguous *Im-ma-ta-am-mar*, line 11, and again in *Ša-ta-ri-el-li*, line 12).

With these reservations we approach Oppenheim's analysis of the

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *AASOR* 16. 116, note at 69. 18.      <sup>36</sup> Cf. note 8, above.

<sup>37</sup> Again, there is here no genealogical evidence for connecting the two names. Since far-reaching conclusions are to be based on this single pair of names, the possibility should first have been weighed that *wur* and *\*kur* are different etymologically.

<sup>38</sup> See *NDA* 22 ff.

<sup>39</sup> In citing Nuzi texts I use N for Chiera, *Joint expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, vols. I-V; H for *Harvard Semitic Series*; Gadd for *RA* 23. 142 ff.

sibilants. The interchange of *š* and *s* (loc. cit. 185) calls for no comment. The next paragraph (15; p. 186) deals with the change between *š/s* and *r*. We find here a number of examples, but no single group of these is really conclusive. Three pairs of names involve the change of *ša* and *ra*; a comparison of Gadd 70.6 and ibid. 82.22 (the first pair of examples cited by Oppenheim) will show, however, how close is the *ra* of *I-wa-ra-an-ni*, in the former instance, to the *ša* of *I-wa-ša-an-ni*, in the latter reference. Then we have three examples of interchange of *š* and *r* before *t* and *g/k*.<sup>40</sup> But even if we assume that each pair represents actually a single name, the effect of a dental or a velar upon a preceding *r* or *š* would not be on a par with an antevocalic change.<sup>41</sup> Pairs like *Ha-ma-ar* and *Ha-ma-aš-šu-ḫé* involve at best assimilation. *Ba-zu-un-du* and *Ba-ru-un-du* are outside Nuzi and, moreover, the former has a rich Semitic genealogical background (cf. YOS I ad loc.). The *ši* of *Hu-uš-ši* (N 424. 5) is to be read *li* and points, upon comparison with *Hu-uš-ri* in line 26 of the same text, to the frequent and well-established interchange between *r* and *l*.<sup>42</sup> Lastly, for graphic reasons, no reliance can be placed on the assumed change between *zi* and *ri*, as was explained above.

I have analyzed all of Oppenheim's sets of examples in that particular paragraph to demonstrate that there is no safety in numbers alone. They should have been treated by the author under the several classifications to which they belong, for they reflect by no means related phonetic conditions. But even then, the net result would not have been the establishment of a *ž*-sound in the non-Semitic names under discussion. At best, the possibility of such

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<sup>40</sup> *Uš-ku-te/Ur-ku-ti*; *Aš-tar-til-la/Ar-tar-til-la*; *Zi-iš-te-šup/Zi-ir-te-šup*. The pair *A-ra-aš-ginu* and *Arad-gi-nu*, which is cited also, does not belong here at all; if these names should happen to belong together they would indicate only interchange of *š* and *d/t*.

<sup>41</sup> In other words, a change of *ša* to *ra* would not be on a par with the development of *št* to *rt*. For the latter, examples can be found in good Akkadian; cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss d. vergl. Gram. d. sem. Spr.* I p. 166 θ. In the antevocalic change of *lubāšu* to *lubāru* we have in reality an analogue of *lubuštu* > *lubultu* and then dissimilation of \**lubālu* to *lubāru*. The influence of *k* may be seen in the Akk. doublets *kaškadinnu* and *kar-kadinnu* or *kiškerānu* and *kirkerānu*. Such changes are the result of special phonetic conditions and are not to be implied for any *š* and *r*, especially when the investigated material comes from an obscure language.

<sup>42</sup> NDA 59 f.; WZKM 44. 181.

an occurrence would have to be borne in mind. Until less ambiguous evidence for such a sound is adduced, the problem will remain in a purely speculative stage.

Equally doubtful is the palatal *s* which Oppenheim postulates on the basis of the alleged interchange of *š* and *ḥ* (loc. cit. 187). The pair *Naip-šurra* and *Arip-ḥurra* was disposed of earlier in this argument. For similar reasons (lack of genealogical confirmation) the pair *Wu-ur-ša-ri* and *Wu-ur-ḥa-ri* is inconclusive. The remaining examples involve graphic confusion of *še* and *ḥi*.<sup>43</sup> And so we are confronted once again with an interesting possibility for which there is no decisive proof; interesting because, if established, it would account for the juxtaposition of *ḥubur* and *subar* among the Sumerian ideograms for Subartu. As it is, both Ungnad<sup>44</sup> and Goetze<sup>45</sup> regretfully but wisely reject this comparison for lack of sufficient evidence.<sup>46</sup>

All that is left of Oppenheim's discussion of the sibilants are two brief paragraphs (16-17, p. 186). Of these, the first tends to establish the interchange of *š* and *t*, on the basis of examples which are not reliable,<sup>47</sup> and the other deals with some correspondences between *s/z* and *t/d*. On this latter point the evidence is not extensive, but unambiguous none the less. When we find, e.g., the same Hurrian term written *za-za-ru-uš-še* (Gadd 40.7) and *za-ta-ru-uš-še* (ibid. 29.22, 27),<sup>48</sup> we know that textual criticism cannot affect these instances because *za* and *ta* are not subject to confusion in writing or copying. It is obvious that the scribes attempted to represent here some Hurrian sound for which the

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *NDA* 23.

<sup>44</sup> *Subartu* 110.

<sup>45</sup> *JAOS* 57. 108.

<sup>46</sup> The *θbr* of RŠ 2. 12, 30 is far from certain as a transcription of *šubarū*. In fact, if our law that Akkadian (and doubtless Sumerian) *š* which may vary with *s* cannot correspond to RŠ *θ* (see below, p. 192) is confirmed, then *θbr* must be something other than *Subi/ar-šubarū*. (For a contrary opinion cf. Albright *JPOS.* 14. 107. In the light of more recent material, that section of Albright's study (ibid.) is now largely out of date. The sibilant in the name *Sin* is written in Nuzi as *š* or *z*, hence it can not correspond with Ugaritic *š*.)

<sup>47</sup> Not one of these alleged correspondences can be confirmed genealogically. The strongest case is *E-ša-ku*, N 177.4 and *E-ta-ku*, ibid. 10, because *ša* and *ta* are not confused in these texts as a rule. But although these writings occur on the same tablet, it is uncertain from the context whether the same person is referred to in both instances!

<sup>48</sup> *WZKM* 44. 186, and Berkooz, *NDA* 62 n. 144.

syllabary had not provided; that sound was close to, or composed of, a sibilant and a dental, hence it was probably an affricate.

The evidence of the Nuzi script with regard to the sibilants, as evaluated so far, may be summed up as follows: In Akkadian words *š* and *s* are often confused in writing. But many words have their sibilant represented only as *š*, while others are written consistently with *s/z*. The writings would seem to reflect three varieties of sibilant: as expressed by *š* only; by *s/z*; by *š* or *s/z*. What we get here is, of course, no more than the Nuzian rendering of certain Akkadian sounds. Indirectly, however, we gather that in the Hurrian dialect of Nuzi, whose phonology is reflected of necessity in the local Akkadian documents, there were at least two distinct sibilants, expressed in the Nuzi script as *š* or *s/z* respectively. The probability of an affricate was also indicated. A further possibility will be considered below.

To carry this inquiry a step further, however, we shall dwell a while longer on the Akkadian material, since it lends itself, despite its Nuzian guise, to phonetic analysis. Having found that the Nuzi texts represent Akkadian sibilants with some degree of method, we may now inquire how that method was applied: Which Semitic sound or sounds was expressed by *š* only, which by *s/z* only, and which could vary between *š* and *s/z*?

1. The clearest case is furnished by *s/z*. Berkooz has shown that all forms of the verbs *ezēbu*, *ašû*, *ešēdu*, *zāzu*, *zakû*, *zakāru*, *maḥāšu*, *nakāsu*, *šabātu*, *raḥāsu*, and *qašāšu* are always written with signs containing only *s* or *z* (ŠI = *zé* is used very rarely), never with *š*.<sup>49</sup> The nouns present a similar picture.<sup>50</sup> For *s* written as *š* Berkooz can cite only two examples, *i-sa-aš* (H IX 119.15) for *išassî*, and *Ši-ni-ki-še* (N 347.29) for *Sin-iqîša*.<sup>51</sup> In other words, Akkadian *z* and *š* are never written with *š*, Akkadian *s* hardly ever.

<sup>49</sup> NDA 61.

<sup>50</sup> The genitive and accusative of *riksu* are cases in point because they are always written with *zi* and *za* respectively, although the local syllabary employed *si* and *sa* for other purposes; cf.

*ri-ik-zi*: N 435.1; 439.1; 440.1; 441.1; H V 80.1; H IX 24.1; TCL 9 41.1; AASOR 16 44.1.

*ri-ik-za*: N 435.4; 440.4; 441.3; H V 80.3; H IX 24.3; TCL 9 41.4; AASOR 16 44.3.

<sup>51</sup> NDA 61. In *i-sa-aš* we have plainly erroneous transposition of *s* and *š*, cf. *ibid.* note 140. The other example is a proper name, whose initial sibilant is otherwise regularly *z*.



Further analysis yields still more definite results.

- a. Words containing *z* or *š* are written with *z*, rarely with *š*, but never with *s*, e. g., from *ezēbu*: *e-zi-ib*, H V 82. 29; *i-zi-ib*, N 302. 12; 305. 8; *i-iz-zi-ib*, H V 57. 14; Gadd 12. 27; *i-zi-ib-ma*, N 308. 17; *i-zi-ib-šu*, N 317. 17; *e-te-zi-ib-ši*, Gadd 33. 7; *i-te-zi-ib*, H V 1. 6; *ú-sě-zi-ib*, H V 40. 14.

From *šabātu*: *az-za-bat-mi*, H IX 12. 10; *az-za-bat-zu*, H IX 141. 12; *az-za-pa-az-zu-mi*, N 138. 5; *iz-za-ba-at*, N 8. 9; H V 52. 7; *iz-za-ab-bat<sup>at</sup>*, N 135. 19; *iz-za-ab-bat*, Gadd 33. 25; *i-za-bat-zu-ma*, H V 96. 18; TCL 9 10. 22; *iz-za-bat-zu-nu-ti*, H V 47. 11; *i-za-pa-ad-du*, N 473. 29; *iz-za-ab-du*, H IX, 8. 10; *iz-za-ab-tu*, *Univ. of Cal. Sem. Pub.* 9, 412, line 35; *i-za-ap-pa-du*, N 222. 14; *iz-za-ab-du-ni-mi*, N 138. 14; *i-za-ab-ba-du-ni*, N 123. 10; *ù-za-ab-du-uš*, Gadd 15. 31; *za-bi-it*, H V 5. 17; *za-pa-ti*, H V 44. 22. In all these forms *za* (= *ša*) is never written with the sign *sa*, although the latter does occur elsewhere in the Nuzi texts (for *ša*)<sup>52</sup> and in spite of the fact that the same forms exhibit every conceivable variation in the expression of other sounds.

- b. In addition, *s* is written frequently with *z*-signs. This is established by such forms as *al-zi*, *li-il-zi*, *i-sa-az-zi* (from *šesû*),<sup>53</sup> where the final syllable is written *zi*, not *si*, although the latter sign is again no stranger to the Nuzi texts.

The above cases justify therefore this conclusion: Since Akkadian *z* and *š* are always written in Nuzi with *z*, while Akkadian *s* may also appear as *z*, the Nuzians pronounced all three sounds as *z*. In the Nuzi dialect of Hurrian, which affected the local pronunciation of Akkadian, there must have existed a voiced sibilant.<sup>54</sup>

2. We next turn to instances which show Akkadian *š* represented in Nuzi normally also by *š*, but occasionally by *s/z*. Berkooz's examples of this group are limited to the writings of *š* as *s* and do not include the illustrations with *z*. His list contains a number of

<sup>52</sup> So especially in the present and permansive of *šaṭāru*, cf. *NDA* 63.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup> In other words, original Akkadian *s* shifted to *z* in the Nuzi dialect. Consistent use of *s*-signs in Nuzi would point, therefore, to a sound which was not *s* in Akkadian proper; see the next section.

forms of the verbs *šesû* and *šaṭāru*, one form of *šakānu*, and the name *Ši-ma-an-ni* (with the rare ŠI-sign) in place of the common *ši-ma-an-ni*.<sup>55</sup> Inasmuch as all examples of this group have a particular significance, Berkooz's list should be supplemented. We note the following:

Akkadian *š* becomes *s* in certain occurrences of forms based on *šêmu* "to establish, grant, deed," such as *i-si-mu*, N 443. 2; H I 71. 4; *i-si-ma-an-ni*,<sup>56</sup> N 333. 47; *si-im-ti*, H I 71. 1; *si-im-ta*, *ibid.* 4.

*š* becomes *z* in numerous occurrences of *šesû*, cf. e. g., *a-za-az-zi*, N 106. 18; 109. 13; 122. 24; 476. 16; *AASOR* 16 29. 12; *a-za-zi*, N 117. 8; *i-za-az-zi*, N 131. 19; 428. 14; 546. 19, 21; *AASOR* 16 19. 17; *i-za-zi*, N 434. 23; 546. 35; also in the suffix *-šu* "his," cf. *a-ḥa-zu*, H 43. 16, and perhaps *a-ḥa-az-zu*,<sup>57</sup> *AASOR* 16 23. 2, 17. It should be emphasized that the above writings are not the rule, the usual orthography being with *š*.

Upon a closer examination of these departures from normal Nuzi orthography, one fact becomes apparent: the Akkadian *š* which appears here as *s* or *z* represents an original sibilant of Semitic (*šin* or *sîn*),<sup>58</sup> not a spirant (Arabic *ṣ*). For the *š*-sounds of *šêmu*, *šaṭāru*, *šakānu*, *šesû*, and *-šu* were all sibilants from the start.

<sup>55</sup> *NDA* 63.

<sup>56</sup> In verbal forms of this type there is the possibility that the *t*-form (*ištim-*) is represented. In the noun, however, no *t* could affect the preceding sibilant.

<sup>57</sup> In my translation of this text I interpreted *abazzu* as *abā-šu*, because the syntax favored such a construction. A renewed study of this text convinces me, however, that *abāt-šu* may have been intended, the ambiguity being due to the scribe's difficulty with Akkadian. By analyzing the word as "his sister" we assume only a mistake in syntax and not a radical departure from the established structure of the Nuzi family law (sororate instead of fratriarchal rights), which the alternative view would compel us to do.

I wish to take this opportunity to state that a re-reading of *AASOR* 16 has brought out a number of slips in my contribution to that volume. Some of these consist of wrong references and are due primarily to the circumstance that the necessary sources for checking the entries were not available at Tepe Gawra, where the proofs reached me. Others would probably have slipped through anyway. In text 75. 3, 14 the forms *iz-zi-e-lu*, *iz-zi-el-mi* are plainly not from *nazālu* but from *ṣ'l* (*t*-form) "to quarrel."

<sup>58</sup> Cf. note 25.

There is not a single instance in which Nuzi *s/z* can be shown to represent Akkadian *š* derived from Semitic *t̰*. To be sure, the above writings are exceptional, but all these exceptions involve one and the same original sound, different etymologically from its Akkadian homophone *š* < *t̰*. This evidence cannot be disregarded, especially since it has come down to us through the medium of a heterolingual group. If the Semitic dialect of Nuzi were an inner-Akkadian development, normal orthography would carry normal weight. But when a dialect is preserved through an alien medium, exceptions that betray definite uniformity must be assigned a definite significance.

There is one outstanding difference between the present class of examples and that which was discussed in the preceding section. Here *s* or *z* may be substituted for the far more usual *š*; there *z* was the usual writing, while *š* appeared only in two suspect cases.<sup>59</sup> In section 1 the sound indicated by the writing was in all probability the voiced sibilant *z*; here the predominance of *š* strongly suggests an underlying voiceless sound.

3. When we next examine the list of instances which show Akkadian *š* invariably represented as *š* in Nuzi, we find included in this group all the words known from these documents which contain an original Semitic *t̰*. The very common verb *ašābu*, the preposition *ašar*, and the numerals *šinā* and *šalāšu* provide standard illustrations of this rule. That the list contains also many words with original *šin* or *sīn* is not surprising in view of the fact that any Akkadian *š*, whatever its origin, is normally written with *š*-signs in the Nuzi documents. But whereas this norm is never broken with an original spirant, etymological *šin/sīn* has produced, as we have seen, a number of telltale exceptions.

This unexpected and differentiating Nuzi treatment of Akkadian *š* is strikingly paralleled in the Old Akkadian texts. Ungnad was the first to puzzle over the circumstance that these texts represent as *s* or as *š* that sound which later became *š*, the treatment remaining regular with any given word.<sup>60</sup> The problem was solved by Thureau-Dangin, who demonstrated that this dual treatment reflects a differentiation between original spirant and sibilant; the former (*t̰*) was written in Old Akkadian with *š*-signs, the latter (*š/š̰*)

<sup>59</sup> Cf. note 51.

<sup>60</sup> *Materialien zur altakkadischen Sprache* (MVAG 1915/2) 21 ff.

with *s*-signs, although peculiarities of the syllabary and incipient confusion in actual pronunciation resulted in a number of apparent or real exceptions in the texts.<sup>61</sup> Valuable confirmation of this analysis has recently been found by Meek<sup>62</sup> in a study of his Old Akkadian texts from Nuzi itself: the preformative of the causative conjugation, which is cognate with the pronoun of the third person<sup>63</sup> and consequently begins with a sibilant, is always *s*- in Old Akkadian.

How did the Nuzi script come to perpetuate, even though it did so only sporadically, a tradition which goes back to Old Akkadian times? There can be no question of unbroken continuity in Akkad proper, for there the orthographic differentiation between Semitic spirant and sibilant goes out with the Third Dynasty of Ur.<sup>64</sup> The efforts of the Semites, in so far as the orthography of the sibilants was concerned, seemed to be concentrated on adapting the script which they took over from the Sumerians to the needs of their so-called emphatics.<sup>65</sup> The spirant *š* had merged completely with *š*.

A possible way to account for the dual use of *š*-signs at Nuzi, in restricted correspondence with the Old Akkadian usage, is by recalling the position of the Nuzian syllabary. That syllabary belongs to the "Akkado-Hittite" family, as was shown most recently by Berkooz.<sup>66</sup> Now the Akkado-Hittite syllabary did not

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<sup>61</sup> RA 23. 28 f.; 30. 93 f. It goes without saying that if the problem were to be investigated at its ultimate source, the phonetic values of the sibilants in the Sumerian syllabary would have to be taken into account. On this point, however, there are interesting possibilities, with little that could be termed certain.

<sup>62</sup> RA 34. 64 f.

<sup>63</sup> Speiser, JAOS 56. 22 ff.

<sup>64</sup> RA 30. 94.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Goetze's demonstration of the treatment of *z* in Old Babylonian, *Orientalia* 6 (1937) 12 ff.

<sup>66</sup> NDA 9; but the case is far from complete. That Nuzi Akkadian was not purely Babylonian, or Assyrian in a linguistic sense, or even a mixture of the two dialects, but was affected also by West Semitic, may be seen from a cursory examination of the Nuzi vocabulary. The Nuzi term for "threshing floor" is not *adru* (Aram. *'iddār*), as in contemporary Assyrian, but *magrattu*, from the West Semitic *grn*, which had to be imported from farther west than Assyria. Similarly, *uštubēhin* takes us to the territory of the Amarna letters (cf. AASOR 16, p. 72). These are merely lexical items, to be sure, but they cannot be entirely ignored. They add indirect confirmation to the view that Nuzi depended in a literary sense on Western sources, and hence only indirectly on Akkadian material. For these reasons, Driver-Miles' use of the term "Middle-Babylonian" as applied to Nuzi (in their *Assyrian Laws*) is misleading.

develop from the script of the Old Babylonian age, but from that of a stage which preceded it.<sup>67</sup> If the borrowing took place at a time when the writers still differentiated, to a certain extent at least, between original *t* and *š*, that distinction may have been preserved by the borrowers, away from Sumer and Akkad, although it was to be lost later in the homeland. This view involves certain chronological difficulties, but these may not prove to be insuperable.<sup>68</sup> What is more pertinent just now, a similar indirect differentiation between originally disparate sounds is found in the writing of the sibilants in the non-Semitic elements from Nuzi,<sup>69</sup> to which we shall now turn after our lengthy digression into Akkadian phonology.

In the Hurrian names from Nuzi the following sibilants are indicated: one is written with *š* only, another with *z* only, while in some cases *š* may interchange with *s/z*.<sup>70</sup> In other words, the situation is the same as in Nuzi Akkadian, which is precisely what we should expect in this case. Our only surprise is caused by the dual nature of *š* in Hurrian elements, as betrayed by its constancy in some cases, and its ability to interchange with *s/z* in others. We have seen that there was an etymological basis for the analogous dichotomy in the local dialect of Semitic. Could there be a similar reason within Hurrian for the same kind of dualism?

If we examine the list of Hurrian elements which are always

<sup>67</sup> For the latest evidence on this point see the remarks by Landsberger and Gütterbock in *Afo* 12. 55 ff.

<sup>68</sup> It is generally agreed that the "Akkado-Hittite" syllabary is older than the Old Babylonian. But the script of the Third Dynasty of Ur is clearly earlier than our syllabary. We are left then with the alternative that at the time when the Akkado-Hittite syllabary was initiated, the Old Akkadian differentiation of the sibilant in (*w*)*ašābu* as against the one in *šafāru* was still alive to a certain extent. A satisfactory solution must await an exhaustive study of this problem.

Incidentally, the parallel treatment of sibilants in Old Akkadian and in Nuzi enhances the probability that the Hurrians were responsible for the adaptation of the Akkado-Hittite syllabary. They were certainly in Babylon by the end of the third millennium, as transients rather than settlers in large groups. Travellers of that sort are precisely the type to carry writing back home.

<sup>69</sup> It should be pointed out in this connection that Boghazköi Akkadian, which is written in a typical form of the Akkado-Hittite syllabary, furnishes evidence for an analogous treatment of the sibilants; cf. Labat, *L'akkadien de Boghaz-köi* 33 ff.

<sup>70</sup> *NDA* 61.

written with *š*, we shall find among them the names *Šawuška*, *Šimiga*, and *Tešup*.<sup>71</sup> Now in all three of these names of deities the sibilants occur in the alphabetic texts from Ras Shamra as *θ*, which we found employed also in Semitic words for a sound corresponding etymologically with Semitic *t̥*. In other words, the Nuzians wrote *š* for that Hurrian sibilant (or spirant) which RŠ Hurrian represented as *θ*, just as they expressed with *š*-signs that sibilant of Akkadian which goes back to Semitic *t̥* and would appear in Ugaritic as *θ*. In view of this complete and manifold agreement, we cannot but see in the variable *š*, *s/z* of certain non-Semitic elements from Nuzi a sibilant quite different from *š/θ*. Specifically, since RŠ *θmg* appears in Nuzi (and cognate) texts as *Šimigi/qa* but never as *\*S/Zimigi/qa*, just as RŠ (Ugaritic) *yθb* corresponds with *ašābu* but not *\*aš/zābu*, then Nuzi *I-ši-ip-ḥa-lu* (N 557. 5) alongside *I-zi-ip-ḥa-lu* (N 455. 21) could not have its sibilant expressed by RŠ *θ*. The Nuzi Akkadian analogue of this particular sibilant would have to be sought in *šaṭāru*, *šakānu*, or the initial sound of *šesū*, but not in *ašābu* or *ašru*. But what would that be in the RŠ script?

Theoretically, our possibilities are RŠ *š*, *z*, and *z̄*. The first of these (the three-wedged *šin*) is insufficiently established because it occurs rarely and has but one certain tie with the syllabary, viz., through *\*Iršappi*.<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, in order to prove conclusively that the *š* of RŠ *\*iršp* corresponds to the sibilant in *Iš/zip-Ḥalu* (see above), we should need first a syllabic *\*Irz/sappi*, which we do not have. RŠ *z* may be eliminated because it is the obvious counterpart to the unvarying Nuzi *z* in *zigi*, *zilli*, *zizza*, etc.,<sup>73</sup>

<sup>71</sup> These writings occur also in all the other sources of the Akkado-Hittite syllabary. The single writing with *s* (*\*Te-és-sub-ub*; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 15. 253 n. 3) occurs in a late Assyrian text and conforms strictly to the Assyrian treatment of *š* and *s* as one sound.

Although this discussion is concerned with the Hurrian syllabary in general, Nuzi occurrences have been cited so frequently because recent studies of the Nuzi texts have clarified the situation and facilitate references. Labat's monograph is not specific enough on the phonetic side. No mention need be made here of the nature of *š* in Hittite documents, because the problem is entirely different; the sibilants of "Amorite" are also a matter apart.

<sup>72</sup> RŠ *\*iršp-n*, 4. 42 (with acc.-n); KUB XXVII 1 ii 23, *\*Ir-šap-pi-ni-iš* (with the incorporating -ni- and the *š*-suffix); cf. Friedrich, *An. Or.* 12. 129 n. 3. See, moreover, above, note 24\*.

<sup>73</sup> NDA 61.

which corresponds plainly to the voiced sibilant which represents in the Nuzi texts Akkadian *z*, *š*, and *s*.<sup>74</sup> There remains thus only RŠ *z̄*. It commends itself by its frequent occurrence in an important text, RŠ 4; there is not any doubt that *z̄* indicates a sound common to Hurrian and apparently peculiar to that language. Ginsberg and Maisler believe that they have found a positive connection between RŠ *z* and the variable *š/z* of the syllabary by connecting the sibilants of RŠ *'iwr̄r* and Amarna *Šaratu/Zurata*.<sup>75</sup> But the Hurrian character of the above Amarna name remains to be demonstrated.<sup>76</sup>

The postulated correspondence between alphabetic *z̄* and the variable syllabic *š/z* is so far merely circumstantial. Definite confirmation will depend on evidence from new material. What remains

<sup>74</sup> See above, note 54. For the very rare sign ŠI cf. *NDA* 11.

<sup>75</sup> *JPOS* 14. 244.

<sup>76</sup> It is true that *Šaratu(m)/Zurata* refer to the same person who is the son of *Za/itatna* (written also *Šutatna*). But that does not prove by any means that *šar/zur* and RŠ *z̄r* are identical. In order to make such a correspondence probable, it would first be necessary to show that the Amarna name is Hurrian. The best that could be done in this case is a normalization to *\*Šar-atta*, a hybrid Hurro-Semitic name. The name of the father presents a worse problem still. One would have to show that *za*, *zi*, and *šu* all stand for *Sin* and that *tatna* equals *satna*, so that the whole might be linked with *\*Sin-sat-ni* H V 6.28 and *Zi-sa-at-na*, H IX 31.12 (on these names see Oppenheim, *AFO* 12.34). But by the time that the last link has been forged, the whole chain becomes too weak for practical purposes.

All that we have, then, is the correspondence of RŠ *z̄r* with syllabic *šar* (on this element see Götze, *Die Annalen des Muršiliš* 226 ff.). A reliable instance with *s* or *z* (*s/za-ar*) is still lacking. A contributory cause may be the circumstance that the sign *šar* also has the value *sar*. But this does not get us anywhere.

The common element *šenni* should also be capable of furnishing positive proof, especially if my suggestion to connect it with RŠ *z̄n* in *tḡz̄n*, *Syria* 15.244.9, (apud Harris, *JAOS* 55.98) is borne out. But the Nuzi scribes did not welcome the complicated *si-e* for the simple *še*. And the *si* in the name of the king of Urkiš and Nawar (and of his builder, RA 9.1 ff.) is ambiguous, because at the time from which this text dates *SI* had the values *si* and *ši*; instead of the customary reading *A-ri-si-en*, Thureau-Dangin (*Syria* 12.253 f.) would now read *A-ri-šé-en*. Since this latter version can neither be proved or disproved, the case remains problematical. [Cf., however, *Pa-i-zé-ni AASOR* 16 95.21 (called to my attention by Goetze) as possible evidence for the writing of *šenni* with *z*.]

to be considered at present is the possible connection between the sound indicated by the above syllabic writing and the affricate assumed for Hurrian from interchanges between sibilant and dental. Concretely, was the recorded sibilant of *Iš/zip-Halu*, which the Nuzians employed also to render Akkadian *š* in *šēmu*, *šaṭāru*, etc., the same as the initial sound of *z/tatarušše*?<sup>77</sup> This is a possibility that should not be overlooked. If confirmed, it would add to the cumulative evidence in favor of equating syllabic *š/z* with RŠ *z̄*, since the latter could interchange with *z* in Semitic texts (*z̄d*: *zd*).<sup>78</sup> We assume, therefore, provisionally and as a working hypothesis only, that the several writings under discussion represented a Hurrian affricate;<sup>79</sup> the Hurrians seem to have used this sound to render Semitic *š/ś* (but not original *t*).

The net result of this lengthy discourse may be summed up as follows. The *š* of the Hurrian syllabary represents more than one Hurrian sound. Where it corresponds to RŠ *θ*, the sound in question was intermediate between a sibilant and a dental spirant. But if that *š* is ever replaced by *s*, *z* or *t/d*, the underlying sound was probably an affricate, which RŠ would express as *z̄*.

In conclusion, it is of interest to inquire how the suffixes in *-š* and *-še/i*<sup>80</sup> of the Hurrian syllabary are represented in RŠ Hurrian: with *θ* or *z̄*? It is certain that the ending *-š*, which indicates the nominative or subject case,<sup>81</sup> appears as *θ*. This is established by the occurrence of *kmr̄b-n-θ* in RŠ 4. 8, alongside *kmr̄b-n-d*, line 7, and *kmr̄b*, 6-7. The syllabic form corresponding to *kmr̄b-n-θ*<sup>82</sup>

<sup>77</sup> See above, note 48. I am using this pair of writings as parade examples suggestive of a possible affricate, because they are not vulnerable on textual grounds. Some of the other examples cited by Oppenheim, *WZKM* 44. 186, pars. 16-17, may prove valid. Berkooz's other argument for a possible affricate (*ša-ak-ru-uš-še*, N 401.7 and *ta-ak-ru-uš-še*, N 411.16; cf. *NDA* 62 n. 144) carries more weight because both passages seem to refer to the same district (*dimit ša š/ša t.*).

<sup>78</sup> See above, p. 178.

<sup>79</sup> The possibility that there may have been more than one affricate is, for the present, purely academic.

<sup>80</sup> For other Hurrian elements containing a sibilant followed by a vowel see provisionally *WZKM* 44. 204 ff.

<sup>81</sup> For occurrences cf., e. g., the list in Messerschmidt, *MVAG* 4. 270. The same is true of pronouns: *weš* "you" (sg.) alongside *we-we* (gen.); *An. Or.* 12. 132.

<sup>82</sup> For the *-ni* element in Hurrian see Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 12. 254 ff.,



would be <sup>\*d</sup>*Kumarbi-ni-š*, on the analogy of <sup>d</sup>*Ir-šap-pi-ni-iš*, KUB XXVII 1 ii 25; <sup>d</sup>*Ši-mi-i-gi-niš*, Mitanni letter I 106, <sup>d</sup>*Ši-mi-gi-ni-eš*, KUB XII 34 i 14. Another occurrence of this suffix -θ is furnished by *tθbθ* (= *Tešub-aš*), RŠ 4. 13 (14).<sup>83</sup> This particular section (lines 10-14) is damaged in part, but since it follows closely the phraseology of the preceding undamaged section, which deals with *kmrb* (6-9), some of the gaps can be restored. In line 10 we should read *tθ[b] hlbx*, because of the complete *tθbθ* of line 13, and not *tθ[p]* as suggested by Hrozný.<sup>84</sup> The whole introductory phrase was almost certainly

*'iz[r h]žr[h]žlž tθ[b] hlbx t[θbd hlbxn]d . . (10-11)*

on the analogy of

*'izr hžr hžlž 'il kmrb 'ild kmrbnd . . (6-7)*

A suffix -ž would seem to result from the juxtaposition of *pbn*, *ibid.* 60 and *pbnž*, *ibid.* 30.<sup>85</sup> But in the latter instance the context is lost so that this suggestion is problematical. To combine this element with the *še/ši*,<sup>86</sup> or *še/-zzi* of the syllabaries would be correspondingly more doubtful, although plausible phonetically after our analysis of the *ž*-sound. For more satisfactory results we need fresh material and further study.

and Friedrich, *An. Or.*, 12. 122 n. 3. I have followed Friedrich in calling this an incorporating element ("suffixanreihend," *ibid.* 129 n. 3) because this designation is noncommittal. For a syllabic occurrence of this element with *Kumarbi* cf. *An. Or.* 12. 122 n. 3. The rules governing the use or omission of -*ni*- are as yet unknown (*ibid.*). In the Nuzi documents we find this element in *qa-aš-gi-ni-wa*, H V 18.28; IX 105.46), alongside *kaška*, etc.; cf. Speiser, *JAOS* 52. 363; 366 n. 85; <sup>d</sup>*Ištar-Ak-ku-ba-we-ni-we*, *AASOR* 16 47. 6 alongside <sup>d</sup>*Ak-ku-pa-e*, *ibid.* 48.10; cf. p. 99; and probably in *gal-te-ni-wa*, H ix 44.5; Gadd (60.4); and *gal-te-ni-wa-aš* (with -š!) H IX 44.7; cf. Cross, *Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents* 34.

<sup>83</sup> Cf., e. g., Mitanni letter I 76; II 65; IV 118. The normalization of the name as *Tessub*, with *s* instead of *š*, is now proved incorrect by RŠ *tθb* (with *θ*).

<sup>84</sup> *Archiv Orientalní* 4.128.

<sup>85</sup> The occurrences of *'inž*, RŠ 4. (26), 39, 60, 61, are as yet morphologically ambiguous.

<sup>86</sup> For a possible nominal ending in Nuzi Hurrian see my remarks in *AASOR* 16 pp. 122 f. For the verbal suffix -*šu/ša*, and perhaps *ši* in the Hurrian vocabulary from Ras Shamra cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 12. 262 f.

## B. Labials

In the Hurrian syllabary, and especially in the Nuzi texts, the labials show a greater variety of changes than is found in any other group of consonants.<sup>87</sup> Not only are *b* and *p* confused in writing, but *b*, *m*, and *w* are all interchangeable. The confusion is enhanced by the fact that the sign PI may be used for any one of these interchangeable labials followed by any vowel. In Nuzi this anarchy is confirmed by the evidence of the Semitic material, but the confusion is at its worst in Hurrian elements. In these circumstances it would be futile to look for a definite system. All that can be said in general is that the Nuzi scribes allowed their inability to express the labials of Hurrian with the means afforded by the syllabary to affect also their presentation of Akkadian labials.

A few details become apparent, however, upon closer examination. Thus the loss of *w* in the feminine name *Ištanžu*, Gadd 62. 5, alongside *Wištanžu*, ibid. 61. 1, indicates that *w* must have stood here for a semivowel. But such a semivowel could be written also with a *b*-sign just as blandly as with PI: cf. *Hu-i-te*, N 524. 3, and *Hu-bi-te*, Gadd. 6. 14, the father in both instances being *Giliya*. Since *b* could represent a semivowel, it follows that the underlying sound was, or could be, a spirant. On the other hand, the writing *wa-aq-nu*, N 128. 9, 14, for the common Akkadian *baqnu* "plucked" indicates that PI could express not only a semivowel but also a spirant.<sup>88</sup> The one thing that need not be assumed, even with all this confusion, is that PI was used for stops.

In the alphabetic Hurrian texts from Ras Shamra we find characters for *b*, *p*, *m*, and *w*. But in all instances that are clear to us, such as with names of gods or well-known words, the same labial is used invariably with the same words:

- b*. kmrb: RŠ 4. 6, 7 (bis), 8; 7. 1 f., 8 f.  
     tθb: RŠ 4. 8, (7, 9)  
     nθdg: RŠ 4. 50; 31. 4; Hr. (*Archiv Orientalní* 4. 118) 4.  
     hθt: RŠ 4. 60 (bis), 62; *Syria* 15 153 line 5.  
     'aθtb: RŠ 4. 29, 31; Hr. rs. 3
- p*. 'iršp: RŠ 4. 42, (41?).  
     pžžpḥ: RŠ 4. 35, (37); Hr. 5.

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<sup>87</sup> NDA 47.

<sup>88</sup> For these and other examples see NDA 47 ff. For the spirant value of *b* in the Boghazköi syllabary cf. AfO 10. 295.

w.  $\theta w\theta k$ : RŠ 34 45. 2, (12, 14), but  $\theta'w\theta k$ , *Syria* 15 153. 6, (2), 'iwr "lord": RŠ (4. 51?) 28 rev. 9; and in the name 'iwrzr, *Syria* 14 pl. 25 b 1.

m. See above, at kmrb.

This regularity indicates one thing beyond any doubt: that Hurrian recognized at least four distinct labials. Whether any or all of them would interchange under particular conditions, cannot be decided at present, what with the paucity of the examples and the added difficulties inherent in a consonantal script. It is clear, at all events, that the confusion of labials in the Hurrian syllabary was not due to the fact that the language did not have as many of these sounds as were allowed for in the script, but resulted rather from the inadequacy of the syllabary to render satisfactorily the sounds of the spoken language.

The next question is whether the alphabetic script covers the needs of the language with regard to labials. The answer will depend on what internal evidence there may be at present for the character of the sounds represented by the signs for *b*, *p*, *w*, and *m*.

The dual writings  $\theta w\theta k$  and  $\theta'\mu\theta k$  show that the labial in the name of this goddess was in reality a semivowel. The syllabary may express this sound as *b* (Boghazköi) or *m* (Nuzi), and of course as *w*.<sup>89</sup> Unless we assume radical dialectal differences, *b* and *m* could represent semivocalic *u* in the syllabic script. It follows that in the Hurrian syllabary *b* could figure as a spirant; it must be that in the form kmrb alongside Nuzi <sup>a</sup>*Ku-mu-ur-we*.<sup>90</sup> But if we recognize the principle that the RŠ script individualizes the underlying sounds, then the spirant in the final syllable of kmrb was distinct from the *w* in  $\theta w\theta k$  and *iwri*. What we do not know as yet, and have no means of determining just now, is whether *b* was also a stop in Hurrian. If it was, the language will have to be credited with a fifth labial.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. *An. Or.* 12. 129 n. 5. In Nuzi the sound may be expressed by *mu* (*Ar-ša-mu-uš-qa*, N 76. 25; 412. 7, or *wu* (*Ar-ša-wu-uš-qa*, N 242. 20; 267. 26); cf. *NDA* 50.

<sup>90</sup> For the latest Nuzi occurrences of this name (not in personal names but as an independent divine name) see *AASOR* 16 47. 1; 48. 1 (with the middle vowel assimilated to *u*: *Kumurwe*). Fresh examples with *-we* from Boghazköi are listed by Forrer, "Eine Geschichte des Götterkönigtums aus dem Hatti-Reiche," *L'annuaire de l'institut de philologie et d'histoire orient. et slav.* 4. 702 n. 3.

Concerning *p* the evidence is somewhat more involved. That the sound in question occurs in a suffix is evident from a comparison of 'idr, RŠ 4. 29, with 'idr-*p*, ibid. 41, and 'idr-*n*, ibid. 42. In two instances this word follows the name of a deity. In line 29 neither the name ('aθib) nor the sequel has a suffix. In line 42 both name ('iršp) and sequel end in -*n*, being apparently in the accusative. In line 41 'idr-*p* is preceded by 'ir[šp?]; the restoration is suggested by Friedrich with all due reserve, and it commends itself even though the copy does not allow enough room for two characters. At any rate, the -*p* in 'idrp is practically certain as a case ending.

When we examine the list of Hurrian case endings known from the syllabary, we find that those best established are "nominative" -š, "genitive" -*ve*, "accusative" -*n*, and "dative-locative" -*wa*.<sup>91</sup> In our alphabetic texts the nominative ends in -θ, the accusative in -*n*. The other two endings are yet to be identified.

From here on the available evidence becomes purely circumstantial and the conclusions will be correspondingly speculative. It is worth noting, however, that the final syllable of *kmr̥b* has been plausibly connected with the genitive ending, the name being analyzed as "he of (the city) Kumar."<sup>92</sup> If this analysis is accepted, we obtain -*b* as the sign of the genitive in our alphabetic texts, at least under certain conditions. This would leave us with only one immediate possibility in the case of *idr-p*: the dative-locative ending -*wa*. And if this whole admittedly tenuous argument is still accepted, we may go a step farther and assume that, in view of the apparent consistency of the consonantal script, the labial of the genitive ending (-*b*) was voiced, that of the dative-locative ending (-*p*) voiceless. Furthermore, since both endings are written in the syllabary as a rule with *w*, neither labial could be a stop: the full ending of the genitive appears to have been -*ve*, that of the dative-locative -*fa*.<sup>93</sup>

New material may upset this entire structure. The identifications may prove erroneous, or the presence or absence of voice may

<sup>91</sup> For the suffixes with initial labial see Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 12. 256 f.

<sup>92</sup> Forrer, loc. cit. 702 ff.

<sup>93</sup> Certain objections to the assumption of -*fa* as the dative-locative suffix are raised by Thureau-Dangin, loc. cit. I would say, tentatively, that the initial sound in question need not be our own voiceless continuant *f*, but some voiceless labial sound approximately like *f*. The speculative nature of this whole argument was admitted at the outset.

turn out to depend on the preceding sound and not at all on the nature of the suffix. But since we have gone this far, we may just as well end up with a still more hazardous suggestion.

The labial in the RŠ name of the sun-god has been a puzzle from the beginning. *Šamaš* should, and occasionally does, yield *šawaš* or *šauš*, but *šap(a)š* is definitely abnormal. The above discussion, however, has made possible the occurrence of an *f* in Hurrian, which would appear as *p* in the alphabetic texts. If the *p* in *špš* was pronounced *f*, the connection of the latter with the original *m* would not be as precarious as the change of *m* to *p*. The accompanying sibilants could account for the loss of voice, for which influence there are unambiguous illustrations in Semitic,<sup>94</sup> and possible, but ambiguous, parallels from our present texts, in *'iršp* and *pžžpḫ* (with *p* appearing in both names). The final obstacle is that *špš* occurs in the Semitic, not the Hurrian, texts. Would Hurrian phonology affect Semitic names, or at best one Semitic name, to such an extent? Or was *p* a spirant, under certain conditions, in the Semitic material as well? <sup>94a</sup>

By this time the indulgence of the reader has been taxed sufficiently. The case, such as it is, is in need of further evidence.

### C. Velar Spirants

In his discussion of the suffix *-ḫi* in Hurrian (*An. Or.* 12. 122 ff.) Friedrich was unable as yet to cite definite occurrences from Ras Shamra. The sole possibility appeared to be *tθ[b]* (sic!)<sup>95</sup> *ḫlbx*, RŠ 4. 126 f., because of its evident parallelism with the syllabic *Tešup/b Halpa-ḫi*,<sup>96</sup> a fact already recognized by Hrozný.<sup>97</sup> If this was so, the RŠ character transcribed as *x* was indeed *ḡ* (i. e., *ghain*, after Baneth),<sup>98</sup> and not *z*; that *ḡ* was employed, therefore, in all probability to represent in the alphabetic texts the consonant in the suffix *-ḫ*.

Since then, however, *-ḫi* has been identified by von Brandenstein with the alphabetic *ḫ* of *trḫn*, RŠ 4. 55, and *aθḫn(m)*, *ibid.* (55), 56, since *'in trḫn* *'in 'aθḫn* cannot be separated from *enna duruḫ-*

<sup>94</sup> For *bš* becoming *pš* in Akkadian see provisionally Brockelmann, *GVG* I 166. Numerous other examples of this change could be added.

<sup>94a</sup> This interesting problem cannot be followed up in the present paper.

<sup>95</sup> For the *b* see above, p. 193.

<sup>97</sup> *Archiv Orientalní* 4. 128.

<sup>98</sup> *An. Or.* 12. 126 f.

<sup>98</sup> *OLZ* 1932. 705; cf. also RŠ 4. 56.

*hina enna ašduḥhina* "male gods, female gods."<sup>99</sup> Accordingly, another writing of the suffix, as *x*, in the same text, becomes extremely unlikely, if not impossible. But there remains still the inherent probability that *hlbx* corresponds semantically to *Halpa-hi* "he of Aleppo." The only solution would be to find another Hurrian suffix identical in meaning with *-hi* (RŠ *-ḥ*), but written *x* in the alphabetic script.

The Nuzi texts present a suffix *-(a)RI*<sup>100</sup> which is clearly adjectival in such names as *Eḥlip-aRI*, *Zilip-aRI*, where it is substituted for divine names; and probably so in *Ninua-RI*, *Arrapha-RI*, *Nawar-aRI*, where it is combined with place-names. In the latter group the element could perhaps have a verbal character, because a suffix *-(a)ri* occurs also in theophorous names, such as *Šimiga-ri*, where the correspondence with *Ar-Šimiga* insures both the verbal nature of the element in question and the reading *a-ri* (not *a-tal*); and city names are found in the Nuzi texts in a theophorous sense.<sup>101</sup> It is best, however, to separate place names from names of gods proper.<sup>102</sup>

It follows that we have in Nuzi in addition to the prefixed verbal element *ar*, which is well-known from other Hurrian sources in the sense "give," a suffixed adjectival element *(a)RI*. The verbal element may also be suffixed, as in *Šimiga-(a)ri* alongside *Ar-Šimiga*. But the establishment of an adjectival suffix *(a)RI* makes it uncertain whether all theophorous names in *(a)RI* are necessarily composed of god + a form of the verb "give." It is conceivable, at least, that *Šimigari* may mean "Belonging to Šimigi" as well as "Grant, O Šimigi." Thus the suffix *aRI* remains ambiguous in

<sup>99</sup> *Die Welt als Geschichte* III/1 62.

<sup>100</sup> See Oppenheim's "Was bedeutete *ari* in den hurritischen Personennamen?" *RHA* 26. 58 ff.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid. 58-63. I might add that I assumed an adjectival *(a)ri* in Nuzi as early as 1930 (*Mesop. Orig.* 139).

<sup>102</sup> To be sure, Oppenheim is right in saying (p. 63) that *Ar-Dimtu* can scarcely mean "Giving is (the god) Dimtu," since the noun is used in these texts for "district" (specifically, for administrative units responsible for feudal services; cf. *AASOR* 16 p. 66). But while the prefix may indicate relationship in this and similar instances, it need not be etymologically the same as the suffix *-(a)RI*. At all events, Oppenheim admits that he is unable to account for the various uses of *(a)ri*. The present suggestions are no more than a working hypothesis.

meaning; with place names it is likely to be adjectival rather than verbal: "He of Nineveh, Arrapha, Nawar, etc."

Another source of ambiguity is provided by the polyphonous nature of the sign RI, which has in Nuzi the value *tal* as well as *ri*. Thus, e.g., we find the name *Ir-wi-RI*, N 436.4, written out *Ir-wi-ta-al*, *ibid.* line 20.<sup>103</sup> If we are disinclined to assume that an adjectival suffix can appear also as a prefix, i. e., that *Na-wa-ra-RI*, Gadd 53. 18, has the same value as *Ar-Nawar*, Nu 355. 2, then there is no way of proving, on this basis alone, that the adjectival suffix was read (*a*)*ri* and not (*a*)*tal*, since the unambiguous *ar* appears only as a prefix.

In this extremely complicated situation, which Oppenheim has admirably brought out, I find it safest to limit ourselves to the adjectival suffix (*a*)RI, leaving aside all prefixed elements of this type, whether verbal or nominal, and also such plainly theophorous names as *Šimiqari*, *Kušuhari*, and the like. In other words, we shall restrict ourselves to instances like *Ehlip-a-RI* and *Zilip-a-RI*, and to names like *A-be-na-RI* (*AASOR* 16 67.8), a derivative of the place name *Abenaš*, which can hardly be suspected of theophorous implications.

So far we have had proof that the RI of this suffix may be read *tal*; evidence for the reading *ri* is still wanting. This evidence is supplied by Berkkooz's observation that the names *Wi-ir-ra-ri* (Gadd 28.23) and *Wi-ra-aḫ-ḫé* (N 73.2, 13, 16) represent the same person, son of *Nalduya*.<sup>104</sup> The interchange of *ḫ* and *r* in this name establishes the reading *ri* in this particular instance. The sound in question was obviously a voiced velar spirant, comparable to *g*.

It follows that Hurrian had such a sound, which could be written *ḫ* (its voiceless analogue) or *r*, but was different phonetically from either. On the basis of syllabic texts alone it is impossible to determine which writings with *ḫ* or *r* represent *g*, unless there is proof of interchange, as in *Wirrari/Wirahḫe*. Very likely, the Nuzians chose the cumbersome sign *ḫé*, instead of the simple *ḫi*, in order to indicate *g*. If this supposition is right, we may suspect a *g* also in *Ar-bi-ḫé Nu-za-ḫé* ("Nuzian"), *A-qa-bi-ḫé*, *Ka-zu-uḫ-ḫé*, *A-ri-im-ma-ḫé*<sup>105</sup> (where the initial element is plainly the other *ari*), and the like.

<sup>103</sup> Cf. also *RHA* 26.66-7.

<sup>104</sup> *NDA* 42.

<sup>105</sup> For these examples see *WZKM* 44.200. Of course, the writing may indicate merely the purely vocalic variation of *e/i*, which is common in

Having demonstrated an unambiguous adjectival  $-(a)ri$  in the syllabary, we may now return to the RŠ  $ḫlb-x$ . The meaning of the latter would be accordingly "of Aleppo," just as that of *Nuzaḫe* is "Nuzian"; similarly, *Abenari* means "from Abenaš," while *Ninuari*, *Arraphari*, *Nawarari* evidently mean "from Nineveh, Arrapha, Nawar" respectively. Such an adjectival ending lends itself to patronymic and hypocoristic use, as in *Wirrari*,<sup>106</sup> on the one hand, and *Zilipari* on the other; in fact, *Arimmaḫe* might well be a hypocoristicon for *Arimmatga*.

The  $-x$  suffix of RŠ Hurrian would then be synonymous with  $ḫ$ , but not homophonous, on account of the difference in consonants. Indirectly, it would confirm the reading of the sign  $x$  as  $ḡ$ .

In conclusion, attention should be called to the multiple significance of  $ḫ$ -signs in the Hurrian syllabary. In addition to the voiceless velar spirant established by the correspondence of syllabic  $ḫi$  with RŠ  $ḫ$  (which is used also for Semitic  $ḫ$ ), and the voiced velar spirant resulting from the equation of syllabic  $ḫi/ḫe/ri$ <sup>106a</sup> and alphabetic  $x/ḡ$ , we have aspirated  $k$  (*Ḫu/Gu/Kuššiharbe*).<sup>107</sup> Finally, Oppenheim cites several pairs of names which he interprets

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Hurrian (NDA 33). But the subject is worth considering, nevertheless, because of the RŠ evidence for two individual suffixes,  $b$  and  $x$ , which were apparently closely related as to meaning. In the light of this evidence special significance may attach to the circumstance that the Mitanni letter uses consistently the form *Hurr(w)uḫe-* (with the sign  $bé$ ) for the ethnicon "Hurrian" (I 11, 14, 19; II 68, 72; III 6, 113; IV 127); the  $bi$ -sign is never employed in this particular instance. It would be too sanguine to deduce from this writing that the suffix in question was not  $-bi$ , but the  $ḡi$  corresponding to  $(a)ri$ ; the alphabetic texts alone are capable of settling this problem. For the present I wish to call attention to an interesting, if remote, possibility. In RŠ 4. 16 we find the form  $ḫrwd$ , where the final  $d$  is very likely a suffix (cf. *kmrb-nd*, *ibid.* 6; also line 40, and *Archiv Orientalní* 4. 118 ff.). Is  $ḫrwd$  the RŠ version of *Hurruḫe*? (For the Semitic form of the ethnicon, *bry*, cf. RŠ 2. 12, 21, 29). For other forms in  $-x$  occurring in RŠ 4 see line 15 (*'ykẓx*), 36 (*lbtẓx*), and 30 (*['aw]ḡnm 'awrẓx*, followed by *'ardnm 'ar[dẓ]l*; cf. line 6).

<sup>106</sup> For this element cf. also *Wi-ir-ra*, H V 73. 53 and *Wirrištanni*, *AASOR* 16 86. 16, 17.

<sup>106a</sup> While discussing this matter with Dr. Sturtevant and Dr. Goetze I was reminded by them of the evidence for *ghayin* in Hittite texts; cf. Götze, *Mursilis Sprachlähmung* 28 ff.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *AASOR* 16. 61-2 and, for other examples, *NDA* 43-4.



as proof that *ḥ* may disappear in certain positions.<sup>108</sup> Such a *ḥ* would be a sound different from the above three varieties. Fortunately, however, all of Oppenheim's examples for this kind of *ḥ* lack genealogical confirmation. As it is, we have enough varieties to give us many uneasy moments.<sup>109</sup>

## ADDENDUM

While these *Notes* were in proof I got hold at last of a copy of the *M. Gaster Anniversary Volume* which contains an article on "A New Asianic Language" by Th. H. Gaster (154 ff.). The author has set out to examine the Hurrian material from Ras Shamra, so that the subject matter coincides in part with the subject of the above *Notes*. Under these circumstances, a certain degree of independent agreement as to sundry details is inevitable. Far more notable, however, are the numerous fundamental divergences. Furthermore, our respective papers follow for the most part entirely different paths. Since we differ also in our methods of approach and in our understanding of evidence, there is no need to list here the correspondences or to argue in detail the differences.

<sup>108</sup> *WZKM* 44.188 and *RHA* 26.63. Here may belong also *a-a-ra-bi* (*iyarabi*; cf. Unganad, *Subartu* 96-7), if it is cognate with *ḥiyarubḥe* "gold."

<sup>109</sup> While we are dealing with sounds which are often listed under "laryngals," it may be of interest to see how the 'alephs are employed in the Hurrian alphabetic texts. To Friedrich's remarks on this subject (*An. Or.* 12.129, and *ibid.* n. 5) it should be added that RŠ 4 uses medially only 'i and 'u, but not 'a. It would appear that the '-signs could be employed to express the glide between dissimilar vowels. A good illustration of this usage is furnished by *tlm'n*, line 2. On the basis of *Syria* 12, pl. L ii 18, where *te-la-ma-e* is given the meaning "great," our word may be vocalized *telama'en(a)*. The meaning "great" would fit the context very nicely.

Finally, 'ayin occurs certainly in RŠ 4.44, 'nt 'amrn "Anat the Amorite (?)"

# CONCEPTS OF RIGHT AND LEFT IN AFRICAN CULTURES

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## I

QUESTIONS connected with right and left in their physiological and psychological aspects have been treated extensively in the book *Handedness, Right and Left* by Ira S. Wile.<sup>1</sup> According to his special frame of interest he devotes a few pages to the treatment of material touching this problem as applied to the African continent. I cannot consider it to be my task to adopt a critical point of view towards the author's data and its interpretation, although his views, as I regard them, are not generally sustainable throughout in an anthropological sense. This, however, is not important for the validity of his thesis in general. Here I shall only present the material itself in an ordered manner. The "right and left" problem will be offered in its cultural confines, and no attempt will be made to discuss the question of handedness physiologically.

As may be expected the material available in the literature is rather poor, not only in that information is lacking from many parts of Africa, but that many references are not trustworthy and may consequently be eliminated.

It may be well to arrange the data on the basis of the following classification:

1. Right side associated with men, left with women.
2. Right equivalent to "good," left to "bad" (inferior).
3. Right connected with good luck, left with misfortune; or, correspondingly, happenings on the right side being good omens, those on the left bad omens.
4. Left representing fortune; right misfortune.
5. Right side preferred, left considered inferior.
6. Color associations with right and left.
7. Right and left denoting orientation.

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<sup>1</sup> Wile, I. S. *Handedness, Right and Left*, Boston, 1934.

There exist furthermore a number of statements in the literature which do not fit very well into these groups and which apparently have no bearing upon the question at large.

*1. Right side associated with men, left with women*

The close association of right with male and left with female has been recorded from various parts of the African continent. Attention may be drawn to the fact that the same associations are very strongly predominant in the Western world. In respect to the Bantu-speaking parts of Africa, Werner <sup>2</sup> makes the general statement that the right hand is often called "the male hand" or sometimes "the strong hand," and the left, although less frequently, is called or referred to as the "female hand" or the "inferior hand." In particular Weeks <sup>3</sup> states that among the Boloki of the northern Congo area, the ears of new born infants are pierced, the left ear lobe in the case of a girl, the right of a boy. The author emphasizes the fact that as a rule the left side is considered inferior. From the Loango Peschuel-Lösche notes that every person in leaving a hut or a bed is very careful to touch the floor with the right foot first, and that among these people the right leg is called in the native language, the "man-leg."<sup>4</sup> In the same book we find the statement that left-handed persons, who form the same proportion of the population as elsewhere, are referred to as using the "other hand" or "woman-hand."<sup>5</sup> The secret society of the Ekoi in Cameroon has a sacred drum, upon the right side of which is carved the figure of a man, on the left side a woman's (Talbot).<sup>6</sup> The author mentions, in connection with the strings worn by medicine men of the same tribe, that those on the right side are regarded as male and those on the left, female.<sup>7</sup> And again the same author states that twitching of the sole of the right foot announces the visit of a strange man, of the sole of the left foot, however, the visit of a strange woman.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Werner, A. "Right and Left Hand in Bantu," *Journal of the African Society*, London, 1904, pp. 112-116.

<sup>3</sup> Weeks, J. H. *Among Congo Cannibals*, Philadelphia, 1913, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> Peschuel-Lösche, E. P. *Volkskunde von Loango*, Stuttgart, 1907, p. 325.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>6</sup> Talbot, P. A. *In the Shadow of the Bush*, London, 1912, p. 218.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324.

From the area around Lake Tchad, Frobenius<sup>9</sup> in describing the founding of a town and the ceremonies which are connected therewith, reports that after certain rituals a virgin—the representation of the female—is buried to the left of the east entrance, and a bull—the symbol of the male—to the right of it.

In the provinces of Dar For as well as in Wadai, Nachtigal<sup>10</sup> found that the right is always connected with man and the left with woman. The A-Kamba in East Africa (Lindblom)<sup>11</sup> consider the expression “on the right hand” as equivalent to “men’s hand,” while “on the left hand” means “women’s hand.” In respect to burial practices the author reports a similar attitude. The corpse of a dead man is placed on the right side with the hands under the head, that of a woman on the left side. That the left arm is called “woman’s arm” is stated by the author in another place.<sup>12</sup> Hobley<sup>13</sup> also affirms this association of left and female from the East African Kavirondo.

The same concept seems to be prevalent among the Bakitara of the Victoria Nyanza. They bury a dead queen as well as the wives of their more prominent tribesmen in such a way that their hands are placed under the left side of the head and the wives of the latter dignitaries are buried on the left side of their huts. Ordinary men and women are buried with their hands under the right side of the head (Roscoe).<sup>14</sup>

This association of left with women and right with men in respect to burials seems rather widely distributed in Africa. I found it to be the case for all the tribes in Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia. Of the Bavenda in Northern Transvaal Stayt<sup>15</sup> mentions that “when the deceased is a man the body is arranged in a sitting position, with the right side of the head resting on the clasped

<sup>9</sup> Frobenius, L. *Monumenta Africana*, Frankfurt a. M., 1929, p. 125.

<sup>10</sup> Nachtigal, G. *Sahara und Sudan*, Leipzig, 1889, vol. III, pp. 55, 341, 429.

<sup>11</sup> Lindblom, G. *The A-Kamba in British East Africa*, Uppsala, 1920, p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>13</sup> Hobley, C. W. *Ethnology of A-Kamba and Other East African Tribes*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 104.

<sup>14</sup> Roscoe, J. *The Bakitara*, London, 1923, p. 323.

<sup>15</sup> Stayt, H. A. *The Bavenda*, London, 1931, p. 161.

hands." A few examples are given by Seligman of the Nilotic tribes of the Eastern Sudan. The Acholi buried a man on the right side of the door and a woman on the left.<sup>16</sup> A similar report is given of the Bari: "... the grave being dug in front of the house of the deceased—on the right of the door for a male, on the left for a female."<sup>17</sup>

The Konde of the northern Nyassa area, upon visiting the grave of a relative, touch it with the elbow, the body, and the forehead (Fülleborn).<sup>18</sup> If the buried person is a woman, the women touch the grave with their right side, if a man, they touch it with the left; the men, however, observe the same custom in the reverse. Baumann<sup>19</sup> informs us that among the Wambugwe in East Africa the bodies of deceased women are carried from their huts with the left side downward, male corpses in the reverse manner. The WaChagga (Merker)<sup>20</sup> cut a piece of skin from the hide of a sacred bull and wear it around the middle finger. This piece is worn on the right hand when the person to whom the bull was sacrificed belonged to the father's family, but on the left if the person thus honored was a member of the mother's family. If the sacrifice was made for an undetermined male ancestor the string was tied around the big toe of the right foot, around the big toe of the left foot instead when a female ancestor was honored.

Concerning the Bushmen of the Cape Colony, Dornan<sup>21</sup> narrates that at initiation ceremonies the little finger had to be cut off, boys losing one from the right hand, girls one from the left.

The only exception to this rule is reported by Schinz<sup>22</sup> from the Hottentot of South Africa, among whom women occupy the right side of the huts. It is naturally difficult to decide how much emphasis can be placed upon this remark.

<sup>16</sup> Seligman, C. G. and B. C. *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan*, London, 1932, p. 133.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>18</sup> Fülleborn, F. R. *Das Deutsche Nyassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet*, Berlin, 1906, p. 328.

<sup>19</sup> Baumann, O. *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, Berlin, 1894, p. 187.

<sup>20</sup> Merker, M. *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Dornan, S. *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, London, 1925, p. 159.

<sup>22</sup> Schinz, H. *Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1891, p. 82.

2. *Right equivalent to "good," left to "bad" (inferior)*

Similarly distributed throughout the African continent we find the belief that right is equivalent to good and left to bad. Its expressions are as manifold as those of the beliefs mentioned above.

Repulsion from use of the left hand is especially strong in respect to food. For the Mohammedans of the Sudan, Junker<sup>23</sup> states that, generally speaking, they are not allowed to eat with the left hand, as it is considered *negis*, or "impure," in the religious sense. Therefore it is well to sit with the right side towards the food, especially if space should be limited. In respect to the inhabitants of Morocco Westermarck<sup>24</sup> says in more detail: "The disfavour with which a left-handed person is regarded is due to the notion that the left side is bad and the right side is good, which is found among so many other peoples and also prevailed among the ancient Arabs. It is bad *fäl* to use the left hand for good acts, which in accordance with custom are performed with the right, such as eating, giving alms, offering and receiving food or drink or other things, greeting a person, telling the beads of one's rosary; whereas the right hand should not be used for dirty acts, such as cleaning one's anus or genitals or blowing one's nose, and when you spit you should do it to the left."

The Jekris of the Lower Niger area use the left hand for cleansing purposes and therefore eat only with the right hand (Roth).<sup>25</sup> They present objects and shake hands only with the right. Winterbottom<sup>26</sup> says similarly, that the natives of Sierra Leone consider it an unpardonable offense to offer the left hand, which also is never used for eating. The Tim call the right hand the "eating hand" and the Suru of the same area name it the "good hand." Also the Ashanti of the West African Gold Coast are very careful not to touch food with the left hand and to clean the right hand before they eat with it (Bowdich).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Junker, W. *Reisen in Afrika*, Wien und Olmütz, 1890, vol. I, pp. 222, 223.

<sup>24</sup> Westermarck, E. *Ritual and Relief in Morocco*, London, 1926, vol. II, p. 14.

<sup>25</sup> Roth, H. L. "Notes on the Jekris," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 28, 1899, p. 122.

<sup>26</sup> Winterbottom, T. H. *Nachrichten von der Sierra Leone Küste*, Weimar, 1805, p. 164.

<sup>27</sup> Bowdich, T. E. *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, London, 1819, p. 490.

The tribes of the Lower Niger area do not allow women to touch kitchen implements with the left hand, nor are they allowed to touch them at all during the period of menstruation (Leonard).<sup>28</sup> In general, remarks the recorder in a footnote, the right hand is regarded as good, the left as bad. The right hand indicates friendship, the left animosity. The Ija as well as the natives of Brass observes the rule that in no case may a woman touch her husband's face with the left hand, or cook or eat food except with the right. From the Ibo and other tribes of this area the same author reports that only warriors who have killed men with their own hand, may drink with the left, apparently as a sign of distinction.

Of the Pangwe in Cameroon Tessmann<sup>29</sup> records that the bodies of prominent sorcerers are placed so as to lie on the left side in burial, which means, as the author himself emphasizes, with the right side uppermost. Evil magicians, those who practice witchcraft, are buried on the right side, or with the left above.

The Bakitara of the Victoria Nyanza hate left-handed people and no one is allowed to give anything to another person with the left hand (Roscoe).<sup>30</sup> Exactly the same is reported by Baumann<sup>31</sup> for the Waseguyu who consider it bad manners to eat with the left, as this is used for all kinds of impure actions. The Ovambo in Southwest Africa avoid passing an object to a person with the left hand, and regard a greeting made with the left hand as an offense (Schinz).<sup>32</sup> Perhaps also what Irle<sup>33</sup> reports from the Herero, the southern neighbors of the Ovambo, belongs to this group of concepts. When, during a fight, the leader has a cramp in the left cheek below the eye, it indicates that the fight will be lost and that important persons will be killed. In contrast to this belief, it may be added here, itching in the right foot denotes an approaching death in the family. Among the Ovimbundu of Southern Angola "a very insulting sign is made in this way. The left arm is held up with the fist closed. The left wrist is grasped with the right hand. The left fist is then shaken while the right hand is still

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<sup>28</sup> Leonard, A. G. *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, London, 1906, p. 310.

<sup>29</sup> Tessmann, G. *Die Pangwe*, Berlin, 1913, vol. II, pp. 131, 378, 379.

<sup>30</sup> Roscoe, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>31</sup> Baumann, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Schinz., *op. cit.*, p. 277.

<sup>33</sup> Irle, J. *Die Herero*, Gütersloh, 1906, p. 133.

grasping the left wrist" (Hambly).<sup>34</sup> Apparently what we have here is an indication that left is equivalent to bad.

A belief may perhaps be indicated in Halkin's<sup>35</sup> report about the Ababua of Central Africa, who during an ordeal, put a liquid into a person's left eye to determine his innocence or guilt. Unquestionably, however, what Trilles<sup>36</sup> reports of the Central African Pygmies also belongs in this group. He writes: "Les doigts de la main gauche représentent l'étranger, l'ennemi, le gibier chassé, l'objet convoité, ou dans un autre ordre d'idées, la femme, les enfants, c'est-à-dire, en somme, comme toujours pour le côté gauche l'être inférieur, d'où malheur et calamité, tandis que les doigts de la main droite représentent l'homme lui-même, l'hôte, le chef, les hommes du clan, c'est-à-dire l'être supérieur, d'où bonheur, chance etc."

### 3. *Right connected with good luck, left with misfortune*

As far as literary information is concerned the most consistent data on association of right with good luck and left with misfortune are found in North and East Africa. I should like to quote here Westermarck's observations in respect to the inhabitants of Morocco:<sup>37</sup> "Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow. . . . According to a scribe from the Ait Wäryäger, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow."

The A-Kamba in East Africa believe that if a hyena or jackal crosses one's path from right to left, it is a bad omen, but from left to right, a good one (Hobley).<sup>38</sup> But there are some instances from this tribe which point in the opposite direction, as will be seen later. Nigmann<sup>39</sup> reports of the Wahehe that sacrifices are interrupted

<sup>34</sup> Hambly, W. D. *The Ovimbundu of Angola*, Field Museum of Natural History Anthropological Series, vol. 21. 2, Chicago, 1934, p. 253.

<sup>35</sup> Halkin, J. *Les Ababua*, Brussels, 1911, p. 385.

<sup>36</sup> Trilles, R. P. *Les Pygmées de la Forêt Équatoriale*, Paris, 1932, p. 202.

<sup>37</sup> Westermarck, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 35. <sup>38</sup> Hobley, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>39</sup> Nigmann, E. "Die Wahehe," *Baessler Archiv*, Berlin, 1908, p. 37.



when the bird *ngulung ulu* cries on the left side of the road, but that the same cry heard from the right side is a good omen. Of the Masai, Fuchs-Hollis <sup>40</sup> notes that a man on a visit to a sick woman, hearing the call of the bird *ol-tilo* on the left, knows that the woman is very ill, but if the bird calls on the right side of the road it is a sign that she feels better. If, however, somebody wishes to visit a sick man and hears the bird cry on the left side, it is a sign that the illness is not serious; the bird call coming from the right side, however, means that the man will die. Here it is of course interesting to note that we find a sex-association, as pointed out above, that refers to visiting a sick man or woman. If a man departing for war hears the bird *tilo* crying on the right, he knows that he will be successful, but if the bird calls on the left quarter, he immediately turns home to avoid defeat.

Among the WaChagga a left-handed man is not allowed to accompany a party of warriors, as it is believed that he would bring misfortune. The same recorder (Gutmann) <sup>41</sup> adds that if a person when traveling hits his right foot against something it is a good omen and that good news and good food may be expected at the journey's end; the same occurrence in regard to the left foot, however, would be regarded as a warning not to continue the trip. The Washamba interpret the cry of the black monkey on the right side of a traveler as a good omen, on the left as a bad one (Karasek and Eichhorn).<sup>42</sup> Müller <sup>43</sup> tells of a similar belief from Fetu. The call of the bird *obruku* on the right side signifies good fortune, on the left evil, and a person starting on a journey will instantly turn back, however far he may have walked, should he hear the call on the left side. Also among the Amhara of Abyssinia this belief is found (Harris).<sup>44</sup>

Among the natives of the Kilimanjaro areas Dundas <sup>45</sup> observed the wearing of rings of sheepskin around the third finger of the

<sup>40</sup> Fuchs, in Hollis, A. C., *The Masai*, Oxford, 1909, p. 119.

<sup>41</sup> Gutmann, B. *Dichten und Denken der Dschagga Neger*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 153.

<sup>42</sup> Karasek, A. and Eichhorn, A. "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Wascham-baa IV," *Baessler Archiv*, vol. 8, Berlin, 1923-1924, p. 34.

<sup>43</sup> Müller, *Fetu*, p. 100. (Exact title unavailable at present.)

<sup>44</sup> Harris, Sir. *Gesellschaftsreise nach Schou* (German edition), Stuttgart, 1845, vol. II, p. 58.

<sup>45</sup> Dundas, C. H. *Kilimanjaro and its Peoples*, London, 1924, p. 212.

right hand. After the sacrifice of an animal they wear it on the big toe of the right foot. These skin-pieces are considered to be charms. Thus if a man travels at night and a dangerous animal approaches him, he spits on the ring and asks his ancestors for help.

The Bedouin north of Agazi postpone a journey if they see a (black) bird on the right and an old woman on the left of the road. Here again we note the association of women and left (Munzinger).<sup>46</sup>

Des Marchais,<sup>47</sup> reporting on the Gold Coast in the early part of the eighteenth century, remarks that the natives, upon leaving the hut for trading purposes, note the direction in which the head is turned. If to the right, they regard the day as a fortunate one and do not hesitate to risk everything, but if the head turns to the left, it foretells misfortune, and they do not leave the hut under any circumstances.

The Ekoi believe that the twitching of the upper lid of the left eye indicates that something bad will soon be seen, for example, an ordeal by boiling water; twitching of the lid of the right eye announces the prospect of a pleasant sight, such as a dance. Twitching in the top of the left arm at the beginning of a journey indicates that disagreeable things are in store and that friendly powers are trying to hold one back. The same feeling in the top of the right arm, however, is a good omen "and foretells that a friend's arm will soon lie within one's own" (Talbot).<sup>48</sup> In respect to the call and flight of birds, the Ekoi have a different interpretation as will be seen later.

Tönjes<sup>49</sup> remarks of the Ovakuanjama, a tribe of the Ovambo group, that the call of a bird on the right side means luck, but when heard on the left, misfortune. Thus if one goes to visit the chief, a bird call on the left signifies that one will not have the success desired. The neighboring Herero believe that misfortune is imminent when a rabbit or buck runs through the settlement from right to left (Irle).<sup>50</sup> In the religion of the Bushmen, Camp-

<sup>46</sup> Munzinger, M. *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Basel, 1883, p. 159.

<sup>47</sup> Des Marchais. *Voyage en Guinée, isles voisines et à Cayenne*, Paris, 1730, vol. I, p. 353.

<sup>48</sup> Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

<sup>49</sup> Tönjes, H. *Ovamboland, Land, Leute . . .* Berlin, 1911, p. 207, 208.

<sup>50</sup> Irle, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

bell <sup>51</sup> finds the belief that there exists a kind of devil who has made everything with the left hand.

A report may be added here which has no direct bearing upon this question and which cannot be interpreted according to the classification here offered. The Mountain-Dama in Southwest Africa bury a dead man with his sandal on the left foot only. The one from the right foot is given to his brother or relative (for luck?) (Irle).<sup>52</sup>

#### *4. Left representing fortune; right, misfortune*

The geographic area representative of the belief that the left side represents luck and fortune is rather limited. Aside from the Ekoi in Cameroon we find evidence of this association predominating widely throughout Northeast Africa. Regarding the Ekoi we have already noted that prominence is generally given to the right side, which symbolizes the male principle as well as good fortune. But in respect to the flight and calls of birds it is the opposite. Talbot <sup>53</sup> cites five different types of birds which are regarded as important for predictions. Some of them indicate good fortune if they are heard on the left side, but bad, if they call on the right. Other birds bring luck when they cross a road or path from right to left, misfortune when they fly in the opposite direction. With these remarks the general tendency to regard the left as favorable, although not exclusively so, is evident, as has been shown above.

Also from the East African A-Kamba we have already mentioned the predominant importance of the right for omens of good fortune. In respect to the calling of birds, however, these natives make certain exceptions. Thus Hobley <sup>54</sup> reports that the call of a red-headed woodpecker on the left side of the road is a good omen and is believed to be a sign leading to a dead elephant, a great "find" for these people. But the same call heard on the right side is a bad omen. This is confirmed by Lindblom.<sup>55</sup> He says of the same tribe that the call of a bird on the left side is a good omen and that the hearer will have future opportunities to acquire women, cattle, and other wealth, but that a twitching of the left arm, in A-Kamba terminology synonymous with "woman's arm," signifies that one

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<sup>51</sup> Campbell, J. *Travels in South Africa*, London, 1822, vol. II, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup> Irle, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>54</sup> Hobley, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

<sup>53</sup> Talbot, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

<sup>55</sup> Lindblom, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

may be compelled to give something away. This latter part of the report indicates the primary importance of, and emphasis upon, the right, as discussed above.

The Wageia-Kavirondo consider the right hand to be unlucky, the left, however, to be lucky (Weiss).<sup>56</sup> The result of a journey was therefore predicted according to whether a bird cried on the left or right side. If a traveler struck the great toe of his right foot against a stone or a root twice, it indicated bad luck; the same happening with the left foot meant that the journey would be successful. To stumble with the right first and then with the toe of the left foot was considered to be without significance. Here may be added the statement of Gutmann<sup>57</sup> on the WaChagga. As mentioned above these natives interpret the hitting of the left foot as a bad omen, but if somebody should continue a journey in spite of such warnings he might discover that his left foot is the lucky one and would in future regard it as such, providing that he does not make discoveries to the contrary. The personally favored foot or leg is referred to as the "nice one," although ordinarily this term is given to the right leg or foot.

The Danakil in the Northeastern parts of Africa considered the flight of birds from left to right as a bad omen (Harris).<sup>58</sup> The same is reported for the Wateita (Rebmann)<sup>59</sup> and the Bogos when making a journey regarded a bird's call on the right as a sign of safe return, on the left of success in their plans (Munzinger).<sup>60</sup> Here we note a slight difference in the interpretation.

Perhaps in line with the general understanding of left as being favorable is the custom of the Masai who at new-moon throw a stone or branch with the left hand and say: "Give me a long life," or "Give me strength" (Fuchs-Hollis).<sup>61</sup>

##### 5. *Right side preferred, left considered inferior*

It is generally understood that almost universally the right side is the superior or preferred one, so it might seem superfluous to

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<sup>56</sup> Weiss, M. *Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas*, Berlin, 1910, pp. 232, 233.

<sup>57</sup> Gutmann, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

<sup>58</sup> Harris, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 134.

<sup>59</sup> Rebmann, in Krapf, *Reisen in Ostafrika*, Kornthal, 1858, vol. II, p. 5.

<sup>60</sup> Munzinger, W. *Über die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, Winterthur, 1859, p. 90.

<sup>61</sup> Fuchs, in Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

cite such evidence for Africa. There are not very many remarks in the literature, but such testimony speaks of this preference for the right.

Herodotus<sup>62</sup> mentions that Psammetichus I favored foreign, especially Ionian, soldiers and gave them the place at his right. In the kingdom of Wadai in the central parts of the Sudan the highest official was called *Dsherma toluk* and the next in rank *Dsherma luluk*. The modifier *toluk* means right and *luluk* left, so that the highest official has the title "to the right" (Nachtigal).<sup>63</sup> From the province of Dar Fur the same author<sup>64</sup> mentions that the newly-crowned king when inducted into office in an inaugural procession first took the road *Orre de*, which means the "route of man," then the *Orre beja*, the "route of woman," which are associated respectively with right and left. In Abyssinia the seat on the right of the emperor was considered the superior one, the one of the left of less importance (Salt).<sup>65</sup> A similar report is given by Bruce,<sup>66</sup> although the preference for right is not specifically expressed.

The highest officials next to the king, the Bale, in the town Ibadan, Yorubaland, have the title right- and left-handed Bale (Ellis).<sup>67</sup> They were the principal councillors of the king. The author makes at this place no definite statement as to which is the higher in rank. Referring to the Magba or high priest of the god Shango, however, he remarks<sup>68</sup> that this priest had twelve assistants who were called according to their rank and authority the "right hand," "left hand," third, fourth, etc., which seems to indicate a preference for the right hand.

The Masai, writes Fuchs-Hollis,<sup>69</sup> called the boys who were circumcised first the "right hand circumcised," those subsequently circumcised the "left hand circumcised." Of the Boloki Weeks mentions<sup>70</sup> that the first-born of twins was carried on the right arm, the second-born on the left arm. Among the Waguha of the eastern parts of the Belgian Congo, the father's brother takes the new-born

<sup>62</sup> Herodotus II, 36.

<sup>63</sup> Nachtigal, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 233.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 440.

<sup>65</sup> Salt, in *Neue Bibliothek der Reisen*, Weimar, 1814, vol. IV, p. 241.

<sup>66</sup> Bruce of Kinnaird, J. *Die Quellen des Nils*, Leipzig, 1790-91, vol. III, p. 265.

<sup>67</sup> Ellis, A. B. *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p. 169-170.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

<sup>69</sup> Fuchs, in Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 5. <sup>70</sup> Weeks, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

child from the hut and lifts it first to the right, then to the left, and finally towards all those mountains which are thought to be occupied by spirits (Schmidt).<sup>71</sup>

Krapf<sup>72</sup> and others<sup>73</sup> remark that the Zulu distinguish between three houses in a family: (1) The house of the first married woman, called the house of the right hand; (2) the house of the great woman; and (3) the house of the third woman, or the house of the left hand.

Here perhaps may be added Irle's<sup>74</sup> statement about the Herero, who call the Kunene river the right-lying river and the smaller river, the Okavangu, the left-lying river. It is uncertain as to whether these names were adopted because the Herero on their migration first encountered the Kunene on their right. It is, however, possible that Kunene and right have been identified through the idea of size, a suggestion that is perhaps strengthened by the circumstance that the name Kunene sometimes has been interpreted as "great river."

#### 6. *Color associations with right and left*

The association of colors with right and left is a topic which I intended to treat in a special study, since it involves questions which have no direct bearing upon the problem raised here. In general, however, I should like to state that among many tribes right is associated with light (white) and left with dark (particularly red) colors. There are, as might be expected, exceptions to such a rule. Thus Fuchs-Hollis<sup>75</sup> reports from the Masai that those warriors who have killed enemies paint the right part of the body red, the left white. The Baluba Hembe of the Congo region color the left eyelid of a deceased person with white earth (Colle).<sup>76</sup> On other occasions this same tribe uses the customary colors, i. e. white for right and red for left (Colle).<sup>77</sup> Or, to give an example which indicates sex association, Lichtenstein<sup>78</sup> who visited South Africa

<sup>71</sup> Schmidt, R. *Les Wagaha*, Brussels, 1911, p. 140.

<sup>72</sup> Krapf, *op. cit.*, p. 161, 164.

<sup>73</sup> Fritsch, G. *Die Eingeborenen Südafrikas*, Breslau, 1872, p. 92.

<sup>74</sup> Irle, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

<sup>75</sup> Fuchs, in Hollis, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

<sup>76</sup> Colle, B. *Les Baluba*, Brussels, 1913, vol. II, p. 430.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 586.

<sup>78</sup> Lichtenstein, H. *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, Berlin, 1811, vol. I, p. 415.

at the end of the eighteenth century states that the female sorcerer of the Xosa painted the left eyelids, arm, and thigh white and the corresponding members on the right, black.

### *7. Right and left denoting orientation*

In the literature only one reference could be found to indicate that words for right and left are unknown. From the Waniaturu, von Sick<sup>79</sup> reports that right and left are expressed in terms of orientation. Thus in saying to a man "turn to the right" they say "go to the east," and so on, according to the general direction intended.

In Wadai as well as in Dar Fur right is very definitely associated with west and left with east (Nachtigal).<sup>80</sup> It seems as if such an association is quite frequent in the Eastern or Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. And moreover here the concept of left and east is closely connected with women, right and west with men.

In the region of Shoa in Northeastern Africa left is associated with south and right with north (Krapf).<sup>81</sup>

In this connection a report might be added which may have some bearing upon this question. Holub<sup>82</sup> says of the Barotse of the Upper Zambesi the following (in free translation): "Some of the king's wives and children are always invited to attend the morning meal of the king. At this occasion the wives as well as strangers (referring only to Europeans) sit down in the direction of the *rising sun*, while at evening meetings the same persons are placed at the *left* of the king. Invited dignitaries of the tribe sit at the right of the king, if the meal is taken in the interior of the house, at the left, however, if taken outside." It seems quite obvious that Holub emphasizes the contrast between the direction of the rising sun (east) and left. If he actually means this to be a contrast, we can then believe that in the Barotse area right and east as well as left and west are synonymous. This interpretation will, however, not be stressed here.

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<sup>79</sup> Sick, H. von. "Die Waniaturu," *Baessler Archiv*, vol. V, 1. 2, Leipzig, 1915, p. 54.

<sup>80</sup> Nachtigal, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 227, 230, 341, 419 n, 429.

<sup>81</sup> Krapf, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 72.

<sup>82</sup> Holub, E. *Sieben Jahre in Südafrika*, Wien, 1881, vol. II, p. 323.

## II

According to the material offered in this study the predominant importance of the concept of right is quite obvious. Scattered over most parts of the African continent are indications that the right is considered as the superior side and is associated with such beliefs as are understood to be good and favorable. In a rather limited area of Northeast Africa and among the Ekoi of Cameroon we found a few cases in which the left side was preferred, but the same tribes considered the right more favorable in other relations, so that we do not have an area with exclusive left preference. The material in respect to this interesting problem, as far as the African continent is concerned, is certainly not sufficient to enable us to offer any definite theory. It may, however, be pointed out that most of the references dealing with right-predominance come from East Africa, the Sudan, Nigeria, and Southwest Africa, the last being closely connected culturally with East Africa. Only a few references can be found from among tribes inhabiting the Central parts of the continent, such as the Boloki, Loango, Ababua, etc.

This distribution of right-preference, despite the incompleteness of our survey, seems to point to outside influences. As the clearest description was obtainable from those tribes which had more or less close cultural contacts with Arabs and Islam, it seems to me that such an influence might be suggested. The long lasting Arabic influence upon North as well as East Africa, going back at least for a period of a millenium, cannot be overestimated. Such cultural influences may even have reached the tribes of the Congo area.

Such an introduction of culturally confined right-preference must have had a considerable influence upon handedness in general. That is the point I should like to emphasize in connection with the material presented: perhaps handedness is to a greater extent determined by custom and belief, so that even for primitive groups it is almost impossible to obtain data concerning the biological confinement of handedness. Among most of those African tribes which have an outspoken right-preference as shown above, we find the occurrence of most rigorous customs to "cure" left-handedness. So Kidd<sup>88</sup> writes: "If a child should seem to be naturally left-handed the people pour boiling water into a hole in the earth, and

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<sup>88</sup> Kidd, D. *Savage Childhood*, London, 1906, p. 296.



place the child's left hand in the hole, ramming the earth down around it; by this means the left hand becomes so scalded that the child is bound to use the right hand."

It seems to me that most of those tribes which live outside the area discussed above are rather indifferent toward the question of right or left. It would be too premature to make more definite statements as long as the available material is as scanty as it is now. Another important culture trait for right and left questions is the system of counting, i. e. whether the right or the left hand is used for expressing numbers. Although this problem is not discussed here, it is well to emphasize that, while in the East African region the right hand is predominantly used for counting, in the central parts of the continent the left is preferred. This is true for the Pygmies of the Congo area and for the Bushmen.<sup>84</sup>



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<sup>84</sup> Schapera, I. *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa*, London, 1930; p. 220. Trilles, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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The following persons have been elected Corporate Members of the SOCIETY on action of the Executive Committee:

Chauncey J. Blair	Hugh A. Moran
Frank A. Brown	James Muilenberg
Y. Z. Cahng	John K. Musgrave, Jr.
A. Jessurun Cardozo	John E. Orchard
Ephraim Cross	James B. Pritchard
Rufus S. Day, Jr.	Hermann Ranke
Sydney N. Fisher	V. A. Riasanovsky
W. W. Freeman	John F. Rowan
Herbert W. Hines	Joseph Sarachek
Harry N. Howard	Osama Shimizu
Thorkild Jacobsen	Francis R. Steele
John M. Kelso	Dorothy Stehle
H. M. G. Labatt-Simon	Elmer J. Templeton
William R. Leete	Elbert D. Thomas
George C. Miles	Mischa Titiev
William J. Moore	A. Wehrli
	Louis Wolsey

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

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The Oriental Club of New Haven celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary on March 12, the club having been founded on March 15, 1913, at the suggestion of Professor Albert T. Clay. The anniversary meeting was made the occasion of reminiscences concerning the beginnings of the club, presented by surviving charter members, Professors C. C. Torrey, F. C. Porter, E. Huntington, and P. V. C. Baur.

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Chinese Language Intensive Summer Courses, sponsored by the American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, June 27-August 20, 1938, for graduate or otherwise specially qualified students or professional people whose work requires a knowledge of modern written Chinese as a tool. Only twenty will be enrolled in each of the two courses. Location: University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Course One, Elementary Chinese, meets three and a half hours daily, from 8.00 to 9.30 a. m., and from 10.00 to 12.00 noon. It uses specially

prepared material for learning to read in a limited vocabulary. Students are expected to devote full time to this work; six hours credit is given by the University of Michigan.

Course Two, for advanced students, meets four hours daily, from 10.00 a. m., till noon, and from 2.00 to 4.00 p. m., each hour constituting a separate unit. The first hour is devoted to pronunciation drill and conversation practice. In the other three hours are read selections respectively from (a) newspaper Chinese; (b) stories of historical characters; (c) standard novels. Students may elect the whole course, if sufficiently well prepared, or any portion of it. Credit of two hours for each of the sections, (a), (b), and (c), is given by the University of Michigan. The tuition fee is \$80.00, payable to the American Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations upon admission to the School. This amount includes the \$35.00 registration fee at the University of Michigan. Some funds are available for tuition scholarships and grants-in-aid. Announcement of awards will be made May 15. Instruction will be in charge of Dr. George A. Kennedy, of Yale University. All applications for admission to the school and for scholarship aid must be received not later than May 1, 1938, by Jean W. Kennedy, 80 Howe Street, New Haven, Conn.

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The second Summer Seminar in Arabic and Islamic Studies will be held in the Graduate College, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J., under the directorship of Professor Philip K. Hitti, for a period of six weeks beginning Saturday morning, June 25, 1938. The courses are open to men and women of graduate standing and are designed to meet the needs of new students as well as those who attended the first Seminar in 1935. Teachers of philosophy and religion, Near Eastern and medieval history, Romance languages and fine arts will be offered an opportunity to acquire first-hand knowledge of some of the sources in the Islamic phases of their respective subjects. The courses in the Arabic language and Arab history will be given by Professor Hitti, Dr. Nabih A. Faris and Dr. Edward J. Jurji. Those in the Turkish language and history will be offered by Dr. Walter L. Wright, Jr., president of Robert College, Istanbul. Professor M. Aga-Oglu of the University of Michigan will have charge of the courses in Islamic art. Dr. Muhammad Simsar, of the University of Pennsylvania, will give the courses in Persian. Special lecturers will deliver each a series of lectures dealing with different phases of Islamic culture in Spain, the Eastern Mediterranean and Central Asia. The tuition fee for the Seminar is \$40.00. Fees for room and board at the Graduate College are \$20.00 a week per person. A limited number of grants-in-aid are available for specially recommended and qualified students. For further information address Dr. Nabih A. Faris, 58 Mercer Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

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The Twentieth International Congress of Orientalists will be held at Brussels, Belgium, September 5-10, 1938. The President of the Committee

Professor Louis de La Vallee Poussin, and the committee invite those who wish to participate or to secure information about the Congress to address the Secretary General, M. Jean Capart, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Parc du Cinquantenaire, Brussels, Belgium.

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The Third International Congress of Phonetic Sciences will be held in Ghent (Belgium) from Monday, July 18, to Friday, July 22, 1938. By the courtesy of the authorities of the University of Ghent, the sessions will be held in the buildings of this University. The fee for full membership of the Congress has been fixed at 25 Belgas. Relatives of members will be admitted as associate (non-voting) members for the fee of 12.50 Belgas. Full membership and associate membership include general admission to lectures and entertainments. Full membership will moreover entitle to a reduction in price as regards the proceedings of the Congress. Information concerning the offering of papers and registration may be obtained from the Secretary of the Congress (Dr. Willem Pée, Tontoonstellinglaan, 52, Ghent (Belgium)).

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The Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences will be held in Zurich, Switzerland, on August 28–September 4, 1938. It will be organized in fourteen sections, dealing with the various fields and periods of historical studies, including pre-history, science of antiquities, auxiliary sciences, numismatics, religious, legal, constitutional, economic, social, and military history, intellectual history and history of science, and historical methods. The organization of the Congress is in the hands of a committee of which Dr. George Hoffmann, Susenbergstrasse 145, Zurich 7, Switzerland, is secretary, to whom all correspondence respecting the Congress or participation in it should be addressed. The membership fee has been set at 25 Swiss francs, but members of the families of participants as well as undergraduates may secure membership at a reduced fee of 12 Swiss francs.

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The Vice-President of the Egypt Exploration Society, of London, advises that the Society has a residue of its numerous publications, which it is prepared to present to such American libraries as would pay the cost of packing and transit. Any American libraries or museums that may be interested should communicate directly with him: Alan A. Gardiner, Esq., 9, Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, London, W. 11, England. It would be well for the institution to report its present holdings, or its deficiencies.



Abraham Valentine Williams Jackson, 1862-1937

## ABRAHAM VALENTINE WILLIAMS JACKSON \*

EDWARD DELAVAN PERRY

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PROFESSOR A. V. Williams Jackson was born, February 9, 1862, not far from the present site of Columbia University, and died at his home overlooking its gates, August 8, 1937. From the day when he entered Columbia College as a freshman in 1879 to the day of his death, his official connection with the University was unbroken. He received the degree of A. B. in 1883, those of A. M., L. H. D., and Ph. D. in the three following years, and the Honorary LL. D. in 1904.

The undaunted devotion to a chosen ideal and the untiring industry which were so prominent throughout his adult years and even through the serious impairment of his health and subsequent retirement from active service in his professorship, had already become conspicuous during his undergraduate years. They were strongly emphasized by the late Professor A. C. Merriam in a characterization of him given to one of his subsequent teachers in 1880. "You will find," said Mr. Merriam, "that Jackson will absorb every word you utter in class, and give it out again, if called on to do so, at the examination."

The broad scope of Jackson's interests was shown early in his career. For example, he was one of a small group of upper classmen in Columbia College in 1881-1882 who made up a voluntary class for a short series of elementary lectures on what was then known as "comparative philology," and his eager interest in the relatively new subject was remarkable. At that time instruction in Sanskrit and in Ancient Persian was already available; and into these by no means easy subjects Jackson threw himself with characteristic enthusiasm. Strange and complicated alphabets and intricate grammatical structures had no terrors for him; he simply took them in his stride. With him it was no case of the seed sown

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\* This note on Professor Jackson was written by the late Professor Perry between October 24, 1937, when he agreed to prepare it for the Journal, and November 19, 1937, when he and Professors Frederick J. E. Woodbridge, James C. Egbert, Jefferson B. Fletcher, and Louis H. Gray, presented it with the omission of one paragraph at a Faculty memorial meeting in the Trustees Room at Columbia University.

on stony ground—it sprang up quickly indeed, but it was not withered by the midday sun. In another field, Anglo-Saxon, he had already become so expert that he was made Assistant in it in 1886; and his competent knowledge of English literature led to his appointment as Adjunct Professor in 1891. He had been made Instructor in Indo-Iranian Languages in 1886—a remarkable tribute to his attainments in that field. In 1895 a reorganization of the linguistic and literary departments of the College established a Department of Indo-Iranian Languages and Literatures with Professor Jackson as its head. Thus at the early age of thirty-three he entered upon full heritage of the subject which had come to lie closest to his heart. During the years from 1887 to 1892 he had spent much time in study in Germany, chiefly at Halle, under Professors Geldner and Pischel, and at Berlin under Geldner. But not content with even the widest book knowledge of Indian and Persian antiquity he made a series of extended visits to India and Persia for thorough study and exploration: the first in 1901, others in 1903, 1907, 1910, 1911. Then in 1918 as a member of the American-Persian Relief Commission he made a trip round the world, for a large part of it as a special guest of honor under particular convoy of the British Government. His last journey to the East was made in 1926. On these visits he was often the recipient of unusual privileges and honors, equally in India and Persia.

Jackson's productivity as a scholar began early and continued till the end of his life. His knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature was wide and accurate, yet Iranian language, literature, and antiquities, and most of all Iranian religion, were his chosen field. One of his first publications was *A Hymn of Zoroaster, Yasna XXXI*: 1888. *An Avesta Grammar* followed in 1892, the corresponding *Reader* in the following year, and many special, more technical articles were published in American and foreign periodicals. Of more general interest were his *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran* (1899); the fascinating *Persia, Past and Present* (1906), and *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam* (1911). The latest complete work from his pen is *Researches in Manichaeism* (1932). As founder and editor of *The Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series* he was, either as author or maieutically, responsible for some thirteen volumes.

Professor Jackson's enthusiasm for the cause of Indo-Iranian scholarship was naturally not satisfied by teaching and publication. He was a member and Director of the American Oriental Society for many years, and its President in 1915-1916 and 1929-1930; an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of London; and a member of numerous other learned societies.

Some sixty years ago a Swiss journalist, writing a notice (rather than a review in the stricter sense) of a brilliant book on comparative grammar by a compatriot, at the end of his ecstatic eulogy expressed himself somewhat as follows: "M. de Saussure possède en sa propre personne plusieurs chaos de connaissances." With the important modification that the vast store of Professor Jackson's knowledge was never in the confusion implied by the modern use of the word "chaos," this might be truly said of *him*. Yet there was never a trace of pride about him, or personal vanity, or "push." While still a young man he had become a great scholar; he was by nature and inheritance a great gentleman, and his achievements, instead of developing about him—as so often happens—a hard crust of aloofness, made him even more sympathetic and approachable and kindly—in every way one of the most justly beloved of men. It was an indication of the essential kindness of his nature that he did not choose to write reviews of the work of other scholars. This was the more remarkable because the field of Oriental philology had been so often the battle ground of violent and unseemly quarrels. His great social gifts, far from interfering with his extraordinary industry, made him a favorite among his fellow-men. The opening words of *From Constantinople to the Home of Khayyam* run as follows: "A Charity Ball and a journey to the East seem to have little connection, yet so they had in the case of the third of my four journeys to the Land of the Dawn." The connection was more extensive than is implied in Professor Jackson's words; it illustrates his active participation in human affairs quite outside of academic and scholarly matters, as does also, for example, the fact of his service as Trustee of the Yonkers Public Library and the Board of Education for many years. It was the constant wonder of his friends at Columbia College that along with his intense and unremitting study he could still find time and energy for social activities. He found it not by neglect of his books but by curtailment of his sleep. The prediction was



freely made in those days: "Jackson will not live to middle age." Gradually we came to recognize what an indomitable resolution and nerves of steel and physical courage (as shown in some of his experiences in Asia) lay behind that gracious and polished exterior, an exterior in which the faultless excellence of his dress harmonized so completely with the suavity of his manner. For the harmony was there, unmarred by any harsh or rude note.

Professor Jackson, as student and teacher at Columbia, saw almost two generations come and go, if we let the biologist measure a generation as a century's third. The historian, however, must have respect for the velocity of events. Their speed in a single decade can make the beginning and end of even so brief a period strangers. Great speed too commonly weakens the ability to remember and to carry through the fleeting years a constancy of character and personality which does not lose itself in isolation. The Columbia of fifty-eight years ago and the Columbia of today would not recognize each other if brought unexpectedly face to face by some magic which could annul the calendar. That magic could easily have been the velocity of events were it not for men like Professor Jackson who with a magic of their own walked gayly to and fro among us, growing old with the light of youth still in their eyes, the living memories that unify what we were and what we are. Let his memories for us be our memories of him.

## THE DOCTRINE OF THE BOLOS IN MANICHAEAN ESCHATOLOGY

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[PRELIMINARY NOTE.—This article, which was to have formed part of a projected general account of Manichaeism, was presented by Professor Jackson as a paper at the meeting of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia on April 23, 1925. Marginal notes in pencil and some extra material show that he continued to work on the article from time to time until as late as 1929.—C. J. OGDEN.]

AS STATED above,<sup>1</sup> Mānī conceded that there might remain a certain small element of light so closely mingled with the darkness that it would fail of disjunction through the action of the sun and moon and could be separated only by the universal conflagration, whereupon the cruder mass was to be relegated to oblivion. This conglomerate and undigested mass is referred to in both the Greek and the Syriac texts by the Greek word βῶλος "lump, clod, coagulated mass," and appears in the Latin as *globus* "ball, or globular mass."<sup>2</sup> In the Arabic it is characterized as a portion that is "knotted, or closely knit" (*mun'aqid*). The word by which Mānī designated this coagulation has not thus far been found in the Fragments;<sup>3</sup> but, since the Greek term has been borrowed by the Syriac, and Mānī wrote in Syriac as well as in Persian, it is not impossible that this term may have been the one originally used by himself.<sup>4</sup>

The Acta Archelai (§ 11 and § 13), in the first part of the

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<sup>1</sup> [The reference is to a discussion of Manichaean eschatology, a summary of which was presented by Professor Jackson in his address as President of the American Oriental Society at its meeting in 1930 and published under the title "A Sketch of the Manichaean Doctrine Concerning the Future Life," *JAOS* 50.177-198. See especially pp. 196-197.—C. J. O.]

<sup>2</sup> For an instructive discussion of the Syriac-Greek word, see Burkitt, in *S. Ephraim's Prose Refutations*, translated by Mitchell, Bevan and Burkitt, 2. p. cxxxix.

<sup>3</sup> [A marginal annotation suggests the Turfan Pahlavi word *pārūd* "filtered, strained" as possibly an anticipation of the idea; cf. now Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism* (1932), pp. 47-48, where the suggestion is more fully worked out.—C. J. O.]

<sup>4</sup> The Turfan Pahlavi Fragments are not wholly free from foreign terms, especially if technical.

fourth century A. D., furnishes the earliest recorded mention of this compacted mass ( $\beta\omega\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ ). Thus Turbo quotes Mānī as inveighing against the Prophets whom the Christians recognize and as saying: "If anyone follows their words he dies forever, bound into the 'lump' ( $\beta\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$ ), because he has not learned the knowledge of the Paraclete (Mānī)." <sup>5</sup> And, when Omophorus (Atlas) throws off his burden and the world-conflagration begins, he also "casts away the 'lump' (or mass) in connection with ( $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ) the New Aeon, so that all the souls of the sinners may be bound for ever." <sup>6</sup>

[Alexander of Lycopolis, chap. 3 (ed. Brinkmann, p. 6, lines 13-16). This early fourth century author, when arguing against the Manichaean account of creation, says that according to Manes: "The part of Matter (i. e. Darkness) from which Sun and Moon were separated was cast away outside the Cosmos; and that part is a fire, burning but like unto darkness and without light, resembling night." . . . The concluding clause recognizes also the eternal perdition to which this discarded portion was condemned according to the Manichaean tenets.] <sup>7</sup>

Titus of Bostra (writing between the years 364 and 368 A. D.) quotes Mānī as maintaining, with regard to the souls of the sinful, that "they are to be made fast in the lump (or mass) together with Evil (i. e. the Evil Principle)." <sup>8</sup> Titus refers to it likewise when he cites Mānī's words with reference to the triumph of the Good Principle over Matter, thus: "He (i. e. God) in the end will get the mastery over it (Matter) and, making it into a lump (mass), will cause it to go on being burned of itself." <sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Hegemonius, *Acta Archelai*, 11 (10). 3, ed. Beeson, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 13 (11). 1, ed. Beeson, p. 21. The idea of the souls of the wicked being bound up in this mass will be found also in the quotations that follow.

<sup>7</sup> [The manuscript at this point has merely "add Alexander of Lycopolis," with an extra page containing the reference but not a translation. The section as inserted above is from Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, p. 47.—C. J. O.]

<sup>8</sup> Titus of Bostra, 1. 31 (41), *ἐν τῇ βώλῃ ἐμπαγήσονται ἅμα τῇ κακίᾳ* (ed. Lagarde, Greek text, p. 25, line 18; cf. ed. Basnage, p. 84, Amsterdam, 1725). Compare also Baur, *Das Manichäische Religionssystem*, p. 326, and especially Burkitt, *op. cit.*, 2. p. cxxxix n. 1. See also Alfarié, *L'Évolution intellectuelle de Saint Augustin*, p. 158 n. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Titus of Bostra, 1. 30 (40), *βῶλον ἀπεργασάμενος*; ed. Lagarde, p. 24, lines 30 f.; cf. ed. Basnage, p. 83.

Addendum.<sup>10</sup> Titus of Bostra, 1. 31 (41) (ed. Lagarde, p. 25, lines 24 ff.). "Besides all these things wonder also at that (passage) of his (i. e. Mānī's) where he says that, Darkness being occupied thither (*ἐνταυθοῖ*, i. e. in the Bolos), God in the interval fills up with a mound (*χώραν*) the depth whence Matter raised its head, according to his (Mānī's) most dreadful imaginings, whereas he does not comprehend that what is thrown on—if it should be from the earth of Good, how is there room for it in a place of the opposite sort; if from the quarters of Evil, it will not shut out its own (i. e. the Evil) which has set out from the same place. But, according to the Maniac (Mānī), God is through eternity seated carrying about mounds and little by little filling up certain depths. O the madness of the senseless one, to which it were ridiculous to reply at greater length!"

St. Ephraim (306-373 A. D.), in his Syriac Prose Refutations, adopts the Greek word for this burning mass of defilement when he speaks about the souls of incorrigible sinners as follows:

"How do they (the Manichaeans) say that some of these souls who have sinned much and done much wickedness, have blasphemed much and been guilty of great unbelief, are found like dregs in the midst of that which they call BOLOS? As they say that 'when the Fire dissolves all, within it is collected every thing that is mixed and mingled in created things from the Lights; and those souls who have done much wickedness are assigned to the realm of the Darkness when he (i. e. "Satan" or "Bolos") is tortured.'" <sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> [This citation is contained on an extra page, marked "add (May 6, 1925)."—C. J. O.]

<sup>11</sup> Ephraim, *Prose Refutations*, tr. Mitchell, 1. pp. lxxi-lxxii, combined with the translation by Burkitt, in vol. 2. p. cxxxix of this work (cf. also later, Burkitt, *Religion of the Manichees*, p. 66). Dr. Burkitt's translation departs from that by Mitchell only in certain minor details. I have ventured to combine the two in the version presented above, making some slight changes (chiefly punctuation) in so doing. . . . Regarding "he is tortured" Mitchell renders the pronoun as "he," referring apparently to "Satan," who is mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph; but in his marginal summary (*ad loc.*) he abridges the contents of the paragraph by "How can Light which formerly *pleased* finally *torture* Darkness?" Burkitt (*op. cit.*, 2. p. cxxxix) renders the pronoun by "it" (apparently Darkness).

St. Augustine (400 A.D.), in his writings against the Manichaeans, refers a number of times to this globular mass (*globus*), closely connecting it with the final conflagration. A characteristic passage is found in his *De Haeresibus*, ch. 46. The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and, the Manichaeans maintain:

“Nor will this vice ever be cured in us, as we (Christians) say that it will, but that substance of evil, having been separated from us and shut up apart, when the age is finished after the conflagration of the world, will live on in a sort of globular mass (*in globo quodam*), as in an everlasting prison. To which mass, they affirm, there will ever be added and adhere a sort of covering and coating of souls, good indeed by nature, but which nevertheless could not be cleansed from the contagion of the evil nature.”<sup>12</sup>

In the same manner, in his *De Natura Boni* (ch. 42), Augustine alludes three times to Mānī's doctrine that certain lost souls “are fettered forever in the horrible globular mass of darkness.”<sup>13</sup> Again, when writing his *Epistle in Answer to Secundinus the Manichaean* (ch. 20), he mentions “the eternal punishments of that horrible globular mass.”<sup>14</sup> Moreover, when refuting the blasphemy of Faustus (*Contra Faustum* 2.5), he exclaims: “You even say that Christ is not entirely liberated; but that some ultimate particles of His good and divine nature, which have been so defiled that they cannot be cleansed, are condemned to stay forever in the horrid globular mass of darkness.” Still further (*Contra Faustum*, 13.6), “What has the wretched soul done, that it should be punished by perpetual bondage in the globular mass of darkness?” A moment later (13.18) Augustine scoffs at the Manichaean pious acts “for which you are rewarded by not being condemned to the mass of darkness forever (*in globo aeterno*

<sup>12</sup> Augustine, *De Haeres.* 46 end, ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 42 (8), col. 38 end. Cf. also Baur, p. 328.

<sup>13</sup> Augustine, *De Natura Boni*, ch. 42, *affigi in aeternum globo horribili tenebrarum*, ed. Migne, 42 (8) col. 565.

<sup>14</sup> Augustine, *Epistula contra Secundinum Manichaeum*, ch. 20, *horrendi illius globi aeterna supplicia*, ed. Migne, 42 (8) col. 596; cf. also Baur, p. 330. Alfarié, *op. cit.*, pp. 157 f., “un globe de feu immense,” likewise includes most of these references.

*damnemini*), along with that (part of light) which cannot be extracted." Again arguing against Faustus (21.16) regarding the primordial conflict and the loss suffered by Primal Man in the conflict, he says: "A part of your god was sent to suffer hopeless contamination that there might be a covering for the mass in which the enemy is to be buried forever alive . . . The charge is proved in the case of your god, by that final mass in which his enemies are confined, while his own subjects are involved in it . . . If the issue of this great conflict is that the enemy gets some good by the cessation of hostilities in *Hyle*, while God's own subjects suffer the serious evil of being driven into the mass of darkness, we may ask who has got the victory."<sup>15</sup> Furthermore (32.22) in contrasting the teachings of the Apostles with regard to Christ and those of Mānī, he states: "Manichaeus preaches that God (i.e. Primal Man) immersed himself in the pollution of darkness, and that he will never wholly emerge, but that the part which cannot be purified will be condemned to eternal punishment."<sup>16</sup>

Yet, granting certain of Mānī's premises, he does concede (22.22, middle) that, in the case of wilful sinners, "They might perhaps justly be punished for heinous crimes by that torment of the globular mass";<sup>17</sup> and shortly afterwards (22.22, end) he alludes to this punishment as that of being "doomed to eternal confinement in the mass of darkness."<sup>18</sup> Probably this punishment in the globular mass is referred to likewise in Augustine's Disputation with Felix (*Acta cum Felice*, 2.16), when the Manichaean retorts by an allusion to "the part which has not cleansed itself from the pollution of the race of darkness."<sup>19</sup> One special passage in the Faustus (20.9) deserves particular attention because the *globus* or "globular mass" is directly associated with the end of the world, when the god Splenditenens, who holds the cosmos from above, and Atlas, who aids him from below, give up their tasks and the universal cataclysm ensues. The pas-

<sup>15</sup> Aug. *Contra Faust.* 21. 16, mid. and end.

<sup>16</sup> Aug. *C. F.* 32. 22.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. also Baur, p. 331 n.

<sup>18</sup> Aug. *Contra Faust.* 22. 22, mid. and end, see ed. Migne, 42, col. 414 end, 416 top.

<sup>19</sup> Augustine, *Contra Felicem*, 2. 16, see Baur, pp. 331-332, and cf. Reitzenstein, *Das Mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse*, p. 27 n. 1; Alfarcie, *op. cit.*, p. 158 n. 2.

sage shows the devotion due to Atlas—"the mightiest Atlas who bears it upon his shoulders with him (i. e. Splenditenens), lest that one, becoming weary, cast it all away and thus your story, as in a piece at the theatre, be prevented from coming to the covering up (*catastolium*) of that final globular mass (*ad illius ultimi globi catastolium*)."<sup>20</sup>

Evodius, who was a friend of St. Augustine and corresponded with him, gives similar testimony in his *De Fide Contra Manichaeos*, ch. 5. Evodius presents to the Church Father the Manichaean view as to the fate in the globular mass of darkness awaiting the souls of such as persisted in evil-doing, by stating:

"They will not be able, therefore, to be received into those peaceful realms (of the World of Light), but will be embedded (*configentur*) in the aforesaid horrible globular mass (*in praedicto horribili globo*), over which also guard must be kept.<sup>21</sup> For which reason these same souls will adhere to these things in which they have found delight, being left in this same globular mass of darkness (*in eodem tenebrarum globo*), gaining this (punishment) for themselves by their own deserts."<sup>22</sup>

Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus, writing in Greek, between the years 451 and 458 A. D., against the Manichaean heresy, refers to the Bolos tenet.<sup>23</sup> Theodoret is believed to have had in his hands one of Mānī's own books.<sup>24</sup> [He says:]

"When all the nature of Light is separated from Matter, then, they say, God will give it over to the Fire and make one Mass (Lump, *βῶλον*) of it, and with it also the souls that do not believe in Manes."<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Aug. *Contra Faust.* 20. 9. Cf. also Flügel, *Mani*, p. 222; Baur, p. 80.

<sup>21</sup> In the Petrograd Manichaean Fragment S. 9 a, lines 23-26, demons and fiends keep guard over the soul imprisoned in pollution (TPHl. *nasāh*). Cf. Jn. *Researches in Manichaeism*, p. 79 [published in 1932].

<sup>22</sup> Evodius, *De Fide*, ch. 5, ed. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 42, col. 1141 f.; cf. also Baur, p. 328; Alfarić, *op. cit.*, p. 158 n. 1, 2; Burkitt, *op. cit.*, 2. p. cxxxviii.

<sup>23</sup> Theodoret knew Syriac, and in part of his Ecclesiastical History, at least, seems to have translated from a Syriac original.

<sup>24</sup> Alfarić, *Les Écritures Manichéennes*, 2. 25, like Cumont, accredits Theodoret with the use of Mānī's *Kephalaia*.

<sup>25</sup> Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, 83, col. 380. I owe this reference to a translation of Theodoret's chapter on Mānī made for me by my pupil Mr. Ralph Marcus.

Thus much information regarding the lump, or residue mass, is given by the above-mentioned Christian writers on Manichaeism.

A Later Latin Mention of the Tenet. It is worth adding that a later Latin Christian document preserved in the Library of Milan—and probably based on Augustine's writings—makes mention of this tenet among the Manichaeae heresies to be condemned. This document is recorded by Muratori in his *Anecdota*, 2. 112, in the year 1698, as "a very old fragment" (*fragmentum vetustissimum*), the anathematized sections of which he cites in detail. The eleventh section contains an allusion to "the globular mass of darkness (*tenebrarum globum*)."<sup>26</sup>

The Muhammadan writers show a full recognition of this Manichaeae doctrine in its general bearing, but in an aspect slightly different and perhaps even more exact than that of the Christian writers indicated in the passages quoted above. These sources in Arabic relating to the disentangled, close-knit remnant of darkness that awaits final disposition need only be summarized here in brief. Thus an-Nadīm in the *Fihrist* refers to it as "the knotted portion (*mun'aqid*) of the light which the Sun and the Moon cannot further separate."<sup>27</sup> Shahrastānī makes use of the same terms: "the small knotted portion which the Sun and the Moon cannot purify" until "the light contained in it is freed" by the 1468 years' conflagration.<sup>28</sup> And later still, Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Murtaḍā (of South Arabia) similarly mentions "the knotted portions (plur.), the separation of which is not possible."<sup>29</sup> In each case the final separation is to be effected through the general conflagration at the last day.

The actual Manichaeae Documents can now be turned to, and in two at least of the printed Turfan Pahlavi Fragments we find this doctrine referred to. One of these allusions occurs in M. 470 recto, lines 8-13—the long Fragment which describes the end of the world through the Great Fire. In contrast, as it seems, to the divine light in heaven and earth, which is more easily restored (lines 3-6), there still remains in Hell some luminous fraction to be redeemed at the last, and the text says:

<sup>26</sup> See now W. Bang-Kaup, *Le Muséon*, 38 (1925), p. 54.

<sup>27</sup> See Flügel, *Mani*, tr. p. 90; Kessler, *Mani*, p. 392.

<sup>28</sup> Shahrastānī, Germ. tr. Haarbrücker, 1. p. 289; cf. also Flügel, p. 229.

<sup>29</sup> See Kessler, pp. 348 (text), 353 (Germ. transl.).



"That light<sup>30</sup> in yonder Hell will be drawn out therefrom, will become pure and led up to the Sun and Moon, and will become a God after the essence of the divinity Ōhrmēzd.<sup>31</sup> And they (i. e. the divine powers) will lead it on together from the Sun and the Moon to Paradise (ō *Vahištāv*)."<sup>32</sup>

The implication in this passage would be that all the primordial light is rescued.

The other Turfan Pahlavi Fragment is M. 2, which is thus far available only in a German version by Andreas.<sup>33</sup> The opening paragraph of this piece describes how the Gods make their appearance in the New Realm at the last day. Then immediately follows an extended reference to the portions of light which still remain closely commingled with darkness. As the text itself is not available, we must depend upon the published version, even if some points remain unclear. So far as can be gathered, this Fragment seems

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<sup>30</sup> The word *bā* here certainly appears to mean "light," as derived from the common root Av. *bā-*, Skt. *bhā-* "to shine." It is so taken also by Müller (Mü. *Handschriften-Reste*, 2. p. 20), who translates by "Glanz." On the other hand, Bartholomae (*ZAirwb.* p. 71 n., cf. p. 154, 220) renders, "exinde deus advehetur"; while Salemann (*Manichaica*, 3-4, p. 36) ultimately decided to regard *bā* as a "praeverb." It might be hazardous to compare the phrase *ač-iš bā āzihā[d]* in our text with the fragmentary *ač andar bā āz[ihēd]* in S. 10 a, 5 (Salemann, *op. cit.*, p. 14). [Professor Jackson later changed his opinion regarding *bā* and adopted that of Salemann. In a study of Fragment T III 260 (a text published by Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I*, Berlin, 1932), on which he was working at the time of his death, he had tentatively rendered this passage, M. 470 recto, lines 3-11, as follows: "And that strength and power(?) of this light and goodness of the gods, which in earth's and heaven's entire quarters and (in) *āz* and the demons remained smitten and exhausted(?)—that (strength) through this Gehenna will come forth (*bā*) therefrom, [and] will become pure and to the sun and moon will ascend, and it will become a god in the likeness of Ōhrmizd the divinity."—C. J. O.]

<sup>31</sup> From the *Fihrist* (cf. Flügel, p. 100) we may recall that, in the case of the Elect, the luminous force in the dead body is drawn out, "rises to the sun and becomes a god." So I believe TPhl. *yazd bavād* is here to be interpreted.

<sup>32</sup> Mü. *HR.* 2. p. 20, top and mid.

<sup>33</sup> See Reitzenstein, *Das Mand. Buch*, pp. 26-27. [The complete text of M 2, with a revised translation and notes, has since appeared in Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica III* (Berlin, 1934), pp. 4-8.—C. J. O.]

to distinguish some portions of light that are unredeemable, as differentiated from that fivefold light lost by Ōhrmēzd (Primal Man) in the conflict with darkness, which luminous element is to be recovered. The particular allusions in this Turfan Fragment ("Northern dialect") which bear upon these light-particles in question are here given, the content of the intervening sentences being indicated in the notes.

M. 2 recto, col. 1. "That element of light (Lichtkraft), which is so mixed with darkness that it cannot be separated, has nothing of kindred essence with it.<sup>34</sup> For that reason, it had considered(?) from the beginning, 'What is my creation?' And it was on this account not evoked by them (the Gods?) as of like origin with them. . . .<sup>35</sup> It had the knowledge, 'The original mixture with darkness is in my case a damage and burden so hard to overcome that I cannot be released (lit. unclothed) and separated from darkness' . . .<sup>36</sup> But the Gods will not be sorrowful on account of that little light, which is mixed with the darkness and cannot be separated (therefrom), because sorrow is not characteristic of them. They accordingly remain happy in mood, by reason of the happiness and joy which is theirs by nature, and also because Aḥramēn, together with Hostility (Feindseligkeit = Āz?) has been taken and bound."<sup>37</sup>

This latter Fragment differs in one respect from the preceding which implied, as Mānī himself must have taught, that all the light was finally liberated. As already stated, the present passage makes

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<sup>34</sup> Apparently, of like nature with the light in the New Realm, as may be inferred from the paragraph which directly precedes this.

<sup>35</sup> The few lines which are indicated as omitted here in translation, relate to the fivefold light of Ōhrmēzd (Primal Man), which by his promise is to be released. In their brief content they are to be compared with a fuller passage in the Petrograd Fragment S. 9 a, 31-34; b, 1-30. [See now Jn. *Researches*, pp. 79-81.] Only the text of the petition by the five luminous elements and Ōhrmēzd's promise in M. 2 are thus far printed in Müller's *Hermas-Stelle*, SPAW 51. 1081.

<sup>36</sup> The lines here omitted in translation refer to the faith which the fivefold light elements of Ōhrmēzd have of their own rescue, which the God brings to pass.

<sup>37</sup> Translated after the German version by Andreas, in Reitzenstein, *Das Mand. Buch*, pp. 26-27.

a distinction by conceding that "a small portion of light" failed utterly of release; its foredoomed character appears to be indicated. It may therefore be interesting to speculate whether this latter difference of view may not be due to an early sectarian divergence regarding Mānī's original tenet. In the light of such a suggestion we may recall a statement in an-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (written 987-988 A. D.) which says that the sect of "the Māsīya among the Manichaeans assert that some of the light is still left behind in the darkness."<sup>88</sup> This tinge, at least in the attribution by St. Augustine (*Contra Faustum*, 2.5), appears in the words of Faustus concerning "some small particles of Christ's good and divine nature" which are doomed to "the horrid globular mass of darkness."<sup>89</sup> But enough testimony has been brought forward to prove how fully recognized was Mānī's general dogma concerning a residue of light to be finally disposed of.




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<sup>88</sup> See Flügel, p. 90, and id. p. 242 n. 147; likewise Kessler, p. 393.

<sup>89</sup> See quotation above, p. 228.

# THE PERSONALITY OF MĀNĪ, THE FOUNDER OF MANICHAISM

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[PRELIMINARY NOTE.—Professor Jackson presented this paper by title at the meeting of the American Philological Association, December 27-29, 1928 but it was not published in the *Transactions*, being reserved for "his forthcoming book on Manichaeism," as stated in *TAPA* 59 (1928), p. iv n. 8.—C. J. O.]

IT IS ALWAYS interesting to have some idea of the personality of a famous religious leader, and the purpose of this paper is to throw possible light upon that of Mānī, the founder of Manichaeism in the third century of the Christian era.

With regard to portraiture it is thought that we may perhaps have a representation of Mānī's head in profile on some coins from Characene in southern Mesopotamia, which bear Mandaean legends (one presumed to read "Mānī the appointed of Mithra"), and apparently on a couple of coins of the Kushān king Pērōz (3d cent. A. D.), who was favorably disposed towards Manichaeism.<sup>1</sup> The

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<sup>1</sup> Regarding the Characene coins see the interesting article by M. Lidzbarski, "Die Münzen der Characene," in *Zt. für Numismatik* (1922) 33. 83-96 (with Plate), cf. especially pp. 91-96. In a postscript (p. 96) Lidzbarski refers to an article in *The London Numismatic Chronicle*, 1920, part 2, pp. 122-140, by J. de Morgan, Allotte de la Fuÿe, and G. F. Hill, "Essai de lecture des légendes sémitiques des monnaies characéniennes," dealing with the same coins. Lidzbarski observes that de la Fuÿe reads the name on the reverse of a special coin as "Manu," instead of "Mani," and sees in it the name of an unknown man. [Addendum. After consulting the article in *The London Numismatic Chronicle*, Professor Jackson noted: "I feel that the legend here is to be read MANI.ASTAD.AI.MIHRA, 'Mānī the appointed of Mithra.' The form AI = 'ī is the familiar 'ī, 'of.' The reading and interpretation of *āstād* 'appointed' are assured; both Andreas and Lidzbarski (*op. cit.*, p. 92) reject the idea of *ustād* 'Meister.' For the meaning of *āstād*, compare the Avestan root *ā-stā* 'anstellen, (amtlich) bestellen,' Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1602. We know well the high prestige of Mithra in Manichaeism, including the Turfan Fragments, in one of which (M. 38.1-2 = Müller, *Handschriften-Reste*, 2. p. 77) he is invoked just before Jesus and Mānī.]"

For the name "Mānī" on the reverse side of two Kushān coins of Pērōz, consult O. G. von Wesendonk, "Zum Ursprung des Manichaeismus," in *Ephemerides Orientales*, No. 30, p. 3, September, 1926, publ. by Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig; also idem, *Urmensch und Seele*, p. 116, Hannover, 1924; he refers likewise to Freiman, in *Rocznik Orjent.* vol. 2 (not available).

head on the reproductions of these coins faces to the right and is crowned by rich wavy hair that flows down to the back of the neck; the beard is somewhat pointed, and the straight nose rather handsome. Both Lidzbarski and Wesendonk, and I believe Herzfeld likewise, are inclined to accept the portrait as representing the founder of Manichaeism. I am not enough of a numismatist to give an opinion, but judging from the evidence in favor of it, the attribution seems to be reasonable.

It has furthermore been suggested that we may possibly have a fanciful representation of Mānī on a fragment of a large mural painting which was brought back by A. von Le Coq from Khojo in the Turfan Oasis.<sup>2</sup> The painting, though much broken, portrays the figure of a man of tall stature, his head surrounded by a large halo, made with the sun and moon, the face here being wholly Mongolian in type; while behind him stands a group of figures, male and female, but all much smaller in size. The style of the picture is entirely East-Asiatic, as Le Coq points out, and he himself showed hesitation when he placed in parentheses beneath it, with a question mark, the sub-title "(Porträt des Mani?)." To Lidzbarski (*op. cit.*, p. 95) the attribution seemed very doubtful. While there appears to be no inherent reason against regarding the aureoled figure as a fanciful representation of Mānī, it may be merely the picture of some noted high-priest. Thus much concerning the question of the portraiture of Mānī.<sup>3</sup>

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See furthermore, as important, the noted work by E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, 1. 46-47, cf. pp. 41, 47, Berlin, 1924. Herzfeld is inclined to accept the reading "Mānī," which he says was first recognized by Markoff.

<sup>2</sup> See Le Coq, *Die buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien: Zweiter Teil, Die manichäischen Miniaturen*, Plate 1a, and cf. Text p. 34-36, Berlin, 1923. Cf. also the small reproductions in F. C. Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, Cambridge, 1925, facing pp. 1 and 69.

<sup>3</sup> Designedly I refrain from hazarding a suggestion that we might perhaps seek a representation of Mānī in a small Turfan painting (LeCoq, *op. cit.*, Plate 8b, miniature d, cf. Text p. 61). It represents a human pair, young man and woman, partly naked and both abashed at having been discovered together. Before them threateningly stands a stern person, with staff in the right hand and with the first finger of the left hand raised in reprimand of their guilty act. This menacing chastiser wears a long red garment or coat, with striped undersleeves of a greenish blue hue and belt to match, but the lower part of the figure has been destroyed. While we know Mānī's doctrines and commandments on the subject, we have no story or legend preserved which would help to identify him as represented in the scene. We may therefore best explain the admonishing austere figure as

We may now present a curious description of Mānī's appearance and dress as given in the *Acta Archelai*, chap. 14 (12), by its Christian author, Hegemonius.<sup>4</sup> The passage is familiar to every one interested in Manichaeism, but it is worth while to reproduce it here. The scene is laid in the house of the wealthy Marcellus. He and Bishop Archelaus had already listened to a brief exposition of Mānī's tenets given by his disciple Turbo before the arrival of the Master himself, who made a long journey in order to meet Marcellus and to engage in a disputation with Archelaus, the Christian bishop. The description of Mānī's appearance is quite vivid, and seemingly drawn from life or from tradition.

"On the selfsame day, moreover, Manes (Mānī) arrived, bringing along with him Elect youths and virgins, to the number of twenty-two in all.<sup>5</sup> And first of all he sought Turbo at the house of Marcellus, and when he did not find him there, he went in to pay his respects to Marcellus. On seeing him, Marcellus at first was struck with astonishment at the habiliments of his attire. For he wore a kind of shoe that is wont to be called 'trisole'<sup>6</sup> in common parlance, he had also a parti-colored cloak of a sky-blue<sup>7</sup> appearance as it

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some ecclesiastical judge imposing upon the culprits the Manichaean sentence of reprobation in the case.

<sup>4</sup> See the edition of the Latin text (the Greek being lost from here onward) by C. H. Beeson, *Hegemonius, Acta Archelai*, pp. 22-23, Leipzig, 1906; cf. also the English translation by S. D. F. Salmond, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 6. 186, New York, 1899 (American reprint of the Edinburgh edition).

<sup>5</sup> Salmond (*op. cit.*) notes that the Codex Bobiensis gives the number as *duodecim* "twelve."

<sup>6</sup> Thus the text of Beeson, who records the manuscript variants *quadrisole* C, *tresole* M. Salmond, following the former reading, translates as "quadrisole." The allusion is to the sole of the shoe having three or four lifts of leather. This style of footgear (though not thus exaggerated) may perhaps be illustrated from the shoes in the large broken statue of the Sasanian King Shāhpūr I, near Naksh-i Shapur, in southern Persia; see the drawings by Texier, C. F. M. Texier, *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse, et la Mésopotamie*, Vol. 2, Plates 149, 150, the former of which is reproduced in K. D. Kiash, *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, pp. 60-62, Bombay, 1889. It would probably be fanciful to see, in this allusion to the thickness of Mānī's sole, something relating to the tradition about his being lame, which is discussed below, but the text itself here makes no such mention.

<sup>7</sup> For this meaning of *aërinus* as denoting a bluish color, see the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, Vol. 1, col. 1061, lines 59-60, cf. also *aërius*, col. 1062,

were; in his hand he held a very stout staff of ebony wood; he carried a Babylonian <sup>8</sup> book under his left arm; he also had his legs covered with trousers, each of a different color, the one being red, the other a sort of leek-green color; and his countenance was like that of an elderly Persian physician and war-lord." <sup>9</sup>

Certainly the bizarre color-scheme and fantastic effect of this description lend an element of grotesqueness, which it was probably not without intention to emphasize. In the delineation, however, there may be preserved certain features of truth. With all his religious austerity, Mānī, famed also as a painter and artistic calligrapher (see below), possessed an aesthetic sense for color, as we may judge from the Manichaean miniatures and illuminated manuscript Fragments found in Turfan. The *Acta*, it will be observed, makes no allusion to any physical defect in Mānī, nor do other Christian writers. This leads us to a discussion of the tradition of Mānī's lameness.

Tradition has it that Mānī was lame, according to two passages in the *Fihrist* of an-Nadīm (writing in 987 A. D.). This Arab compiler, whose general accuracy in recording from Manichaean sources is fully recognized, states in the first of these allusions, descriptive of Mānī's boyhood, that "he suffered from a crooked leg" (*aḥnaf ar-rijl*).<sup>10</sup> In a second passage, much farther on, an-Nadīm reverts again to Mānī's lameness in even more precise terms: "some say he was crooked in both legs; it is also said (only) the right leg."<sup>11</sup>

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75 ff., with numerous quotations; also Du Cange, *Gloss. med. et infimae Latinitatis*, Vol. 1, p. 119. The kindred adjective *aërius* in the Vulgate, Esth. 1. 6; 8. 15, is rendered by "sky coloured" in the Douai Version, and by "blue" in the Authorized Version. Perhaps simply "blue" would be a better translation above, since the Persian color for clothing is generally a dark blue, although a lightish blue is also (if somewhat less frequently) worn.

<sup>8</sup> Recall that Mānī, though a Persian by blood, was born in Babylonia.

<sup>9</sup> For *artifex* = *medicus*, see *Thesaurus*, Vol. 2, col. 698, lines 58-76; cf. also Beeson, *op. cit.*, p. 115, 3, with references to other occurrences in the *Acta*.

<sup>10</sup> See Flügel, *Mani* (1862) p. 83, lines 7-8, "litt an einem einwärtsge-drehten Beine"; *ibid.*, text p. 49, line 6 = large edition, *Fihrist*, p. 328, l.

<sup>11</sup> See Flügel, *op. cit.*, tr. p. 100 top, with n. 282, and text p. 69, lines 10-11; cf. *idem*, large ed. *Fihrist*, p. 335, 5. For help in checking up ren-

The explicitness of these two traditional statements seems convincing, despite the attempt of Kessler, *Mani* (1889), pp. 332-333, cf. also p. 383 n. 4, to explain them otherwise. Kessler (p. 333) sought to interpret the Arabic phrase through the medium of a Syriac form, and translates "er war der verruchteste der Männer," repeating in similar manner (p. 383) "dass er der grösste Irrgläubige (Ketzer) unter den Menschen gewesen sei." He did, however, acknowledge (p. 333 mid.) that in this second passage an-Nadīm does refer definitely to the right foot, but he maintains that this was due to the continuation of an old misunderstanding ("Missverständnis"). The incorrectness of Kessler's view was promptly pointed out by Nöldeke, in *ZDMG* (1889) 43. 547, who showed that the proposed rendering and interpretation had no value. With Nöldeke's judgment we may fully agree, and accept an-Nadīm's statement that Mānī was lame in one or in both legs.

This fact leads me to an entirely new point, namely, to reconsider the meaning of the Pahlavi epithet *astak* or *xastak* (as it may be read), which is constantly applied to Mānī in a rather long passage in one of the Sasanian Pahlavi books that anathematize his teachings. The passage in question is found in the *Dēnkart*, 3. 200. 1-13, in a section relating to the so-called "Injunctions of Mānī," which I have translated with comments, in *JRAS* 1924, pp. 213-227.<sup>12</sup> In each successive paragraph the Zoroastrian priestly writer execrates Mānī as a "Fiend" (*druj*), always adding the opprobrious epithet referred to above, in whichever of the two ways the word may be transliterated and accordingly rendered.

I had previously (*op. cit.*, p. 218 n. 2) read and translated the opprobrious designation of Mānī as being *druj astak*, "the Fiend incarnate," giving reasons, which at that time seemed satisfactory, for deciphering the Phl. adjective as *astak* and thus rendering by "incarnate." After studying the whole matter anew, however, my view has changed. I am now inclined to adopt the alternate transliteration (formerly rejected, *op. cit.*, p. 219 top) for the Fiend's epithet and to read it as *xastak*, lit. "broken," cf. NP. *xastan*

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derings from the Arabic I was indebted to my assistant Dr. A. Yohannan (now deceased); later also for help from Dr. N. N. Martinovitch.

<sup>12</sup> [Reprinted, with some additions and a few slight changes, in Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 203-217. See especially p. 209, where the "Postscript, 1930" adopts the view here set forth.—C. J. O.]



"to break" (cf. Av. root *xad-*), this attribute to be given in Mānī's case a more significant interpretation. In the light of what has been adduced above from the Fihrist, the Pahlavi epithet *xastak* throughout the Dēnkart passage means not simply "broken, broken down" or "wounded, sick, infirm,"<sup>13</sup> but is to be more precisely defined as meaning in this case "crippled." Thus the oft-repeated *druj xastak Mānī* is really "the crippled fiend Mānī"—in other words, that devil of a cripple Mānī. The Pahlavi Dēnkart would in this way lend new support to the twice-repeated statement in Arabic by an-Nadīm that Mānī was lame. Recall also the reference in the Acta to the "trisolet," as noted above (n. 6).

If this deduction be correct (as to me it seems), namely, that Mānī was somewhat crippled, it might help towards throwing further light upon his personality, his imaginative and refined nature. We know, of course, that Mānī had the exalted fervor of a religious leader and founder of a faith that was once a rival of Christianity and Zoroastrianism, opposition from which latter led him to suffer a martyr's death as an adjudged heretic. Throughout in his make-up, especially if born with a physical weakness, we can see a peculiar idealism and refinement, combined with rare vision. It has always been recognized that he had a poetic imagination as shown in his cosmogonic fantasies, and also in a few hymnic stanzas that have been preserved. Tradition assigns to him exquisite skill as an artist, so that his name became in Persia a synonym for painter.<sup>14</sup> His master hand as an adapter of a revised alphabet<sup>15</sup> and a presumed pioneer in calligraphy—the latter art being especially cultivated by his followers—all bespeak a highly ideal and creative mind. He cared particularly for music and allowed to his followers the enjoyment of perfumes as something refined. It would not be hard to guess that Mānī's lameness, apparently congenital, may have contributed to his sensitive and spiritual nature, which was above all religiously so creative. Voilà tout!

<sup>13</sup> See West, *SBE.* 37. 278, and cf. J. N. Unvala, in *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, 2. 648 note *e* (lines 1-2), London, 1923.

<sup>14</sup> Full references to Mānī as a painter and to his skill in drawing an absolutely straight line or a perfect circle have been collected, but are reserved for treatment elsewhere. So likewise are further details as to the items mentioned below.

<sup>15</sup> For remarks on Mānī's reformed script see H. H. Schaeder, *Urform u. Fortbildungen des manichäischen Systems*, pp. 147-150, Leipzig, 1927.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

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THE PRODUCTIVE scholarly activity of Professor A. V. Williams Jackson extended over half a century, from 1885 to 1936, and the number of individual books and articles published by him, including articles contributed to encyclopedias, exceeds 350. Despite his wide range of interests, Iranian studies always occupied the position of predominance: Persia, its antiquities, its literature, and its religions, constituted the principal theme throughout, with Manichaeism coming to the fore as a special subject of interest toward the last.

The chief portion of the present bibliography, the range and completeness of which are due to Dr. Jackson's own suggestions and memoranda, was compiled in 1925 and 1926 with a view to inclusion as an appendix in his *Zoroastrian Studies* (originally announced under the title *Zoroastrianism: Studies Old and New*),<sup>1</sup> but the pressure of other tasks prevented its completion and publication at that time. Revised and completed, it is now presented as a last tribute to Professor Jackson from a devoted former pupil.

It seems eminently fitting to make mention here of two publications relating to Dr. Jackson, both of which he valued highly and which he would be loath to see pass into complete oblivion.

In 1900 there was published on the campus of Columbia University, under the title *Imaginary Lectures*, a charming little volume which reprinted, in beautiful format and typography, a number of clever skits on Columbia personages which had appeared serially in the student monthly *The Morningside*. The seventh imaginary lecture was ascribed to Professor Jackson and dealt with the drama and the New York stage in a monologue of delicious absurdity.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the announcement of Volume 12 of the Columbia University Indo-Iranian Series at the end of Pavry's *The Zoroastrian Doctrine of a Future Life*, New York, 1926, where the proposed inclusion of the bibliography is mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Imaginary Lectures, Reported by Walter Satyr, Anne Langdrew, and Walter Lavish Slander . . .*, New York, 1900, pp. 57-63. The lecture, with the picture by Huger Elliott, originally appeared in *The Morningside*, 4, 147-150, in May 1899.

Prefixed to it we find this memorable note by the audacious 'reporter':

Words, mere words, are quite inadequate to do justice here; all the arts together would fail in endeavoring to give perfect expression to a style of lecturing that is as original and inimitable as it is winsome and delightful. Imagine the lecture chanted in sweet, high treble, with that "dying fall" the Duke would fain have heard again,<sup>3</sup> or loosed on the light wings of a melting melody, half laughter and half sigh, and you will come most near to that effect which must remain the joy and the despair of the imitator forever.

In more serious vein are the verses addressed to Professor Jackson a few years earlier by his colleague, the poet and essayist George Edward Woodberry. Written at the poet's home in Beverly, Mass., on September 20, 1895, they appeared in the *Century Magazine* in January of the following year.<sup>4</sup> Especially characteristic are the opening lines and a few near the end.

My Persian, leave the Eternal Fire,  
And leave to read the scented scroll,  
Páhlavi, Pali; nor desire  
Always that glory to unroll,  
Your bright Avesta; day and night  
God did divide with sun and star  
To show that equal in his sight  
Labor and rest, in mortals, are.<sup>5</sup>

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Then shall you go from out the gold  
October to your Star-leaved Book,  
And those gray manuscripts unrolled  
Whereon the learned Parsees look,  
And they forget these changing lights  
Of morn and even, here below;  
To eyes like yours, how must our Heights<sup>6</sup>  
Like God's eternal sunrise show!

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<sup>3</sup> An allusion to the first lines of Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*.—G. C. O. H.

<sup>4</sup> 'To A. V. Williams Jackson . . . on his return from abroad,' *Century Magazine*, 51. 449.

<sup>5</sup> This admonition alludes to Dr. Jackson's habit of working in his study, night after night, until the early hours of the morning.—G. C. O. H.

<sup>6</sup> The reference is to Morningside Heights, where Columbia University had acquired its present site and where the first group of buildings was then being erected.—G. C. O. H.

## ABBREVIATIONS

*AJP* = American Journal of Philology.

*IF* = Indogermanische Forschungen.

*JAOS* = Journal of the American Oriental Society.

*JRAS* = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

*PAPA* = Proceedings of the American Philological Association.

*TAPA* = Transactions of the American Philological Association.

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## SAMANID STUCCO DECORATION FROM NISHAPUR

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

OUR KNOWLEDGE of early Islamic art in Iran has been greatly increased through the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, conducted since 1935 at Nishapur, in the province of Khurasan.<sup>1</sup> The importance of Nishapur for the Islamic culture is well known to every historian. The finds of ceramics and stucco, obtained from these excavations and divided between the Museum of Teheran and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, have established also the importance of Nishapur as one of the great artistic centers of the Islamic world before and during the Seljuk rule. The Nishapur potters created several varieties of fine ceramics unknown in Western parts of Iran. With the help of coins, the earliest of the Nishapur pottery may be dated to the Tahirid period, that is to the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century. These finds add a new chapter to the history of ceramic art in the Near East.

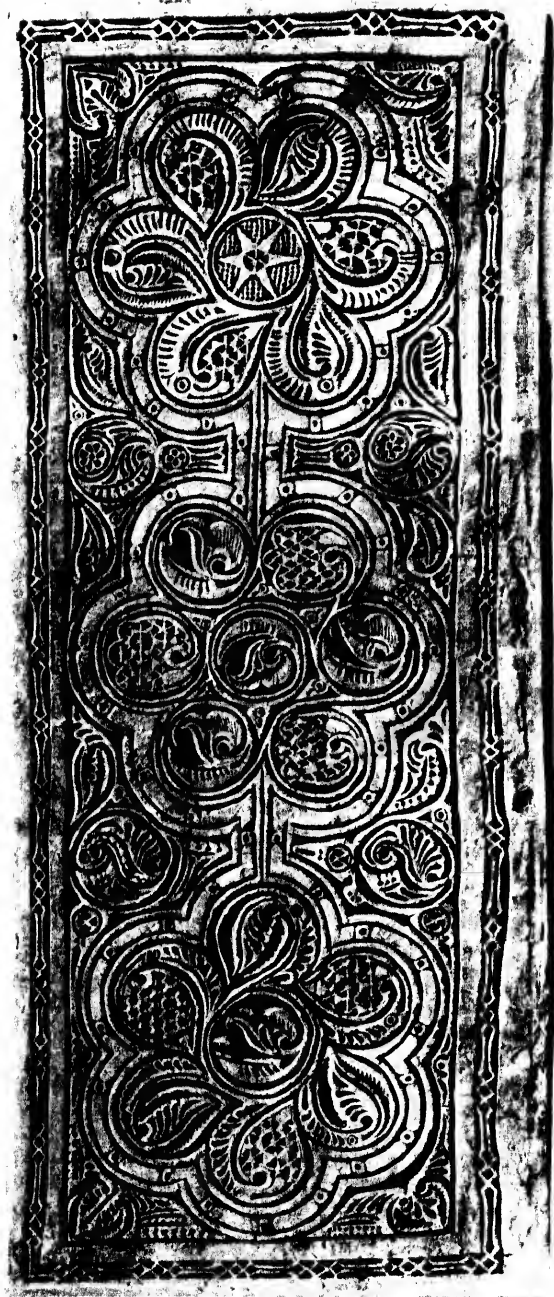
Of equal importance for students of Islamic art is the stucco decoration of Nishapur, with an elaborately carved ornament originally painted in vivid colors such as white, yellow, blue, and red. Most of the stucco panels come from a building, possibly a palace, in the mound Sabz Pushan which also yielded many splendid pieces of early pottery. The most complete stucco panels of Sabz Pushan formed a dado of an iwan or niche on the southwest side of a courtyard. Adjoining the courtyard was a domed room which also had a dado of stucco. Above it was a painted decoration, remains of which were found both in the iwan and the domed room. This decorative scheme, which seems to have been in favor in Nishapur, was already known in the ninth century, for instance in Samarra<sup>2</sup> north of Baghdad, the temporary residence of the Abbasid caliphs.

The finest of the stuccos belonged to the iwan of the courtyard (see figure). They are decorated with palmette scrolls and devices

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<sup>1</sup> "The Persian Expedition, 1933-1934," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, section II, December, 1934; "The Persian Expedition, 1934-1935," *Bulletin*, September, 1936, p. 176; "The Iranian Expedition, 1936," *Bulletin*, section II, October, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, E., *Der Wandschmuck der Bauten von Samarra und seine Ornamentik* (Berlin, 1923); *Die Malereien von Samarra* (Berlin, 1927).



Stucco Panel from Nishapur, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

which in the largest panels, rectangular and square ones, are placed within quatrefoiled or hexafoiled medallions, which were known in Samarra.<sup>3</sup> The abstract character of this ornament, which shows many arabesque features, is evident at first glance. The scrolls are purely geometrical and bear four or six offshoots. They are arranged around a central motive which is either an integral part of the scroll, as in the two right medallions of the illustration, or a separate one in form of a disc as in the third medallion on the extreme right. The offshoots describe either circles (the central medallion of the illustration) or are arranged in a whirl movement (the two outside medallions of the illustration), and end in various palmettes which may be divided into several types. There are half palmettes of the Sasanian type with five or six lobes, and simplified half palmettes without lobes, a type which occurs already at the end of the eighth century in the mimbar of Kairwan.<sup>4</sup> These half palmettes are placed on top of larger ones with a ribbed surface. There are also split palmettes and heart-shaped full palmettes, well known in the early Islamic ornament. Other palmettes are of the trilobed variety or of a composite nature, five of which are seen in the illustrated panel. Here three different motives, a vine leaf overlaid by a half palmette and a comb-like leaf, form a composite palmette which goes back to the Umayyad period. In the early Abbasid era, such composite palmettes became very popular. We find them on the mimbar of Kairwan, which dates from the time of Harun al Raschid (786-808 A. D.), and in the Samarra stuccos.<sup>5</sup> Such palmettes occur also in Iran, for instance in the stucco ornament of the Friday Mosque at Nayin.<sup>6</sup>

The Nishapur stucco decoration shows interesting features which throw a new light on the survival of Iranian animal style in Islamic art. In some of the medallions (the two outside ones of the illustration), the offshoots, instead of being linear, consist of a notched band ending in birds' heads and a palmette which is a continuation of the beak. We have here thus an abbreviated representation of the Sasanian motive of birds holding palmettes in their beaks,

<sup>3</sup> Herzfeld, E., *Der Wandschmuck*, fig. 248, 305.

<sup>4</sup> Dimand, M. S., "Some aspects of Omayyad and early Abbasid Ornament," *Ars Islamica*, vol. IV, 1937, pp. 295-337, figs. 11, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Dimand, *op. cit.*, fig. 10-13; Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck*, fig. 275-278.

<sup>6</sup> Flury, S., "La Mosquée de Nayin," *Syria*, vol. XI, 1930, pp. 43-58, fig. 1, 3-5, pl. X.

known from several silver vessels.<sup>7</sup> Instead of representing complete birds the Muhammadan artist used only the neck and the head, making them a part of geometrical scrolls. The use of animal parts in ornament is peculiar to the Iranians and may be traced back to the Scythian and Luristan metals. We find such combinations of birds and scrollwork also in Samarra,<sup>8</sup> which indicates that the Abbasid art borrowed many decorative forms from Iran. This combination of scrollwork and birds, as seen in the Samanid stuccos of Nishapur, reaches its full height in the Seljuk period. It is a frequent feature of Seljuk silver inlaid bronzes from Iran, Mesopotamia, and Syria. The Nishapur stuccos reveal also the survival of other Sasanian motifs, such as ribbons, worn by birds and animals and used frequently as decorative motifs. In one of the eighth century woodcarvings from Takrit, now in the Metropolitan Museum, such ribbons appear in the traditional Sasanian form.<sup>9</sup> In other cases, as in several marble capitals, in the mimbar of Kairwan, and in Samarra, the ribbons are transformed into triangular lotus-like motives. In this latter form they appear in the Nishapur stuccos, attached to the bird motives or to palmettes (seen in each corner of the illustration).

The Nishapur stucco decoration furnishes us with important material for the history of Islamic art after Samarra, that is of the tenth century. It is the least known period of Islamic art, as many monuments of this period are still underground awaiting the spade of excavators. Pre-Seljuk stucco decoration of Iran is known from the Imam Zadah Karrar at Buzun and the Friday mosque at Nayin. The stuccos of Buzun<sup>10</sup> have been assigned by Smith to the twelfth century because of the date Jumada II, 528 (April 1134 A. D.), which appears in the inscription of the mihrab. The ornament of the mihrab, however, is quite different from the rest of the Buzun stuccos, which I am inclined to date to the early Abbasid period, that is to the beginning of the ninth century. The decorative principles of the vine ornament at Buzun, with the exception of the Seljuk mihrab, are more in the spirit of Umayyad art, which continued in the early Abbasid period and is known from a number

<sup>7</sup> Orbelli, I. et C. Trever, *Orfèvrerie Sasanide* (Leningrad and Moscow, 1935), pl. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Herzfeld, *Der Wandschmuck*, pl. XLII (192), LXX (215), LXXII (215).

<sup>9</sup> Dimand, *op. cit.*, fig. 5.

<sup>10</sup> Smith, Myron B., "Imam Zade Karrar at Buzun," *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, vol. VII, 1935.

of stuccos and woodcarvings.<sup>11</sup> Of the Samarra style there is no trace as yet in Buzun. In the Nayin stucco we find the traditional Umayyad ornament combined with the new Abbasid style. The vine scrolls are more schematically treated than in Buzun. The similarities between Samarra and Nayin might at first induce us to regard them as contemporary. A careful analysis of the Nayin ornament, however, reveals stylistic differences which indicate that they must be later than Samarra and should be assigned, as Flury already suggested, to the beginning of the tenth century.

The stucco decoration of Nishapur is related both to Samarra and Nayin but reveals new decorative principles and motives which represent a later phase of Islamic ornament and permit us to date them to the second half of the tenth century. A tendency towards overelaboration of the surface is characteristic of Nishapur. Frequently, the motives show, instead of the fine lozenge diapers of Samarra, a coarser pattern with triangles or lozenges. This new stylistic feature gives the ornament a certain restlessness, which is quite different from the restrained decorative character of the Samarra stuccos. The Nishapur stuccos are an important link between the Abbasid and Seljuk style of Islamic ornament.

The stylistic evidence for the dating of Nishapur stuccos to the second half of the tenth century is also substantiated by archaeological evidence. As Hauser has shown,<sup>12</sup> the Sabz Pushan building, containing stuccos, belongs to several periods. The building was at first constructed in the second half of the eighth century, under the Tahirids, and then rebuilt in the ninth century. The stucco decoration was added later, that is under the Samanids. Behind one of the stucco carvings in the domed room, the expedition found a painted inscription which formed a part of the pre-Samanid decoration. Coins found at Sabz Pushan permit us to establish a chronology of the buildings and the finds. The stuccos, which belong to the last period of rebuilding, may be dated through the coins to the time between 961-981, when Muhammad ibn Simjur was the governor of Nishapur under the Samanids, Mansur I and Nuh II.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Dimand, *op. cit.*

<sup>12</sup> Hauser, W., "The plaster dado from Sabz Pushan," "The Iranian Expedition, 1936," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, section II, October, 1937, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> A more detailed study of Iranian stuccos, including those of Nishapur, will appear in a future issue of *Ars Islamica*.

## ROME AND (?) ANTIOCH IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

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IN EDITING the Sabhā-parvan (Book 2) for the first critical edition of the Mahābhārata, now being prepared at Poona under the general editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, I have discovered that the true version of the line ii. 1175ed Calc. = ii. 31. 72ab Bomb. contains matter of unusual interest.

The Calc. and Bomb. editions agree on the following version :

*ātavīm ca purīm ramyām yavanānām puram tathā.*

But of the forty to fifty manuscripts collated, only seven have the words *ca purīm ramyām*. And, what is more important, six of these are very inferior manuscripts of the vulgate devanāgarī recension, which my experience (confirming Sukthankar's) has shown to have very minor value for the reconstruction. (The seventh is a ms. of the Kashmirian recension, K<sub>2</sub>, which here has obviously been contaminated from a vulgate source.)

I shall not in this article attempt a full statement of the mss. readings, which will of course be presented when the edition appears. Suffice it to say, first, that the Southern recension, S, has a reading so different that it helps us little, beyond confirming the existence of the line in the original :

*aparam rocamānam ca yatamānam purottamam (v. l. °tame).*

This is practically nonsense; there can be no doubt that the Northern versions come much closer to the original at this point. Except the seven referred to above, they all indicate that after the first word (of three syllables; vulgate *ātavīm*), there followed *caiva*, then an accusative form of two syllables followed by *ca*.

The line occurs in a list of towns conquered by Sahadeva in his *digvijaya*, and it is clear that it named three such towns, all belonging to the western (*yavana*) world: "(He conquered) [City A] and [City B] and likewise the City of the Yavanas." As to the last, there is no doubt of the reading, and equally little in my opinion that the "City of the Yavanas" must mean the same *Yavanapura* referred to in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. In the introduction to his edition of that work, p. 54, Kern conjectured that it meant



Alexandria. This was based on computations of relative longitude, and I do not find Kern's arguments at all compelling. However, the question is of relatively little interest for us here, and I shall not discuss it further.

Returning to the first pāda, let us examine the mss. readings for City B. It contains, as stated, two syllables, placed between *caiva* and the following *ca*. The most valuable testimony is that of the Kashmirian recension, represented by one old Śāradā ms., here called Ś, and four devanāgarī mss. (K<sub>1</sub>, <sub>2</sub>, <sub>3</sub>, <sub>4</sub>). Of the latter, K<sub>2</sub> has been contaminated by the vulgate reading at this point, as I have said above. But Ś, K<sub>1</sub>, and K<sub>4</sub> read *romāṃ*; K<sub>3</sub> reads *romāṃś* [*ca*], and the same is found in two (out of four) Nepalese mss. One D(ewanāgarī, vulgate) ms. reads *rāmāṃ*; *rāmāṃ* is read by two D, five B(engali), two Nepalese, and two Telugu mss. (which belong not to the Southern but to the Northern group of versions); and finally *dāsaṃ* is read by five D, three B, and one Telugu (northern) ms. This completes the list, except for the Southern recension and the vulgate, quoted above. It is obvious that *ramyāṃ* of the vulgate points to a form beginning with *r-*. Note also *rocamānaṃ* of S; absurd as it is, with its initial *ro-* I think it is not rash to count it in support of the Kashmirian reading. Since Sukthankar has proved that the latter is on the whole probably the best Mbh. tradition, I do not hesitate to adopt the reading *romāṃ*. If this is the true reading, it obviously means the city of Rome. The interesting thing is that we find here for the first time in Indian literature the feminine form of the stem, *Romā*, which is just what we should expect, but which has been replaced in the late Indian texts where it has been heretofore found by a neuter *Roma*-(*pura*, etc.).

Incidentally, this is at present the only certain mention of either Rome or the Romans in the Mbh., and is probably the oldest mention of either in Indian literature. (The title of the Romakajātaka is of very doubtful significance; that Jātaka itself does not contain the name in its text, nor do its contents suggest any relation to Rome or the Romans, or any reason for the traditional title.) The only mention previously recorded in the Mbh. is the word *romakān* of ii. 1837 Calc. = ii. 51. 17 Bomb.; but my edition will show that this reading is found only in inferior vulgate mss. and two Bengali mss., and is certainly to be rejected. (The most probable original reading, as it seems to me at present, is *bāhukān*,

with S and most of B; but certainly it was not *romakān* in any event.) Another possible occurrence is in ii. 1850 Calc. = ii. 51. 30 Bomb., where the vulgate has *romaśāḥ* (*śṛṅgino narāḥ*); this reading appears from the collation-sheets to be supported by S and K, and may well be original, although all Bengali and some Southern mss. read *romakāḥ*. Final decision must await a restudy of the original mss. which I expect to make during my approaching visit to India. If *romaśāḥ* is the true reading, of course it means "hairy" and has no bearing on our subject.

Coming to "City A" of the line I am discussing, I have to confess that a solution of its original form is far more difficult. In fact, I offer the following suggestion only with the utmost diffidence, and claim for it no more than that it might, possibly, turn out to be a lucky guess.

Most northern mss. read either *āṭaviṃ* with the Calc. and Bombay editions, or *aṭaviṃ* with short initial *a*. The latter is a Sanskrit word for "forest," and seems clearly a popular mouthing-over of an older form which seemed barbaric to copyists. The form with *a-* is indeed much commoner among the mss. than that with *ā-*. It is read in two K, seven D, five B, and two Telugu (but northern) mss.; *āṭ-* is read only in one K, three B, four D, and one Telugu ms., besides the two editions. Corrupt readings of little value occur as follows: *arambā*, one D ms.; *aṣṭaviṃ*, two D mss.; *surabhīṃś* (intending *ara°*?), one K ms.; *āravīṃ*, changed to *āṭa°*, one D ms. As stated above, all Southern mss. read *aparaṃ*, followed by *rocamānaṃ ca*.

However, the one Śāradā ms. reads *avarīṃ*; and the four Nepalese mss. read *aravīṃ*, which looks as if based on the Ś reading with metathesis (were the scribes thinking of the Arabs?). The ms. Ś, as I said above, is a very valuable text. Note that *aparaṃ* of S looks as if it might go back to something of the same sort.

The proximity of *yavanānāṃ puram*, not to mention *romām*, naturally led me to look to western geography for a possible original form of this word. I could not help thinking of Antioch—*Ἀντιόχεια* on the Orontes; Arabic *Antākiyah*. I find no record in any Indic language of any form of this name, which has been recognized as such. However, Aufrecht, in *Cat. cod. mss. Bodl. (Oxf.)* 338b, reports the city name *Antākṣī*, among barbarian (western) city names; three lines below occurs *Roma* (with short *a*), and on the next page *Romaka*. It seems to me fairly obvious that *Antākṣī*

must intend *Antākhi* (or the like), and that this must mean Antioch. For Greek  $\chi$ , Indic *kh* is normal. It is perhaps not too bold to suggest that the corrupt forms of the Mbh. mss. may go back to a form somewhat resembling *Antākhi*. It is even possible that the ending *-vi(ṃ)* may contain a graphic corruption for *-khi* (possibly also *-ri* of Ś? since both *r* and *v* are easy graphic corruptions for *kh*).

Antioch was founded about 300 B. C. by Seleucus I and named for his father Antiochus. It became the capital and most important city of the Syrian kingdom, and remained, commercially and culturally, the most important city of western Asia down to the time of its destruction by the Persians in 540 A. D. No other city of western Asia would be so likely to have reached the ears of Indians.

If by any chance Kern should turn out to have been right in his guess that Yavanapura (to which our *yavanānām puram* obviously corresponds) indicates Alexandria, and if my conjecture as to Antioch should prove to be a good guess, then this single line of the Mbh. would claim for Sahadeva the conquest of the three most important cities of the Hellenistic-Roman world: Antioch, Rome, and Alexandria.

With the first three syllables doubtful, the line in question is to be reconstructed:

*antākhiṃ (?) caiva romām ca yavanānām puram tathā.*

## THE TENSES OF UGARITIC

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THE DECIPHERMENT of the Ras Shamra alphabet is one of the recent achievements in the field of Oriental studies. Following the completion of this task,<sup>1</sup> the interpretation of the available texts will occupy Semitists for some time to come.

All interpreters, from the very outset, face the intricate problem of the meaning which is to be assigned to the different inflectional types of the verb in the new language. Both types so familiar from the other Semitic languages, *qtl* and *yqtl*, recur. But the student who approaches the Ugaritic epics with West Semitic, or even Hebrew, grammar in mind is startled by the fact that the long narrative passages they contain are for the most part in the "imperfect" (*yqtl*) and sporadically in the "perfect" (*qtl*). Furthermore, he finds the "perfect" (*qtl*) apparently also outside narration.

His amazement results from a wrong attitude. The new language, in spite of its close relationship to Canaanite, must be explained from within itself. The evidence of the texts, when evaluated without prejudice, warrants the conclusion (which in fact has already been drawn by others)<sup>2</sup> that in Ugaritic the theme *yqtl* serves as the preterite in the narration and that *qtl* is limited to

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<sup>1</sup> The most recent sign list is that contained in H. Bauer, *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra* (Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte* 168, 1936) p. 64. The following deviations from Bauer's method of transliteration should be noted: nos. 1, 2, 3 will be read *ā*, *ī*, *ū* respectively; no. 23 will be rendered by *z* (see Albright, *JPOS* 12, 1934, 105 f.); no. 27 by *t* (again with Albright, *JPOS* 12, 1932, 188; cf. also Friedrich, *ZA NF* 7, 1933, 311); no. 29 by *j* (see Baneth, *OLZ* 1932 col. 705; Virolleaud, *Syria* 13, 1932, 125; Ginsberg, *Orient.* 5, 1936, 173).

<sup>2</sup> Baneth, *OLZ* 1932 col. 449; H. Bauer, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra* (1932) 66; Friedrich, *ZA NF* 7 (1933) 312. Albright (*JPOS* 14, 1934, 112 f.)—after some vacillation (*BASOR* 46, 1932, 15 ff. and *JPOS* 12, 1932, 196 ff.)—has so far taken an intermediate position; he regards the perfect as the normal narrative tense, but admits "a much more extended narrative use of the imperfect than in Biblical Hebrew." Most recently (*BASOR* 70 20 ff.) he has revised his standpoint. Cf. furthermore Ginsberg, *Orient.* 5, 1936, 176 (and addendum 181); 7, 1938, 2 f.; Harris, *JAOS* 57, 1937, 152 note 11.

special circumstances. If so, the question arises as to the means by which the idea of the present-future is expressed in Ugaritic. As a result several scholars have already been induced to ask whether there may have existed in Ugaritic, as in Akkadian, by the side of the theme *yaqtul(u)* also the other theme *yaqa(t)tal(u)*.<sup>3</sup> Since the script is purely consonantal, it would be recognizable under special conditions only.

It is the purpose of this paper to clarify the situation by a comprehensive survey of the verbal forms that occur in the Ugaritic texts.<sup>4</sup> It goes without saying that any attempt of this kind is linked intimately to matters of interpretation. Despite the numerous translations<sup>5</sup> that have already been presented, or rather because

<sup>3</sup> Bauer, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra* (1932) 67 f.; *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra* (1936) 67.

<sup>4</sup> The following abbreviations are used for the individual texts, published almost exclusively by Virolleaud:

1929: the texts contained in *Syria* 10 (1929) pl. 61-75.

I AB: "La lutte de Môt . . .," *Syria* 12 (1931) pl. 38-43, p. 193-224; an addition in *Syria* 15 (1934) p. 226-43. The addition has modified the numbering of lines in col. I; where a double numbering exists, the older numbering has been given between brackets.

I \*AB: "La mort de Baal," *Syria* 15 (1934) pl. 39-40, p. 305-36.

II AB: "Un nouveau chant du poème d'Alein-Baal," *Syria* 13 (1932) pl. 25-30, p. 113-63.

III AB: "La révolte de Koser contre Baal," *Syria* 16 (1935) pl. 11, p. 29-45.

IV AB: "'Anat et la génisse," *Syria* 17 (1936) pl. 24, p. 150-73.

V AB: "La déesse 'Anat," *Syria* 17 (1936), p. 335-45; 18 (1937), pl. 16, p. 85-102.

SS: "La naissance des dieux gracieux et beaux," *Syria* 14 (1933) pl. 18-19, p. 128-51.

1934: "Fragments d'un traité Phénicien de thérapeutique hippologique," *Syria* 15 (1934) 75-83.

Sel.: "Proclamation de Seleg . . .," *Syria* 15 (1934) 147-54.

BH: "Les chasses de Baal," *Syria* 16 (1935) pl. 45, p. 247-66.

Nk: "Hymne Phénicien au dieu Nikal et aux déesses Kôsarôt," *Syria* 17 (1936) pl. 25, p. 208-28.

D: *La légende Phénicienne de Danel* (*Mission de Ras-Shamra* I, 1936).

K: *La légende de Keret* (*Mission de Ras-Shamra* II, 1936).

<sup>5</sup> A full bibliography is contained in Bauer's *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte* 71 ff. Add, besides the editions of D and K, the books of L. H. Ginsberg, *כתבי איגרות* (1936), of R. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament* (1936), and of D. Nielsen, *Ras Samra Mythologie und Biblische Theologie* (*Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* XXI 4, 1936). Furthermore, the following additional articles have come

of their existence, it must be emphasized that our knowledge of the new language is still in its beginnings. Easily understood passages alternate with others that defy interpretation. Investigations like the following can, of course, be based only on the passages that are well understood. It is to be hoped that the results thus obtained may help in clarifying the rest. Under these circumstances the evidence which is presented below will be subject to corrections and additions. Nevertheless I trust that, as a whole, it will prove to be sound.

### I. *qtl*

#### A. Connotation

The *qtl* forms which occur in the Ras Shamra texts can be arranged, according to their connotation, in a few definite groups.

The theme *qtl* indicates:

1. A continuous state. Neither beginning nor end is indicated; neither tense nor mood is implied. The state may prevail in the present as well as in the past or the future; it may be real or wished.<sup>6</sup>

The examples I have collected are as follows:

*lrk* "he is long, wide" SS 34.<sup>7</sup>

*dqt* "she is fine" II AB I 42.<sup>8</sup>

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to my knowledge; I AB: Gaster, *JRAS* 1936 225-35; III AB: Dussaud, *Syria* 17 (1936) 102 f.; Gaster, *Iraq* 4 (1937) 22 ff.; IV AB: Dussaud, *Syria* 17 (1936) 283-95; V AB: Albright, *BASOR* 70 19 f.; BH: Montgomery, *JAOS* 56 (1936) 226-31; Dussaud, *RHR* 113 (1936) 5-20; Ginsberg, *JPOS* 16 (1936) 138-49; Nk: Gordon, *BASOR* 65 (1937) 29-33; Gaster, *JRAS* 1938 37-56 and *JBL* 57 (1938) 81-7; D: Montgomery, *JAOS* 56 (1936) 440-5; K. Albright, *BASOR* 63 (1936) 27-32, de Vaux, *RB* 1937 362-72, 526-55.

<sup>6</sup> For the sake of uniformity, in the following list, the present tense is used for translation throughout.

<sup>7</sup> Here as in the following cases the functional difference between *qtl* and *yqtl* is particularly instructive. The form *lrk* precedes *lrk* in SS 33:

*lrk-m yd ll k-ym*

*w-yd ll k-mdb*

*lrk yd ll k-ym*

*w-yd ll k-mdb*

"'El's hand may expand like the sea,  
and 'El's hand like a flood!

'El's hand may be wide like the sea,  
and 'El's hand like a flood!"

The difference between the two forms, which escaped Albright (*JPOS* 14 135 fn. 182), is apparently one of aspect.

<sup>8</sup> *dqt* must be feminine, because the parallel *sknt* is. The masculine form of the subject, *š' ll*, therefore, is surprising. Since the word is confirmed

- hr* "they (fem. dual) are impregnated" SS 51, 56.<sup>9</sup>  
*hwt* "thou (f.) are cunning(?)" IV AB II 20.<sup>10</sup>

by V AB II 32, it must belong to the class of utensils which have feminine gender in spite of their masculine form (Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 1 423).

This passage from the beginning of II AB will be quoted so frequently in the following lines that it seems appropriate to give a full translation. The more so, since its general sense has been missed by Galling (*OLZ* 1936 col. 593-7) and by Gaster (*OLZ* 1936 col. 402), while Albright (*JPOS* 14 114) did not venture any translation and Ginsberg (*Tarbiz* 5 78) gave one in Hebrew only. The structure of the passage has been understood correctly by Harris, *JAOS* 53 116.

- kt il dt 'bt-m* "the smith's work<sup>a</sup> for 'El (was) of a brilliant (kind),  
*kt il nbt b-ksp* the smith's work for 'El (was) overflowing<sup>b</sup> with silver,  
*šmrzt bdm ḥrṣ* it caused the gold to be copious(?) upon it(?).  
*kḥt il nḥt b-ṣr* The throne of 'El sank down<sup>c</sup> under the padded cushions;<sup>d</sup>  
*hdm il d-pršd b-br* the footstool of 'El which ..... of .....  
*n'l il d-qblbl* the shoe of 'El which .....  
*'ln ybl-hm ḥrṣ* in addition gold was poured<sup>e</sup> upon them.  
*tlḥn il d-mlā mnm* The table of 'El which was full of .....<sup>f</sup>  
*dbbm d-msdt ḏrṣ* (was) a ..... of the pillars of the earth.  
*ṣ il <d>dqṭ k-lmr* The mattress<sup>g</sup> of 'El which was fine as a lamb  
*sknt k-hwt ymān* was in good condition like a .... snake  
*d-b-h rāmm l-rbbt* in which (are) buffaloes by ten-thousands."

a: Cf. Hebr. כַּתָּה "forge"; the word is feminine either because it denotes some tool or implement, or (less likely) the feminine *t* has coalesced with the radical *t* of the root. b: Cf. Hebr. נָבַל. c: The final *t* must belong to the root, since *kḥt* is known as a masculine (II AB VI 51). d: Cf. Arab. *waṣṣirun* "gras, replet." e: Cf. Arab. *wabala* "rain heavily." f: perhaps "of everything." g: Cf. Hebr. צִנִּיף "bed."

<sup>9</sup>One wonders why the feminine *t* is missing which is exhibited by the parallel-identical *hmt*. Were this not the case, one could refer to the missing feminine *t* in the examples listed by Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 1 416 f. Perhaps it is simply due to haplography, the sign *r* closing with the horizontal stroke which denotes *t*.

- <sup>10</sup> *hwt ḏḥt wn ḏr[ḏ]* <sup>b</sup> "thou art cunning,<sup>a</sup> my sister!

And I am afraid  
 of the horns of thy strength,<sup>c</sup>  
 Virgin 'Anat! "

<i>hy</i>	"he is alive" I AB III 2, 8, 20.
<i>hyt</i>	"thou art alive" II AB IV 42. <sup>11</sup>
<i>hkm̄t</i>	"thou art wise" II AB IV 41, V 65.
<i>hmt</i>	"they are pregnant" SS 51, 56; II D I 41, 42. <sup>12</sup>
<i>hzt</i>	"thou art fortunate" II AB IV 42. <sup>13</sup>
<i>hlq</i>	"he is lost" I AB I 42 (14), III 1; I *AB VI 10.
<i>hst̄t</i>	"I am in want of . . ." I AB II 17. <sup>14</sup>
<i>tb̄</i>	"he is beautiful" V AB I 20.
<i>lā</i>	"he is glowing" I AB II 25; II AB VIII 22. <sup>15</sup>
<i>lbš</i>	"he is dressed" BH II 47. <sup>16</sup>
<i>lhm</i>	"they are satiated (with food)" II AB VI 55. <sup>17</sup>

a: Cf. Arab. *ḥawā* "be cunning"; the connection with the root "live" (Ginsberg, *Orient.* 7 7) is precluded by the fact that this has a *y* as the middle radical. b: The *ú* is restored, but seems to fit the traces. c: Cf. Virolleaud, *Syria* 17 160; otherwise Dussaud, *ibid.* 288.

<sup>11</sup> The form is noteworthy. The orthography shows that there is a vowel between the *y* of the root and the suffix *-ta*. That is to say *hy* follows the rules which in Hebrew grammar apply to the mediae geminatae (Bergsträsser, *Hebr. Gr.* 2 133 f.; Bauer-Leander, *Hist. Gram. der Hebr. Sprache* 430). In view of Amarna forms like *qatlāti* (Ebeling, *Das Verbum der El-Amarna-Briefe* 56 ff.; Böhl, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe* 46) I vocalize *ḥayyāta*. The long *ā* compares with the corresponding vowel of the Akkadian permissive (otherwise, but hardly correct, P. Haupt apud Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 1 636).

<sup>12</sup> With H. Bauer I restore a *w*- before *hm hmt*; read probably *ḥāma* (inf. absol.) *ḥūmat*. For the meaning see Albright, *Rec. de travaux* 40 71 f. and *JPOS* 14 236 fn. 189.

<sup>13</sup> The meaning has been clarified by Albright, *JPOS* 14 105 fn. 27. The last radical has been absorbed in a diphthong which separates the middle radical from the suffix; read *ḥazēta*.

<sup>14</sup> Agreement seems to be established as to the meaning of the verb. The interpretation as a 1st person may be questioned however. The fact that *hst̄t* is surrounded by clear 1st persons makes me prefer this rendering.—The view of Montgomery (*JAOS* 53 113) that the parallelism enforces an analogous interpretation of *hmlt* (l. 18) also is, in my opinion, erroneous. The sequel *hmlt drš* is so well attested to (I AB I 7 = I \*AB VI 24; II AB VII 52) that it cannot be disrupted.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ginsberg, *JPOS* 14 247.

<sup>16</sup> Contrast I D 205 f.: *t[ʾ] tlbš nps ḡzr* "thou shouldst go in (and) take thy coat, ḡzr!" Cf. also *ibid.* 208 (with 3rd person).

<sup>17</sup> *lhm* outside the perfect means "eat" (Akkad. *la'umum*): I AB VI 41; I \*AB I 20, 24; SS 72; II D I 3, 8 ff., 22; IV D I 6; *Danel* p. 228.



<i>mt</i>	"he is dead" I AB I 6, 41 (13); I *AB VI 9, 23; I D II 91. <sup>18</sup>
<i>mtt</i>	"thou art dead" I *AB V 17. <sup>19</sup>
<i>mlā</i>	"he is full" II AB I 39; IV AB III 8; SS 76; BH II 45. <sup>20</sup>
<i>mlkt</i>	"thou art dominant" SS 7. <sup>21</sup>
<i>mtqt</i>	"she is sweet" SS 50, 55.
<i>nbt</i>	"she is overflowing with . . ." II AB I 32. <sup>22</sup>
<i>sknt</i>	"she is in good condition" II AB I 43. <sup>23</sup>
<i>'z</i>	"he is strong" I AB VI 16 ff. <sup>24</sup>
<i>'lkt</i>	"she is attached" V AB II 11.
<i>ḡmīt</i>	"thou (f.) art thirsty" II AB IV 34.

<sup>18</sup> Contrast II D VI 38:

[ <i>ān</i> ] <i>mt kl āmt</i>	"I shall die a common death,
<i>w-ān mt-m āmt</i>	and I certainly shall die."

<sup>19</sup> The orthography proves that the *t* of the suffix *-ta* is separated from the radical *t* by a vowel; read therefore *mīlāta*. For Hebrew analogies see Bergsträsser, *Hebr. Gram.* 2 § 28 s and compare *mi-ta-ta* EA 87 31.

<sup>20</sup> Contrast V AB II 25 f.:

<i>ymlū lb-h b-šmḥt</i>	"her heart filled with joy."
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<sup>21</sup> The passage reads *šlm tmlk šlm mlkt 'rbm w-ṭnm*. It seems to consist of three *Zweiheber*; thus the assumption seems justified that *mlkt* is parallel to *tmlk*, and that it is a different form of the same verb. I translate therefore: "thou shouldst become king, *šlm*; thou wilt rule *šlm*, . . . . ."

<sup>22</sup> See above fn. 8.

<sup>23</sup> For the context see fn. 8.

<sup>24</sup> The grammatical function of *'z* and *ql* has been well recognized by Harris, *JAOS* 54 82. I scan the passage in a slightly different way:

<i>yt'n k-gmr-m mt</i>	"Mut burned like a hot coal. <sup>a</sup>
<i>'z b'l 'z</i>	Superior proved Ba'l, superior. <sup>b</sup>
<i>yngḥn k-rām-m mt</i>	Mut charged him like a buffalo.
<i>'z b'l 'z</i>	Superior proved Ba'l, superior.
<i>ynṭkn k-bṭn-m mt</i>	Mut bit him like a snake.
<i>'z b'l 'z</i>	Superior proved Ba'l, superior.
<i>ymṣḥn k-lsm-m mt</i>	Mut kicked (?) him like a charger.
<i>ql b'l ql</i>	Inferior proved Ba'l, inferior.

a: For the translation see Albright, *JPOS* 12 204. The verbal form, here as in the following lines, cannot be plural, because the 3rd plural in Ugaritic has the prefix *t*. b: According to Ugaritic syntax the sentence should start with the verb; this also makes it necessary, from a purely grammatical standpoint, to assign *mt* to the preceding line. The resulting sense recommends itself; the passage describes the fight between Mut and Ba'l and motivates the intervention of Šapaš.

<i>pq</i>	"they are satisfied" II AB VI 56.
<i>pršā</i>	"he is . . . . . " II AB I 36. <sup>25</sup>
<i>šhrrt</i>	"she is scorching" I AB II 24; II AB VIII 22; SS 41, 45, 48. <sup>26</sup>
<i>qblbl</i>	"he is . . . . . " II AB I 37. <sup>27</sup>
<i>ql</i>	"he is weak, inferior" I AB VI 21 f.; IV AB III 16 f. <sup>28</sup>
<i>rḥnt</i>	"she is . . . . . " II AB V 67. <sup>29</sup>
<i>rḡbt</i>	"thou (f.) art hungry" II AB IV 33.
<i>šbt</i>	"she is grayhaired" II AB V 66. <sup>30</sup>
<i>štt</i>	"thou (f.) art satiated (with drink)" I *AB I 25. <sup>31</sup>
<i>šty</i>	"they are satiated (with drink)" II AB VI 55.
<i>tmt</i>	"she is complete" SS 67.

As a sub-group expressions for emotions and perceptions may be appended here:

<i>ānh</i>	"he sighs" II D I 18.
<i>yḏ't</i>	"she knows" I D 56.

<sup>25</sup> For the context see fn. 8.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Ginsberg, *JRAS* 1935 56 fn. 6.

<sup>27</sup> For the context see fn. 8; also Ginsberg, *Tarbiz* 5 78 who does not consider, however, the word a verbal form. As to the formation, Obermann rightly reminds me of *qataltal* forms denoting particularly colors; see Bauer-Leander, *Hist. Gram. der Hebr. Sprache* 1 482 f.; J. Barth, *Nominalbildung* § 146.

<sup>28</sup> See above fn. 24.

<sup>29</sup> The word is somewhat doubtful. The autography presents *rḥntt.d* × ., where the two *ts* raise suspicion. Furthermore the second word can hardly be correct, since the parallel line suggests *-k* (pronominal suffix) for the missing sign. The word in question, then, would contain only one radical. If the doubtful spot is disregarded, the passage reads:

<i>l-ḥkmt</i>	"Verily, thou art wise.
<i>šbt dqn-k l-tsr-k</i>	Gray is thy beard at they chin(??)
<i>rḥnt</i> × <i>d-[k]</i> <i>l-ṭrt-k</i>	. . . . . (is) thy . . . . . at thy chest."

One could think of Arab. *raḥuma* "be soft." But the missing word makes verification of this assumption impossible.

<sup>30</sup> See the preceding note. All previous interpretations (cf. most recently Virolleaud, *Danel* 225) have taken *šbt* as a noun and *l-tsr-k* as a verb. This is not cogent, however, since the parallel verse is strictly contradictory.

<sup>31</sup> *šty* outside the perfect means "drink": I AB I 10, VI 43; I \*AB IV 15; II AB III 16, 40, IV 35, V 110, VI 55, 58; SS 6, 72; I D IV 219; IV D I 7; *Danel* p. 228.

<i>yḏ't</i>	"thou (f.) knowest" I D 51, 200. <sup>32</sup>
<i>yḏ't</i>	"I know" III D VI 16. <sup>33</sup>
<i>phn</i>	"he is aware" I AB VI 10. <sup>34</sup>
<i>pht</i>	"I am aware, I have experienced" I AB V 12 ff. <sup>35</sup>
<i>ṣḥq</i>	"he is amused, he laughs" II AB V 87, VII 21; II D VI 22. <sup>36</sup>
<i>šmh</i>	"he is glad, he rejoices" I AB III 14, 20; I *AB II 20; II AB II 28, V 82, 97, VI 35. <sup>37</sup>
<i>šnā</i>	"he hates" II AB III 17.
<i>t't</i>	"he is disgusted" I AB VI 30; I *AB II 7. <sup>38</sup>
<i>yld</i>	"he is born" II D II 14. <sup>39</sup>

The last-mentioned form deserves special notice, since it is apparently an internal passive.<sup>40</sup>

Outside the *qal*, to which belong all the forms that have been quoted so far, the following pertinent forms exist:

<sup>32</sup> It is difficult to decide whether *yḏ't* is feminine of the participle (as Virolleaud suggests) or a finite form. I prefer the latter, because *yḏ't* is separated from its alleged antecedent *pḡt* by an imperative (*ʔl*) in l. 51 and by an imperfect (*tʔl*) in l. 200.

<sup>33</sup> *yḏ't-k* "I know you."

<sup>34</sup> According to the plausible suggestion of Z. Ben-Hajjim (W. Goldmann) apud Ginsberg, *Orient.* 5 181 fn. 1.

<sup>35</sup> See Ginsberg, l. c.

<sup>36</sup> *ṣḥq* denotes a state, but *yṣḥq* an action. Thus, I AB III 16; II AB IV 28; II D II 10:

<i>yprq lṣb w-yṣḥq</i>	"he parted the ..... and started laughing."
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BH I 12 f.:

<i>ʔl yṣḥq bṁ lḥ</i>	"'El laughed in (his) heart
<i>w-ygmṣ bṁ kbḏ</i>	and chuckled in (his) liver."

See also II D VI 41: *tṣḥq 'nt* "'Anat started laughing."

<sup>37</sup> Contrast I AB I 39 (11) *tšmh-ht* "do rejoice!"; *dl tšmh* "don't rejoice!" *Danel* p. 228. Also *yšmh* "he rejoiced" IV AB III 38 and *tšmh* II D II 9.

<sup>38</sup> For meaning and etymon see Ginsberg, *Orient.* 5 170 fn. 1.

<sup>39</sup> The meaning of the sentence *yld bn l-y* is clearly "a son has been born to me." The *agens* is not indicated. The parallel verse *ḥy ʔllyn b'l* (I AB III 20) in identical context makes the interpretation as a perfect virtually certain. I read therefore *yulida* (not *yuladu*).

<sup>40</sup> The internal passive is characteristic for the West Semitic languages and seems to be an innovation there. It is significant that Ugaritic shares this feature.

Ifte'al:

*tšyt* "she is calmed down" V AB II 27.

Šaf'el:<sup>41</sup>

*šb'r* "he is made glowing" II AB IV 16.

*šmrzt* "she is made . . . . . " II AB I 33.

*šnst* "she is made dangling" V AB II 12.

Nif'al:

*nht* "he is made bent" II AB I 34.<sup>42</sup>

*nsb* "he is made around" II AB VI 35.<sup>43</sup>

2. A continuous state in which an acting person is placed by his own action.

Three larger groups may be distinguished within this division:

a. *qtl* which expresses the idea of holding or having something.

The examples are:

*dhđ* "he holds" II AB V 118; <sup>44</sup> VII 9; IV AB II 6; II D I 31.<sup>45</sup>

*dhđt* "she holds" II AB II 3.

*yłt* "they (f. du.) have given birth" SS 53, 60.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup> The šaf'el is, in my opinion, the only means of expressing the idea of the causative. Concerning the whole question see Harris, *JAOS* 58 103-11 who makes the šaf'el the normal causative of this language, but assumes traces of older 'af'el-hif'il forms.

<sup>42</sup> For the context see above fn. 8. For the meaning compare Arab. *ḥāta* "go down, contract, pounce down."

<sup>43</sup> Cf. below fn. 61.

<sup>44</sup> V 113 ff.:

[ḥ]š bht<sup>m</sup> b[n-m]

ḥš rmm ḥk[l-m]

ḥš bht<sup>m</sup> tbn[n]

ḥš trmm ḥk[l-m]

b-ik ḡrrt ḡpn

dlp šd dhđ bt

rōt kmn ḥkl

"Hurry (?), build houses!

Hurry (?), erect a palace!

Hurry (?), houses shall ye build!

Hurry (?), a palace shall ye erect!

Amidst the cliffs of the Šapān

— (by) the 1000 . . . . . — let him have (his) house,

— (by) the 10000 . . . . . — (his) palace! "

<sup>45</sup> Contrast the imperfect *yłhd* (see below p. 302) which denotes the action "catch, seize": I AB II 9, 30, V, 1; II AB VII 35; I D I 9; II D I 35; 1934 obv. 12, 17; *Syria* 17 p. 212; *Danel* p. 224.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Akkadian *māri waldat* "she has born children" CH Xr 28. The "imperfect" implies an action. Thus, SS 51 f., 58 *tqtṇṣn w-tldn* means

<i>lqh</i>	"he has received" I K 159, 163. <sup>47</sup>
<i>lqh</i>	"they have received" RŠ 8280 ( <i>Syria</i> 18 169) 1.
<i>šbyn</i>	"we have captured" III AB 29, 30. <sup>48</sup>
<i>tkmt</i>	"she is bearing on her shoulders" I D 55. <sup>49</sup>
<i>tkmt</i>	"thou (f.) art bearing on thy shoulders" I D 50, 199.
<i>tmh</i>	"he keeps" I K I 30. <sup>50</sup>

b. *qtl* of verbs of movement which expresses a state of rest that results from the movement. The examples are:

<i>ātwt</i>	"she has arrived" II AB IV 32. <sup>51</sup>
<i>bāt</i>	"she has entered" I D 213 f. <sup>52</sup>
<i>ztr</i>	"he has . . . . . " II D I 28, II 17. <sup>53</sup>
<i>yšh</i>	"he has left" III AB 6, 30; I D 75, 78 (twice), 113. <sup>54</sup>
<i>yšāt</i>	"she has left" III D I 36.
<i>l-yrt</i>	"thou shouldst have descended" I *AB I 6. <sup>55</sup>
<i>mğy</i>	"he has arrived" II AB II 22, III 23, V 106; I D 211. <sup>56</sup>

"they knelt down and gave birth"; furthermore I \*AB V 22; IV AB III 2, 21; II D VI 40; Nk 5, 7.

<sup>47</sup> Contrast the imperfect *yqh* "he took": III AB 10; V AB I 16; SS 35 f.; I K 204; I D 145, 184, 217; II D VI 35 f.; III D I 27; *Syria* 17 p. 171 fn. 2.

<sup>48</sup> The *y* suggests a vocalization like *šadiyānu/i*. At any rate the suffix must begin with a vowel. Another example is *šdyn* (see below fn. 96), but there is also *mğny* (below fn. 57).

<sup>49</sup> In parallelism with *ydt*; for the syntax see above fn. 31.

<sup>50</sup> For those who would expect *hss* (II AB I 25) included in this list (cf. Virolleaud, ad loc. and Albright, *JPOS* 16 117 and fn. 59) it must be said that I take the word as a proper name (see Bauer, *OLZ* 1934 col. 245 and Ginsberg, *JRAS* 1935 49).

<sup>51</sup> In parallelism with *mğyt* (see below).

<sup>52</sup> Contrast *w-tbū* "while she entered" I AB I 35 (6); identical II AB IV 23.

<sup>53</sup> The meaning of the verb is unknown; the preceding *b-qdš* in both passages points to a verb of movement. Perhaps it may be compared with the element *zitri* of several Amurritic proper names (Th. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaänder* 81).

<sup>54</sup> Contrast the imperfect *yšt*, *tšt* "he (she) went" I K 85, 87, 100; II D II 9, 44; III D I 24.

<sup>55</sup> Vocalize *yaritta* < \**yarid-ta*. Contrast the imperfect *yrd* etc. "he descended" I AB I 7, 8, 63 (35); I \*AB II 4; I K 36, 171.

<sup>56</sup> Contrast the imperfect *ymğ* (*y*) etc. "he reached" I AB I 59 f. (31 f.); I \*AB VI 28, 30; V AB II 17; BH I 36; I K 108, 210; I D 89, 156, 163, 170; II D II 24, V 25. Contrast particularly *dhṛ mğy ktr w-hss št alp qdm-h mrd* "after K. had arrived, he had a fat ox placed before him"

<i>mğyt</i>	"she has arrived" II AB II 23, III 24, IV 31.
<i>mğt</i>	"I have arrived" I AB II 19.
<i>mğy</i>	"they have arrived" IV D II 6.
<i>mğny</i>	"we have arrived" I *AB VI 5, 8. <sup>57</sup>
<i>mzā-h</i>	"he has reached him" BH II 51. <sup>58</sup>
<i>nht</i>	"he is downed" SS 37. <sup>59</sup>
<i>npl</i>	"he lies fallen" I *AB VI 8, 30; BH II 37, 54 f. <sup>60</sup>
<i>sb</i>	"he has surrounded" II AB VI 34. <sup>61</sup>
<i>sgr</i>	"he has surrounded" I K 96. <sup>62</sup>
<i>'d</i>	"he has come in turn" BH II 46.
<i>'dr</i>	"he has left" II AB VII 7. <sup>63</sup>
<i>'ly</i>	"he is upon" II AB I 24; I K 165. <sup>64</sup>
<i>'rb</i>	"he has entered" I K 159; I D 171; II D II 26; SS 62. <sup>65</sup>
<i>'rbt</i>	"she has entered" Nk 18. <sup>66</sup>

(II AB V 106 f.) on the one hand and *đhr ymğy ktr w-ḥss bd dnll ytnn qāt* . . . . "when K. arrived, he gave the bow in Dan'el's hand" (II D V 25 ff.).

<sup>57</sup> The form calls for a remark, since *šbyn* and *šdyn* make us expect \**mğyn*. It is difficult to say whether the transposition of the *y* is more than a single mistake on the part of the scribe.

<sup>58</sup> Contrast *ymzā* "he reached, found" BH I 37.

<sup>59</sup> In SS 40, 43, 47 the parallelism with *mmnn* favors the interpretation of *nht* as a participle.

<sup>60</sup> Contrast *ypl* "he fell" III AB 5.

<sup>61</sup> VI 31 ff.:

<i>mk b-šb' y[m-m]</i>	"Behold, on the seventh day
<i>tđ lšt b-bhtn</i>	the fire subsided in the house,
<i>n[đl]đt b-hklm</i>	the blaze in the palace.
<i>sb ksp l-rqm</i>	Silver surrounded the joints(?),
<i>ḥrs nsb lbtnt</i>	gold was made around the bricks."

<sup>62</sup> *kl-hm yhd bt-h sgr* "Let all of them be around his house."

The corresponding action, in the second part of the same text, is expressed by the imperfect *ygr* (I K 184).

<sup>63</sup> This is suggested by the parallelism with *tđ* (see below). Cf. Arab. *ğadara* "leave desert," Hebr. עָרַךְ *ni*. "be left behind." For Arab. *ğ* see Brockelmann, *Grundriss* I § 59 ca.

<sup>64</sup> The imperfect *y'l* "he ascended" occurs II D I 15, 39 ("to his bed"); IV D II 4 ("to their chariot").

<sup>65</sup> Contrast the imperfect *y'rb* "he entered" I \*AB III 3.

<sup>66</sup> For the line in question I propose the reading:

<i>l-bt 'rbt b-bht-h</i>	"has the girl entered his house?"
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That is to say, I think that Virolleaud's alleged *m* is in reality *t* followed by the word-divider.

- rkb* "he has mounted, is riding" I K 166.  
*škb* "he has lain down, is lying" I \*AB V 19.<sup>67</sup>  
*tb* "he has returned" II AB VII 8.<sup>68</sup>  
 Ifte'al:  
*tkms* "he lies sunken" BH II 55.<sup>69</sup>

c. *qtl* which, with a different group of verbs of movement, denotes a continuous state of movement after a rest. The examples are:

- ātr* "he gets, keeps following" I K 94 f., 182 f.<sup>70</sup>  
*hlk* "he gets on his way" I K 92, 94, 180, 182.<sup>71</sup>  
*ngt-hm* "he made them dance (on his knees)" BH I 40.<sup>72</sup>  
*ndd* "he gets busy" V AB I 8.<sup>73</sup>  
*l* "he gets started" V AB I 21; I D 208; also II D II 9? <sup>74</sup>  
*'s[t]* "thou getst tramping about" II AB IV 34.<sup>75</sup>  
*qm* "he gets up" V AB I 4, 18; *Syria* 17 211.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Contrast *yškb* "he laid down" I K I 34; II D I 5, 15.

<sup>68</sup> Contrast *ytb* "he returned" I AB VI 12; I \*AB I 9, II 13; II AB VII 42; I K 33; I D IV 181; II D V 6.

<sup>69</sup> Parallel to *npl*; Virolleaud (*Syria* 16 265) compares Akkad. *kaṁṣum*.

<sup>70</sup> *ātr*, parallel to *hlk*, is certainly a verbal form in this passage, so that all speculations based on its identification with the tribe 'Āšer are wasted.

<sup>71</sup> Contrast the imperfect *yłk* etc. "he went, marched" I AB III 7; SS 16; I K 194, 207; I D 152, 157, 165; III D VI 27; IV D II 5.

<sup>72</sup> Akkad. *nagāšum* denotes a continuous irregular movement, "be vagrant, flicker" also (German) "schaukeln" (Jensen, *KB* VI 1 471). The context suggests that Ba'l-Hadd legitimates his children by putting them on his knees.

<sup>73</sup> Note the construction with an asyndetic imperfect and compare the same peculiarity with *l* and *qm*.

<sup>74</sup> It seems that we have to differentiate between *l* and *ly*. The former is construed with the preposition *b-* (cf., besides V AB I 21, also the imperfect forms in I AB I 56 ff.; IV AB III 12 f., 30), the latter with *l-*. But the matter is complicated by the fact that the šaf'el of *ly* is also construed with *b-* (see I AB I 15; I D 185 f., 192). The "perfect" *l* occurs with asyndetic "imperfect" in I D 208 and the same construction seems to be possible after *y'l* (I \*AB IV 20; II D VI 7).

<sup>75</sup> This interpretation follows a suggestion of Th. H. Gaster contained in his treatment of the text in *JRAS* 1934 677 ff. 1935 1 ff. The sentence that begins with *w-* is a hāl sentence.

<sup>76</sup> Here, as with *ndd* and *l*, an asyndetic imperfect follows. The imperfect *yqm* means "he arose" (II AB III 13; IV AB II 17); cf. also I K 34 f.: *w-yškb nhmmt w-yqm gg* "the excitement subsided, and *gg* developed."

- tb'* "he gets moving" II AB IV 19; II D II 39, V 31, 32;  
III D VI 17.<sup>77</sup>
- tb't* "she gets moving(?)" I K 14.
- tb'* "they get moving" I \*AB I 9, II 13.
- ttb'* "he gets moving off" I AB IV 30.<sup>78</sup>
- ttb'* "they get moving off" I K 300.
- tgt* "thou (f.) getst wandering" II AB IV 33.<sup>79</sup>

3. A continuous state which a person has effected by his action with regard to another person or an object.

The examples are:

*gršd* "he has (something) . . . . . " II D I 30, 48, II 3.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> I did not find any imperfect form in the available material. For *ttb'* see next footnote.

<sup>78</sup> The quoted passage reads as follows:

<i>ttb' btl't 'nt</i>	"The Virgin 'Anat started off;
<i>'idk l-ttn pnm</i>	she took the direction
<i>'m nrt l'm špš</i>	to the gods' light Šapaš."

It should be compared with I K 300 ff.:

<i>ttb' mlākm l-yt'b</i>	"The messengers started off on the re-
	turn trip;
<i>'idk pnm l-ytn</i>	they took the direction
<i>'m-m pbl mlk</i>	to Pbl, the king."

The comparison shows that *ttb'* is not a feminine form. If not, it must represent the 'ifte'al.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. fn. 75.

<sup>80</sup> The three quoted passages are closely related to one another. The text in question contains perfect forms in whole sets. This fact makes it advisable to translate in full at least one of the variants (I 26 ff.):

<i>w-ykn bn-h b-bt</i>	"He should establish a son of his in the
	house,
<i>šrš b-qrb hkl-h</i>	an offspring within his palace,
<i>nšb skn l'lb-h</i>	(so that) he has the stela of his divine
	ancestors(?) set up,
<i>b-qdš ztr 'm-h</i>	..... to the temple to him,
<i>l-ārš mššū qtr-h</i>	causing his smoke to come out of the
	earth,
<i>l-pr šmr dtr-h</i>	conserving his trace in the dust;
<i>šbq l'ht nls-h</i>	(so that) he has the records of his
	..... piled up,
<i>gršd 'šy ln-h</i>	has the offerings ..... for him;
<i>[š]šd yd-h b-škrn</i>	(so that) he might hold his hand in a
	drunkenness



- dbh* "he has (something) sacrificed" I K 168.<sup>81</sup>  
*tbbh* "he has (something) slaughtered" II AB VI 40.<sup>82</sup>  
*tbbq* "he has (something) piled up" II D I 29, II 2.<sup>80</sup>

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<i>m'ms-h [k]-šb' yn</i>	that burdens him like 70 wines,
<i>sptu ksm-h bt b'l</i>	.....ing his ..... in Ba'l's house,
<i>[.....]t-h bt u</i>	his ..... in 'El's house;
<i>tḥ gg-h b-ym [šl]t</i>	(so that) he might have his distress
	attended to on the day of despise,
<i>rhš nps-h b-ym rt</i>	have his coat washed on the day of
	....."

<sup>81</sup> This passage also contains a whole set of perfect forms. Its significance rests on the fact that the actions which the perfect indicates as performed have been commanded before in a corresponding set of imperatives (65 ff.).—The imperfect *ydbh* "he sacrificed" is found IV D I 1, 10.

<sup>82</sup> The imperfect *yṭbh* etc. "he slaughtered" occurs I AB I 18, 20; II D II 29. Once more the perfect forms appear in large numbers in the quoted text; I therefore wish to give my interpretation of it (VI 38 ff.):

<i>bht-[h b']l y'db</i>	"Ba'l prepared his houses,
<i>hd 'db [....]t hkl-h</i>	Hadd had the ..... of his palace prepared.
<i>tḥḥ ḏlpṃ [ḏp] šin</i>	He had oxen slaughtered and also sheep,
<i>šql ṭr-m [m]rlḏ</i>	he had a fat bull spitted.
<i>u&lt;m&gt; 'glm ḏ[t] šnt</i>	Rams (and) calves, yearlings,
<i>ṭmr qmš [u]ṭm</i>	sheep he had ..... (and) lambs.
<i>šḥ ḏḥ-h b-bht-h</i>	He had his brother invited to his house,
<i>ḏ[r]y-h b-qrb hkl-h</i>	his friend to his palace;
<i>šḥ šb'm bn ḏṭrt</i>	he had the 70 sons of 'Aṭirat invited.
<i>špq ṭlm krm y[n]</i>	He had the lamb gods satisfied with wine,
<i>špq ṭlht ḥprt [yn]</i>	he had the lamb goddesses satisfied with wine;
<i>špq ṭlm ḏlpṃ y[n]</i>	he had the ox gods satisfied with wine,
<i>špq ṭlht ḏrḥt [yn]</i>	he had the cow goddesses satisfied with wine;
<i>špq ṭlm kḥṭm y[n]</i>	he had the chair gods satisfied with wine,
<i>špq ṭlht ksḏt [yn]</i>	he had the throne goddesses satisfied with wine;
<i>špq ṭlm rḥḏt yn</i>	he had the gods of the ..... satisfied with wine,
<i>špq ṭlht dkr[t yn]</i>	he had the goddesses of the ..... satisfied with wine;
<i>'ḏ ṭḥm šty ṭ[m]</i>	until the gods were satiated with food and drink,
<i>w-pq mrḡṭm ṭḏ[...]</i>	and the sucklings satisfied by the breast ....."

<i>tḥ</i>	"he has (something) attended to" II D I 33, II 6. <sup>80</sup>
<i>yblt</i>	"I have (something) brought, delivered" II AB V 89. <sup>83</sup>
<i>yšq</i>	"he has (something) poured out" I K 164. <sup>84</sup>
<i>mgntm</i>	"ye have (somebody) honored" II AB III 30. <sup>85</sup>
<i>mdl</i>	"he has (some animal) yoked" II AB IV 9. <sup>86</sup>
<i>nšb</i>	"he has (something) set up" II D I 27. <sup>87</sup>

<sup>83</sup> V 87 ff.:

<i>šḥq bilt 'nt</i>	"The Virgin 'Anat was amused,
<i>išḥ gh w-tšḥ</i>	she lifted her voice and said:
<i>tḅšr b'l ḅšrt-k yblt</i>	'Be joyful, Ba'l, I have good news for you!'"

The imperfect *ybl* etc. "he brought" is found II AB I 38, V 77, 79, 93, 100, 102; SS 52.

<sup>84</sup> The perfect is required by the context. Formally *yšq* could be imperfect also ("he poured out") which it actually is I \*AB VI 14; II AB I 26, 27, 28/9, 30; V AB II 31.

<sup>85</sup> The passage (III 23 ff.) is significant because of the change in tense which it exhibits. It reads ('Al'iyan Ba'l is speaking):

<i>ḁḥr mšy ḁllyn b'l</i>	" '..... After 'Al'iyan Ba'l has arrived,
<i>mšyt bilt 'nt</i>	the Virgin 'Anat has arrived,
<i>tmgnn rbt ḁḥrt ym</i>	ye should honor the Lady 'Aḥirat of Sea,
<i>iḡzyn qnyt ḥm</i>	ye should adore the creatress of the gods!'
<i>w-t'n rbt ḁḥrt ym</i>	And the Lady 'Aḥirat of the Sea replied:
<i>ḥk tmgnn rbt ḁḥrt ym</i>	'Why should ye honor the Lady 'Aḥirat of the Sea?
<i>iḡzyn qnyt ḥm</i>	adore the creatress of the gods?
<i>mgntm ḥr ḥl ḁpld</i>	Have the bull honored, 'El ḁpld!
<i>ḥm ḡḫtm ḁny ḁnwṯ</i>	have the begetter of the creatures adored!'
<i>wi'n bilt 'nt</i>	And the Virgin 'Anat replied:
<i>nmgn [...] rbt ḁḥrt ym</i>	'We honored ..... the Lady 'Aḥirat of the Sea,
<i>nḡz&lt;y&gt; qnyt ḥm</i>	we adored the creatress of the gods;
[.....] <i>nmgn ḥwt</i>	..... let us honor him!
[ <i>nḡz</i> ] <i>ḁllyn b'l</i>	let us adore 'Al'iyan Ba'l!'"

<sup>86</sup> For this passage see below in the text.—The corresponding actions are expressed by imperfect forms I D 57 ff.

<sup>87</sup> For the context see fn. 80.—The parallel passage II 16 presents *ḁšb* instead. All the other verbal forms are unchanged however. The context, as far as I can understand, requires a third person. I assume, then, that *ḁšb* is a scribal mistake for *nšb*, the difference between *ḁ* and *n* being minute. The interpretation of the form as a first person in the qal or the

<i>nšā</i>	"he has (something) lifted" I K 167. <sup>88</sup>
<i>ʿdb</i>	"he has (something) established" II AB IV 12, VI 39. <sup>89</sup>
<i>ḡztm</i>	"ye have (somebody) adored" II AB III 31. <sup>90</sup>
<i>ṣḥ</i>	"he has (somebody) invited" II AB VI 44 f. <sup>91</sup>
<i>ṣmd</i>	"he has (some animal) harnessed" II AB IV 9. <sup>92</sup>
<i>qmṣ</i>	"he has (something) . . . . . " II AB VI 43.
<i>qṣ</i>	"they have (something) cut" II AB VI 57; V AB I 8. <sup>93</sup>
<i>rgmt</i>	"I have (something) told" II AB VII 23; III AB 7. <sup>94</sup>
<i>rḥṣ</i>	"he has (something) washed" II D I 34, II 7. <sup>95</sup>
<i>šdyn</i>	"we have (something) directed" I AB IV 42. <sup>96</sup>
<i>št</i>	"he has (something) placed" II AB IV 10. <sup>97</sup>
<i>štt</i>	"he has (something) placed" II AB II 8.
<i>štt</i>	"I have (something) placed" II AB III 14. <sup>98</sup>
<i>št</i>	"they have (something) placed" II AB V 107.
<i>šql</i>	"he has (something) spitted, impaled" II AB VI 41. <sup>99</sup>

'af'el (Harris, *JAOS* 58 107) also meets with serious difficulties arising from its formation. According to the rules established below (p. 303 ff.) both \**āṣṣubu* (qal) and \**ʿaṣṣibu* ('af'el) should be reflected by \**ʿṣb* in Ugaritic.

<sup>88</sup> Contrast *yšā* "he lifted"; with the object *ḡh* "voice" passim with parts of the body IV AB II 10, 13, 26; SS 37, 49, 55; with other objects I AB I 14; I D II 58; I K 99, 187.

<sup>89</sup> See above fn. 82.

<sup>90</sup> See above fn. 85.

<sup>91</sup> The imperfect is very common in the phrase *yšā ḡh w-yṣḥ* "he lifted his voice and said" and its variations.

<sup>92</sup> Contrast the imperfect *yṣmd* "he harnessed" SS 10; I D II 58; IV D II 3.

<sup>93</sup> *b-ḥrb mlḥt qṣ mrd* "with a sharp(?) sword he had a fat (animal) cut."

<sup>94</sup> *l-rgmt l-k l-dllyn b'l* "I have told thee, 'Al'iyan Ba'l,  
*tīdn b'l l-hwt-y* thou canst rely, Ba'l, on my word!"

<sup>95</sup> Contrast the imperfect *yrḥṣ* etc. "he washed" V AB II 32, 34, 38; I K III 151.

<sup>96</sup> Literally "casted"; Aram. *šdā*. Cf. H. Bauer, *OLZ* 1934 col. 242.

<sup>97</sup> Contrast the imperfect *yšt* etc. "he placed" I AB I 15, 17; I \*AB III 11, V 5; II AB IV 14, V 123, 126; VI 8, VII 15; III AB 27; SS 38; Nk 34; I D 10, 59, 67, 74, 112, 126, 140, 167, 206 f., 221; III D I 17, 28, VI 18.

<sup>98</sup> The form is noteworthy. The two *t*'s are comprehensible only on the assumption that a vowel separates them. It is the "separating vowel" found with middle weak roots in Hebrew; cf. above fns. 11 and 19.

<sup>99</sup> For the meaning see Albright, *JPOS* 14 128 fn. 136 a.

*t̄n* "he has (something) repeated" II AB VI 3.

*t̄nt* "I have (something) repeated" III AB 8.

Furthermore, outside the *qal*:

*š'ly* "he has (something) set up, erected" *Syria* 16 p. 178.<sup>100</sup>

*š'lyt* "she has (something) set up, erected" *ibid.* p. 177.<sup>101</sup>

*špq* "he has (somebody) satisfied" II AB VI 46 ff.<sup>102</sup>

*šrd* "he has (something) brought down" I K 169.

It is of the utmost significance to note that the object forms an integral part of the respective phrases. They are exclusively descriptive and focused on what has happened, or is happening, to the affected person or thing.

It is not accidental that such perfects occur in clusters after corresponding imperatives; e. g. II AB IV 3 ff.:

*w-ā[ny l-t̄šh rbt] āt̄rt ym* "And it happened that the Lady  
'Aṭirat of the Sea commanded:

*[mdl 'r] šmd p̄hl* 'Yoke the ass! Harness the stallion.'

*[št gpn̄m dt] ksp* put on the housings(?) of silver  
*dt yr[q nqbn̄m]* of gold the . . . . .!

*'db gpn āt̄nt[-k]* Prepare the housing(?) of thy she-  
asses!'

*yšm' qd[š] w-ām̄r[r]* Qdš w-'Amrr obeyed.

*mdl 'r šmd p̄hl* He had the ass yoked, the stallion  
harnessed;

*št gpn̄m dt ksp* he had the housings(?) of silver  
put on,

*dt yrq nqbn̄m* of gold the . . . . .;

*'db gpn āt̄nt-h* he had the housing(?) of his she-  
asses prepared.

*yhbq qdš w-ām̄rr* Qdš w-'Amrr embraced (and)

*yštn āt̄rt l-bmt 'r* placed 'Aṭirat upon the back of  
the ass;

*l-ysmsmt bmt p̄hl* upon the . . . . . of the back  
of the stallion."

<sup>100</sup> *pgr d-š'ly 'zn l-dgn b'l-h* "a *pgr* which 'zn (male proper name) has set up for Dagān, his lord."

<sup>101</sup> *skn d-š'lyt t̄tryl l-dgn* "a stela which *Tryl* (female proper name) has set up for Dagān."

<sup>102</sup> For the context see above fn. 82.

In this text we have first the command (imperatives), then the fulfillment expressed by a description of the effect it has on the affected objects (*qtl*), and finally the actions which logically follow (*yqtl*).

This use of the *qtl* seems very important. It makes us understand how, in West Semitic, the "perfect" could acquire its familiar connotation, namely that of a past action. The difference between "he has an ass yoked" and "he has yoked an ass, he yoked an ass" is very slight. It is primarily a difference in focus; the former expression is focused on the affected person or thing, the latter on the acting person. But the modification causes the description to become a narration. In this way the aspect shifts easily to a tense.

In a few cases we have apparently to deal with the speaker's state which was brought about by an outside agency or influence. It is the situation in which in Semitic the passive is appropriate. The passages exhibit the further peculiarity that the object precedes the verb.

These passages call for a fuller treatment:

a.) II AB VI 36. Ba'l is selected to become ruler. There is a serious obstacle, however; he has no palace of his own. 'Aṭirat, in a conference with 'El, obtains the order for erecting a house for Ba'l. The task is entrusted to Kuṭar who does the work promptly. The closing lines of the section reads:

*šmḥ ḏllyn b'l*

*<b>ht-y<sup>108</sup> bnt dt ksp*

*hkl-y dt-m ḥrṣ 'dbt*

"'Al'iyyān Ba'l rejoiced:

'Houses I got built that (are) of silver!

a palace that is of gold I got established!'"

In the whole passage Ba'l is never mentioned as the architect, he is inactive. The circumstance that the palace is built for him is characteristic in the situation. The context, then, precludes translating "I have built," "I have established." On the other hand, *bnt* can be nothing else than a 1st person singular, the 3rd person singular feminine being *bnyt*. Taking into consideration the

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<sup>108</sup> The emendation is based on the parallel passage VIII 35.

unusual position of the object,<sup>104</sup> I venture to suggest the vocalization *bunitu/i*, *\*udibtu/i*.

b.) I AB VI 10, 14. During the combat between Mut and Ba'l the latter unexpectedly is assisted by the creation of (seventy) brothers:

<i>bn il-m mt phn</i>	"El's son Mut realized:
<i>āḥym ytn b'l</i>	'Brothers Ba'l has been given!
<i>lḫy bnm ūm-y kly-y</i>	Woe, my mother's sons (will be) my annihilators!'
<i>yṭb 'm b'l šrrt špn</i>	He returned to Ba'l, to the cliffs of the Šapān,
<i>yšū gh w-yšḥ</i>	he lifted his voice and said:
<i>āḥym ytn b'l</i>	'Brothers, Ba'l, thou hast been given!
<i>lḫy bnm ūm-y kly-y</i>	Woe, my mother's sons (will be) my annihilators!'"

The interchange between *ytn* and *ytn* enforces the inference that the construction is personal, i. e. that *āḥym* is the object. Even in this mythical world it is out of the question that Ba'l might give himself brothers who are sons of his (and Mut's) mother. We have to deal, then, with a clear passive; the proper vocalization is *yutina* and *yutintu/i*.

These passive forms, it must be added, have the force of real perfects also and thus differ from the corresponding internal passives of the West Semitic languages. They describe the condition in which Ba'l has been put by the erection of the palace and the creation of brothers.

The above lists exhaust the material as far as it is comprehensible to me. It may well be that progress in the interpretation will add new examples. Such additions will hardly affect the principal result of this investigation which may be formulated as follows: the *qtl* forms of Ugaritic have a descriptive stative connotation.

<sup>104</sup> Perhaps the fact is not entirely irrelevant that in both passages the preceding object *bḫt-y* is not separated from the following word by the word-divider. The end of the word is regularly neglected wherever a close connection exists between two words (prepositions and nouns, conjunctions, nomen regens and genitive). The point cannot be pressed, however, since in example b (below) the word-divider is used.

The use of the Ugaritic *qtl* in group 1 (above p. 268 ff.) has its analogies in Hebrew (Bergsträsser, Gram. 2 § 6g). But it is atypical there, while the normal function of the Hebrew *qtl* is not represented at all in Ugaritic. As a whole, the Ugaritic *qtl*, as far as its function is concerned, may justly be compared with the Akkadian permansive.

### B. Form (vocalization)

The conclusions reached in the preceding section impart an added interest to the question: how should *qtl* be vocalized in Ugaritic?

The purely consonantal writing system of Ugaritic does not indicate as a rule the vowels with which the consonants must be pronounced. The fortunate exceptions are those words which contain the radical alif. It is today a universally acknowledged fact that the alif appears in three different forms which vary with the vowel that follows.<sup>105</sup>

The question concerning the vocalization of the third radical can be settled quickly. Examples like *lā*, *mlā*, *pršā*, *šnā*; *bāt*, *yšā*, *mzā*; *nšā* demonstrate uniformly that an *a* was pronounced after the third radical in the 3rd person of the singular. This means that, in this respect, Ugaritic agrees with the West Semitic languages, both northern and southern, as against Akkadian.

Much more important, but also infinitely more difficult is the question of the vowel which goes with the middle radical. It is a well known fact that the West Semitic perfect exhibits a variation between *a* (chiefly transitive) and *i/u* (chiefly intransitive),<sup>106</sup> while Akkadian shows uniformly *i/u* and always has stative connotation. The question arises: does Ugaritic agree with Akkadian in form also, as it does in function?

The investigator has two lines of approach open. He may examine the roots which contain alif; and he may, furthermore, refer to comparable forms in the related languages.

<sup>105</sup> Albright, *JPOS* 12 205 f.; Friedrich, *ZA NF* 7 305 ff. The variation may be phonetic, expressing three different timbres of the glottal stop. This has been Albright's opinion from the beginning. It also accounts for the fact that in closed syllables the alif may vary according to the preceding vowel, without being affected by Obermann's objection (*JAOS* 56 496) that it is incompatible with the very nature of sounds and syllables in Semitic speech that a consonant imply the preceding vowel.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. particularly J. Joüon, *Mél. de l'Université St.-Joseph* 15 1-32, and previously *Mél. de la Faculté Orientale Beyrouth* 5 356-62.

Unfortunately no verb with alif as middle radical occurs in our list, such verbs being very rare. But, verbs with alif as the third radical also have a bearing on the problem. For, where alif closes the syllable, the variant which is selected indicates the timbre of the glottal stop and thereby, indirectly, the preceding vowel.<sup>107</sup> A case in point is *ġmit* "thou (f.) art thirsty" (list 1) which must be vocalized *ġami'ti*. The vocalization with middle *i*, in this case, is confirmed by all related languages.

The other examples of list 1, all intransitive, can be approached only with the comparative method. But the fact that many of them are represented by *qatila* forms in one or more other Semitic languages<sup>108</sup> makes it virtually certain that in all of them the middle radical is to be vocalized with *i* (in a few of them possibly with *u*); in no case *a* is likely.<sup>109</sup>

As to the subdivision "emotions and perceptions," the remark will suffice that according to common Semitic concepts such verbs do not imply action; they are felt as qualities of the affected person and therefore belong properly to the theme *qati/ula*. The words in this list are frequently found with this vocalization in the related languages.<sup>110</sup>

In list 2 there is likewise no verb with alif; the reconstruction of the vocalism, therefore, depends entirely on the evidence of the related languages. West Semitic, to be sure, vocalizes *'ahada* with middle *a*. But this form denotes "he seized" and not "he holds" as in Ugaritic. Moreover, at least one West Semitic language,

<sup>107</sup> See fn. 105 and Harris, *JAOS* 57 151 ff.

<sup>108</sup> Hebr. אָרַךְ, Akkad. *arik*; Arab. *daqqa*; Akkad. *eriat*, Hebr. חָרַר; Arab. *ḥayya*; Hebr. יָחַם, Arab. *ḥakuma*; Akkad. *ḥaliq*; Hebr. חָסַר, Arab. *ḥasira*; Hebr. לָבַשׁ, Aram. *lbeš*, Arab. *labisa*, Akkad. *labiṣ*; Hebr. יָלַחַם; Hebr. מָלַא, Aram. *mlē*, Arab. *mal'a*, Akkad. *mali*('); Akkad. *matiq*; Hebr. נָעַם, Arab. *na'ima*; Arab. *'azza*; Hebr. נָצַח, Arab. *ṣami'a*, Akkad. *ṣami*('); Arab. *qalla*; Hebr. רָעַב, Arab. *raġiba*; Arab. *tamma*.

<sup>109</sup> An additional remark is in order on the middle weak roots in list 1. Nobody will doubt that *ṭb* should be read *tāba*; cf. Hebr. טָב < \**tāba*, Aram. *tāb*, Arab. *tāba*, Akkad. *tāb*. For *mt* the reading *mēta* is suggested by Hebr. מָת, Aram. *mīt*, Akkad. *mit*, although Arabic presents *māta*; thus presumably also *šēbat*, cf. Hebr. שָׁבַת (1st person) and Akkad. *šibum* "grayhaired, old man." The other cases (*hmt*, *ld*, *nbt*, *pq*) are complicated by the divergence of these verbs in the individual languages. In the present context it is immaterial whether *pū/iqa* should be read or *pāqa*.

<sup>110</sup> Hebr. נָחַם, Arab. *fahima*; Hebr. נָחַק, Aram. *gḥek*; Arab. *ḡahika*; Hebr. נָשַׁח, Akkad. *ṣami/uh*; Hebr. נָשָׂא, Arab. *ṣani'a*; Arab. *ṣati'a*.



namely Aramaic, possesses by the side of *'eḥaḏ* "he seized" the other form *'aḥiḏ* "(he is) holding." It coincides in form as well as in force with Akkadian *aḥiz*. In Ethiopic also a comparable form *'eḥūz* is extant.

In Akkadian the permansive *aḥiz* is a rather common type; also *walḏat* (f. sgl.), *leqī*, *tamiḥ*, directly comparable with Ugaritic forms in the above lists, actually occur. The peculiar meaning of these forms which may best be rendered by "he has"<sup>111</sup> makes inheritance from primitive Semitic virtually certain.

The same is obvious for Aramaic *'aḥiḏ* and its analogues, i. e. *lḥik* and *ḥziq* "holding," *nṣīb* and *qnē* "possessing," *šqil* and *ʔin* "carrying." From an inner-Aramaic point of view the discrepancy between form and connotation is so startling that the standard grammars—following apparently the traditions of the Arameans themselves—declare that these forms are passive participles (this the usual function of *ʔil* in Aramaic) with active force.<sup>112</sup> Such a description fails to explain the form. It is explained, however, when we regard the examples as survivals of an older meaning of *fa'il* that was a stative rather than a passive participle.<sup>113</sup>

Ethiopic *'eḥūz* further strengthens the argument; it is paralleled by *sewūr* "carrying" and both are explained as passive participles with active force.<sup>114</sup>

Thus, the evidence enforces the inference that primitive Semitic possessed a stative *\*'aḥiḏ(a)* "he holds" which even in West Semitic partly survived beside the active (and younger) *\*'aḥaḏa* "he seized." There is no reason for denying its existence in Ugaritic. The form *ahḏ*, then, must be vocalized *'aḥida*.

In Aramaic there exist more of these strange passive participles

<sup>111</sup> See Ungnad, *ZA* 31 277-81 where an excellent characterization of the form is given.

<sup>112</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* § 280; Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.* p. 380 f.; F. Schulthess, *Gram. des christlich paläst. Aram.* § 96; cf. G. Dalman, *Aram. Gram.* p. 283 f. It should be made clear that the forms in question occur exclusively as predicates.

<sup>113</sup> It is by no means surprising that *'aḥiḏ* is inflected as a predicative noun. The scarcity of *fa'il* in Aramaic, and its peculiar meaning, had caused it to be felt as a participle, a fact which resulted in its nominal inflection.

<sup>114</sup> In Ethiopic *fe'ul* is the normal form of the passive participle. For the intransitive connotation cf. particularly Dillmann-Bezold § 108 where among others *ḥemūm* "ill," *ḥezūn* "sad," *melū* "full," *sekūb* "lying" are quoted.

with active force. Another group comprises verbs with the general meaning "put, place"; e. g. *ḥḏīr* and *krīk* "surrounding," *knīš* "having deposited," *šim* "having placed," *smīk* "laying down."<sup>115</sup> This group furnishes a striking parallel to the Ugaritic cases collected in list 3. Again, Akkadian duplicates the parallel. The same line of reasoning can be likewise applied, then, to this group and leads to the conclusion that we have to read in Ugaritic *dabih*, *yabiltu/i*, *naši'a* etc.

With the Ugaritic groups 2b (*ātwt* etc.) and 2c (e. g. *tḅ'*) the situation is more complex. Again we have here Akkadian per-mansives like *waši'at*, *warid*, *elī*, *erib*; *alīk*, *tebī* which can be directly compared with corresponding Ugaritic forms. But the Aramaic evidence is not so strikingly analogous for this group as for the others. I am tempted to compare it with Aramaic formations like 'azzīl and 'attī "having come," *yattīb* "having taken a seat," *qarrib* "having come close," 'arriq "having fled,"<sup>116</sup> all of them derived from verbs of movement and corresponding to the Ugaritic forms as far as function is concerned. The formation, it must be admitted, is not *fa'il* but *fa'il*; but this does not appear to be fatal to the assumption of a very close relationship.<sup>117</sup> Both formations are at least similar in function as in form; and, furthermore, it should be noted that adjectival formations like *dqt*, 'z, *ql*, *tmt* (see list 1) are on the one hand paralleled by Aramaic *daqqīqā*, 'azzīzā, *qallīlā*, *tammīmā* (*fa'ilā* being the most common form of Aramaic adjectives), and, on the other hand, also by Arabic<sup>118</sup> *daqīqun*, 'azīzun, *qalīlun*, *tamīmun*.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>115</sup> See fn. 112.

<sup>116</sup> Th. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.* § 118; Th. Nöldeke, *Mandäische Gram.* § 106; F. Schulthess, *Gram. des christl. paläst. Aram.* § 103; G. Dalman, *Aram. Gram.* p. 162 f.

<sup>117</sup> Nöldeke, l. c., calls *fa'il* the verbal adjective, or perfect participle of intransitive verbs, i. e. the form which corresponds to *f'il* with transitive verbs. Cf. also Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 1 § 154 b.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. also *ḥakīmun*, *ḥasīrun*, *na'imun*, *ẓam'un*, *raḡībun* which compare with the intransitive verbs *ḥakuma*, *ḥasira*, *na'ima*, *ẓami'a*, *raḡiba*, all of them represented by corresponding Ugaritic words in list 1.

<sup>119</sup> The middle weak roots (cf. fn. 109) call for some special remarks. The *bāt* of the list above is certainly to be read *bā'at*, as it is suggested unambiguously by Hebr. בָּאָה and Arab. *bā'at*. Cases like *qm* and *tḅ* are more difficult, since the divergence of the individual languages obscure the common origin. In Hebrew (בָּמָה, בָּמָה) and in Aramaic (*qām*, *qāmt*) we find the vowel *a* uniformly throughout the paradigm; in Ethiopic, how-

Thus the vocalization with middle *i* (i. e. *'atiwat* etc. and *tabi'a* etc.) is also favored by certain circumstances in the groups 2b and 2c, although the result cannot claim the same degree of certainty as in the other groups.

Even if 2b and 2c are excepted (which, in my opinion, is unnecessary), the result obtained reveals that not only in function but also in form (vocalization), Ugaritic *qtl* is substantially closer to the Akkadian permansive than it is to the West Semitic perfect. Thus the inference which in the preceding section was based on a scrutiny of the function of the *qtl*, in the present section, is paralleled by a similar inference with regard to its form.

I do not wish to give the impression that I advocate the separation of Ugaritic from the western group of the Semitic languages. There are enough important features in the Ugaritic *qtl* to preclude this. It can rightly be said that *qtl* is further removed from the predicative noun (adjective) than is the Akkadian permansive, though it is not yet purely verbal to the same extent as the West Semitic *qatala*. It shares with the northern branch of West Semitic the *-t-* suffix of the 1st person singular (*ḥsrt*, *yd't*, *pht*; *mġt*; *štt*) where the Akkadian displays *-āku*. Ugaritic also shares the internal passive which is possibly a West Semitic innovation, no matter how enigmatic its origin may be.

If it is permissible to interpret the situation in terms of history, one may say that Ugaritic reveals an older stage of development, in which the West Semitic *qtl* is still definitely closer to the Akadian permansive in function as well as in form.

## II. *yqtl*

In the preceding section of this paper it has been pointed out that in Ugaritic *qtl* has a stative connotation. It has nothing to do with tenses, and, more specifically, it does not serve as the usual tense in the narration. For this function *yqtl* is generally em-

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ever, this vowel is *ō* throughout ( *šōra*, *šōrka* ). Arabic, on the other hand, exhibits an alternation between *ā* before vocalic suffix and *u* before consonantal suffix ( *qāma*, *qumtu* ).

As far as Ugaritic is concerned, the word *āl* ( I K 88, 178 ) would be of utmost importance, if ( as I am inclined to believe ) it means " it amounts to . . . " ( cf. Arab. *'āla* ). It would prove that Ugaritic, like Ethiopic, employed *ā* ( or *ō* ) in the third person singular also. Unfortunately the interpretation is doubtful.

ployed, as has correctly been stated by Baneth,<sup>120</sup> Bauer,<sup>121</sup> and Friedrich,<sup>122</sup> but denied by others.<sup>123</sup>

Examples are so numerous that a full listing seems useless. It is necessary, however, to draw attention to the usage of the different moods of the theme *yqtl*. They are difficult to recognize because they are expressed by vocalic variations of the 3rd radical. Since the orthography is principally consonantal, clarification can be expected only from a careful study of those classes of verbs which, by vocalic variation of the 3rd radical, are also modified in their consonantal structure. Such classes are a. the tertiae alif,<sup>124</sup> b. the tertiae *y*,<sup>125</sup> c. the mediae geminatae.<sup>126</sup> Only forms of these classes will be treated here.

### 1. Indicative

- a. *tbtu* "he entered" I AB I 35 (7); II AB IV 23.  
*ymltu* "he filled" V AB II 25.  
*yrd*<sup>127</sup> "he feared" I AB VI 30.  
*yštu* "he lifted" I K 99, 187 and passim.  
*tštu* "she lifted" I D 59 and passim.  
*tlūān*<sup>128</sup> "they spoiled(?)" I K 33.  
*ytštu* "he rose" I D 21; II D V 6.

There are two forms which add an *-n* that is hard to explain.

<sup>120</sup> *OLZ* 1932 col. 449.

<sup>121</sup> *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra* (1932) 66.

<sup>122</sup> *ZA NF* 7 (1933) 312.

<sup>123</sup> The essentially different opinion of Albright (*JPOS* 14 112 ff.) will be implicitly criticized in the following presentations. For different views see also Ginsberg, *Orient.* 5 176, 181; 7 3 and Harris, *JAOS* 57 152 fn. 11.

<sup>124</sup> See above fn. 105.

<sup>125</sup> Scheme: *ybn* indicative or subjunctive (i.e. *yabniyu* or *yabniya* respectively); *ybn* apococate (i.e. *yabni*). See Albright, *JPOS* 14 113.

<sup>126</sup> Scheme: *yql* indicative or subjunctive (i.e. *yaqillu* or *yaqilla* respectively); *yql* apococate (i.e. *yaqlil*).

<sup>127</sup> The editio princeps reads *yrd*; this also in Bauer's transliteration (*Die alphab. Keilschrifttexte* p. 47). The parallel passage (see below fn. 129) makes me prefer Ginsberg's reading (*Orient.* 6 197).

<sup>128</sup> The sequence of two different alifs is worth noticing. Similar cases are *yrdān* (see next fn.) and *mrlā* II AB VI 41/2.—As to the prefix *t-* it should be added that *taqtulāni* seems to be the normal form of the 3rd plural (see provisionally Ginsberg, *Orient.* 5 188 fn.).

- yrāṭn* <sup>129</sup> "he feared" I \*AB II 6.  
*ytrūn* <sup>130</sup> "he feared" I \*AB II 22.
- b. *ybkky* "he wept" I K 26; I D 147.  
*tbky* "she wept" I D 34.  
*tbkynh* "she bewailed him" I AB I 16.  
*tgly* "she left" I AB I 34; II AB IV 23; II D VI 48.  
*tdrynn* "she winnowed him" I AB II 32/33.<sup>131</sup>  
*yhdy* "he sent, directed" I \*AB VI 19.  
*thdy* "she directed" I AB I 3.  
*thdy* "she rejoiced" V AB II 24.  
*ydy* "he walked" I \*AB VI 18.  
*td[y]* "she walked" I AB I 2.  
*ymḡy* "he came, he reached; it elapsed" I AB I 60  
 (32); <sup>132</sup> BH I 36; I K 210; II D II 46.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>129</sup> The passage reads as follows:

*yrāṭn ḏllyn b'l* "Al'iyaṇ Ba'l became afraid;  
*ṭt'-nn rkb 'rpt* the rider of the clouds was disgusted."

It must be compared with I AB VI 30 f.:

*yrā bn il<m> mt* "Mut, 'El's son, became afraid;  
*ṭt' ydd il ḡzr* the beloved one of 'El, ḡzr, was dis-  
 gusted."

The word-divider between *ṭt'* and *nn* does not necessitate the positing of a word *nm*; in other places the suffixal cluster is also (e.g. III AB 31) separated by the word-divider from the verbal form to which it is attached. There is, then, no reason to divide *yrāṭn* in *yrā* and *ṭn* against the tablet which, in this case, shows no sign of separation. Ginsberg's experimenting with the alleged words *nn* and *ṭn* (*Orient.* 5 188, cf. 167) is altogether unsatisfactory.

<sup>130</sup> Virolleaud's autograph presents *ytr.ṭn* with a break immediately before the *y* and a point (word-divider) in the indicated place. The context, as far as can be judged from its present state, suggests the reading given in the text; it should be regarded, however, as uncertain.

<sup>131</sup> It is still an unexplained problem why, with verbal forms that attach the pronominal suffix of the 3rd singular, we find sometimes *-n* and *-nn*, in most cases however *-nh*.

<sup>132</sup> I 58 ff. (30 ff.):

*yṭb l-kḫṭ ḏllyn b'l* "He sat down on the throne of 'Al'iyaṇ  
 Ba'l;  
*p'n-h l-tmḡyn ḥdm* his feet indeed reached the footstool,  
*rīš-h l-ymḡy ḏps-h* his head indeed reached its top(?)."

For *mḡy* see above p. 275 f.

<sup>133</sup> *yrḥm ymḡy* "months elapsed."

<i>tmğyn</i>	"they reached" I AB I 59 (31). <sup>134</sup>
<i>tğzy</i>	"she adored" II AB II 11. <sup>135</sup>
<i>ysly</i>	"he heated" I D 39.
<i>tqny</i>	"she created" II D VI 41.
<i>tqry</i>	"she met" V AB II 4.
<i>yşqy</i>	"he gave to drink" II D I 11, 14.
<i>yşqynh</i>	"he gave him to drink" V AB I 9; II D VI 31.
<i>tşqynh</i>	"she gave him to drink" I D 217.
<i>ıştynh</i>	"I drank it" II AB III 16. <sup>136</sup>
<i>ytny</i>	"he repeated" II AB VII 30. <sup>137</sup>

## Pi'el:

<i>ăhwy</i>	"I revealed" II D VI 32; III D I 27 (or present?)
<i>ykly</i>	"he annihilated" III AB 27.

## Šaf'el:

<i>yş'ly</i>	"he brought up" I D 185. <sup>138</sup>
<i>tş'lynh</i>	"she brought him up" I AB I 15.
<i>tşşqy</i>	"she made (them) drink" II D V 29.
<i>tşthwy</i>	"she prostrated herself" I AB I 38 (10), IV 26.

In addition, with an "energetic" -*n* (attached to the indicative?):

<i>ymğyn</i>	"he went" I D 170; II D II 24. <sup>139</sup>
<i>tmğyn</i>	"she went" V AB II 17.
c. <i>ymk</i>	"he subsided" III AB 17. <sup>140</sup>
<i>ymr</i>	"he blessed" II D I 36. <sup>141</sup>
<i>tmrn</i>	"thou blesseth me" I D 195.
<i>yql</i>	"he prostrated himself" III AB 23, 25; <sup>142</sup> IV AB II 18; I D 124, 129.

<sup>134</sup> See fn. 132.

<sup>135</sup> For *ğztm* see above p. 281.

<sup>137</sup> For *tyny* see above p. 282.

<sup>136</sup> For *šty* see above p. 272.

<sup>138</sup> For *ş'ly* see above p. 282.

<sup>139</sup> The context warrants that we deal with singular forms:

*dnll bt-h ymğyn*

"Dan'el went to his house,

*yštql dnll l-hkl-h*

Dan'el proceeded to his palace."

<sup>140</sup> For the context see below p. 297. I take the *l-* which precedes the form as an affirmatory particle corresponding to Akkad. *lū* (see Baneth, *OLZ* 1932 col. 449 f.).

<sup>141</sup> The root is *mrr* as it is demonstrated by I D 194 f. where the proportion *tbrkn* : *brkt* = *tmrn* : *mrri* is obvious.

<sup>142</sup> The meaning in these two passages is apparently "he sank down."

- tql* "she prostrated herself" I AB I 37 (9); II AB IV 25; I D 3, 138, 143.  
*tqln* "they prostrated themselves" I D 109, 115.

In addition, with a suffixed *-n*:

- tmrnn* "they blessed" II D I 25.

## 2. Subjunctive

The existence of a special subjunctive, however probable it may be *a priori*, cannot be proved as yet. One may expect that in the singular it would show a vocalic variation with the 3rd radical—very probably an *-a*—but no such form is known from *tertia alif* where alone a variation of this kind could be expressed in writing.<sup>143</sup> One may also expect pairs of forms which in the singular look like indicatives and in the plural like apocopates; such pairs are likewise unknown.<sup>144</sup> In the three categories which I proposed to treat, the following forms can be listed as subjunctives:

a. No form known.

- b. *ybkky* "(that) he wept" I K 39.  
*ymğy* "(that) he came" II D V 25.<sup>145</sup>  
*yqny* "(that) he created" I D 220(?).  
                     Pi'el:  
*yhwy* "(that) he revealed" II D VI 30.  
*tkly* "(that) thou annihilateth" I \*AB I 2, 28.

c. No examples known.

<sup>143</sup> Albright (*JPOS* 14 113) claims *l-yšd* as such a form. It must be stated, however, that after *l-* the apocopate would be appropriate (see below p. 296). In my opinion *yšd* is a perfect (see above p. 275).

<sup>144</sup> Attention should be called to SS 67 f.:

<i>tmt ʔmn nqpt</i>	"eight years were complete,
<i>'d ʔlm n'mm</i>	since the Gracious Gods
<i>ttlkn šd</i>	roamed the plain,
<i>tšdn pāt mšbr</i>	wandered over the confines of the
	desert."

Here plural forms with *n*-suffix are apparently in a dependent clause. On this evidence alone it would be too hasty to infer that Ugaritic kept the *n*-suffixes in the subjunctive.

<sup>145</sup> In a sentence dependent on *šbr*; for imperfect forms in such clauses see also I AB V 20; Nk 32 f.

It need hardly be said that the subjunctive has its proper place in dependent clauses.

### 3. Apocopate

The existence of an apocopate (this term seems preferable to "jussive," since it is merely descriptive of the form) has first been pointed out by Friedrich (*ZA NF* 7 309 fn. 1) and has since been accepted by all scholars. In the three classes described above the following forms are found:<sup>146</sup>

- a. *yšī* "he shall leave" I K 85, 86, 100; II D II 9, 44(?)<sup>147</sup>  
*tšī* "she shall leave" III D I 24.  
*ymšī* "he shall reach" I AB V 4.  
*ymzā* "he shall find" BH I 37.  
*ymrū* "they shall fatten" II AB VII 50.  
*tšā* "they shall lift" I \*AB II 16; I D 89.<sup>148</sup>  
*ispi* "I will eat(?)" I \*AB I 5.  
*iqnū* "I will jealously watch" SS 21.  
*yqrā* "he shall call" II AB VII 47.  
*iqrā* "I will call" SS 1.  
           Šaf'el:  
*āšši* "I will cause to leave" III AB 2.

Add, with a suffixed -n, possibly to be compared with Hebr. שָׁן<sup>149</sup>:

- tšan* "they shall lift" I K 303.  
*iqrān* "I will call" SS 23.

Outside the plural (*ymrū*, *tšā*, *tšan*) the final vowel (*i*, *ū* and *ā* occur) indicates the timbre of the alif and thus indirectly the preceding vowel.

- b. *yīp* "he shall bake" I K 83.  
*ibā* "I shall praise" Nk 1, 37/8.  
*tšk* "she shall weep" III D I 39.  
*ymǧ* "he shall go" I D 156, 163.  
*tmǧ* "she shall go" I AB VI 28.  
*y'n* "he shall answer" I AB I 49 (21) and passim.<sup>149</sup>

<sup>146</sup> For the sake of uniformity the apocopate is translated, throughout the following list, as if it were used with the force of a jussive.

<sup>147</sup> For *yšā* see above p. 275.

<sup>148</sup> For *nšā* see above p. 281.

<sup>149</sup> Most cases show the form after *w* "and then" (see below group 5). In three cases of this combination, namely I AB II 13; II AB VI 7; III



<i>t'n</i>	"she shall answer" I AB I 47 (19) and passim. <sup>150</sup>
<i>tšqyn</i>	"thou shalt give me to drink" I D 215.
<i>yšt</i>	"he shall drink" I D 219.
<i>tšt</i>	"thou shalt drink" I AB VI 43.
<i>nšt</i>	"let us drink" SS 72.
<i>itt</i>	"I shall . . . . . ." I K 201. <sup>151</sup>

Passive.

<i>ybn</i>	"it shall be built" II AB IV 62. <sup>152</sup>
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Pi'el:

<i>ahw</i>	"I will keep (him) alive(?)" I D 16.
<i>tkl</i>	"thou shalt annihilate" I D 202.
<i>akl</i>	"I will annihilate" I AB V 24.
<i>tkly</i>	"they shall annihilate" I AB II 36. <sup>153</sup>

AB 7, the text offers 'n, probably by mistake. In three other cases *y'n* lacks the preceding *w*: II AB III 10; V AB I 23; I K 21 f. Once *w-y'ny* is found: IV AB III 5. Finally, in two cases, the short form *y'n* is preceded by the subject which usually follows: I \*AB I 26; I D I 12.—Ginsberg, *Orient.* 5 176 thinks that the root is 'nw, and he explains *y'n* as *ya'anū*, but the plural form *t'nyn* (IV AB II 3; SS 12) is contradictory; cf. furthermore Rahlfs, 'נַי and נַי in den Psalmen.

<sup>150</sup> Here too numerous examples after *w*- exist; in one additional passage *t'n* is after *l*- (V AB I 15), and in two others after *k*- (II AB II 14, 27).

<sup>151</sup> The passage, in my opinion, contains a vow:

<i>i itt dīrt šrm</i>	"How can I . . . . . the 'Aṭirat of . . .
<i>w-ilt šdynm</i>	and the 'Elat of . . . . . ?
<i>hm hry bt-y lqh</i>	If I take the lass into my house,
<i>āš'rb ḡlmt hẓr-y</i>	make the girl enter into my court,
<i>tn-h ksp-m ātn</i>	double her (weight) in silver I will
	give,
<i>w-ilt-h hrš-m</i>	and three times her (weight) in
	gold! "

<sup>152</sup> IV 61 ff.:

<i>hm amt dīrt tlbn lbnt</i>	"If the maid 'Aṭirat moulds bricks,
<i>ybn bt l-b'l km il-m</i>	a house shall be built for Ba'l as
	for 'El,
<i>w-hẓr k-bn dīrt</i>	a temenos as for the sons of 'Aṭirat."

<sup>153</sup> *štr-h l-tlkl 'šrm* "so that the birds might eat his flesh,  
*mnt-h l-tkly npr* the . . . . . might annihilate his  
limbs (?)."

The noun *npr*, being in parallelism to *'šrm*, must be taken as a collective and conditions the plural of the verb.

*ypt* "he shall seduce" SS 39.

Šafel:

*yššq* "he shall give to drink" II D II 30/1, 33, 35, 38.

Add, with a suffixed *-n*, perhaps to be compared with Hebr. שָׁפַע:

*tbnn* "she(?) shall build" II AB V 115, VI 16.

*tmğyn* "they shall come" I D 89.

c. *ytl* "he shall . . . . ." I D 41.

*tğl* "thou shalt enter" I D 156.

*trmm* "she(?) shall find" II AB VI 17.

The apocopate is used under the following conditions:

1. With the force of a jussive. This is the normal employment of the form. Such occurrences of the above list as do not recur under the following headings belong here.

2. After *l-* that emphasizes the jussive force (cf. Arab. *li-*): *l-ymrū*; *l-ūššt*; *l-t'n* (see fn. 150); *l-tšt*; *l-āḥw*; *l-ikly*.

3. After *āl*, the prohibitive negation: *āl tš'l*.

4. After *k-* "verily" (cf. Hebr. 'פ): *k-t'n*; *k-ypt*.

5. After *w-* "and so, and then": *w-yšt*; *w-ymzā*; *w-tbk*; *w-tr*; *w-y'n*; *w-t'n*; *w-yššq*.<sup>154</sup>

Our discussion, so far, has not yet touched upon the question of how the idea of the present was expressed in Ugaritic. It can be said, at this early stage, that neither *qatila* nor *yaqtulu* (and its moods) could have served for such a purpose. Precisely for this reason the existence of the theme *yaqa(t)tal(u)* has been surmised. There have been quoted cases like *mh tāršn* "what do you (f. sg.) want?" (I AB II 14) and *k-yrš* (1934 rev. 1) where the alif with the inherent *a* seems to indicate vocalization of the first radical with *a*.<sup>155</sup>

The problem must be dealt with on a broader basis, however, if it is really to be clarified. I propose here to approach it from several angles. The following four arguments will be set forth:

<sup>154</sup> From the standpoint of Hebrew grammar this type of apocopate may be described as "imperfectum consecutivum."

<sup>155</sup> H. Bauer, *Die alphabetischen Keilschrifttexte von Ras Schamra* 67.

1. Where the *n* of the verba primae *nūn* is preserved, *yaqa(t)-talu* is indicated.

2. The *yaqtulu* of verba primae *alif* begins with *yī-* etc.; where *yā-* etc. is found, we deal with *yaqa(t)talu*.

3. The first person singular (*āqtulu*) of the *qal*, wherever the first two radicals are strong, begins with *t-*; where in such forms, *a-* is found, the corresponding form of *yaqa(t)talu* must be assumed.

4. Forms of the type *yqll* (*qal* of verba mediae geminatae) which are not apocopate,<sup>156</sup> must be interpreted as present-future.

### 1. Verba primae *nūn*

The *nūn* is preserved in the following forms that may be contrasted at once with the corresponding forms which have assimilated it.

- |                 |               |            |            |              |         |
|-----------------|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|---------|
| a. <i>tnḡšn</i> | III AB 17, 26 | as against | <i>tḡš</i> | II AB II 19. |         |
| b. <i>ynp'</i>  | I D 65        | "          | <i>yp'</i> | I D 65.      |         |
|                 | <i>tnp'</i>   | I D 72     | "          | <i>tp'</i>   | I D 72. |
| c. <i>tnlkn</i> | I K 28        | "          | <i>ytk</i> | I D 82.      |         |

Since the argument depends on details of interpretation, a fuller treatment of the respective passages is indispensable.

a. *nḡš*. The *n* is preserved in the following passages:

III AB 17 f.:

'z *ym l-ymk*  
*l-tnḡšn pnt-h*  
*l-ydlp tmn-h*

"The force of the sea subsided indeed.  
 its crests <sup>157</sup> verily heave; <sup>158</sup>  
 its southern breeze (?) <sup>159</sup> moves  
 gently (?)".<sup>160</sup>

<sup>156</sup> See above fn. 126.

<sup>157</sup> So according to Virolleaud's interpretation which is based on the comparison with Hebr. *נָנַח*

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Arab. *naḡaḡa* "shake, totter, wag." The context seems to indicate that the movement of the sea became fairly gentle and smooth.

<sup>159</sup> This rendering is rather uncertain. Compare however Hebr. (poetic) *יָנַח* "southern breeze."

<sup>160</sup> In Hebrew and Aramaic the root *dlp* means "drip," in Akkadian however "to be restless" (implying wandering up and down) (see Meissner, *Beitr. zum assyr. Wörterbuch* 1 40 f; Landsberger, *ZA NF* 7 221 f.). The basic idea seems to be the intermittent rhythmical movement.

## III AB 25 f.:

<i>yprsh ym</i>	"The sea became calm, <sup>161</sup>
<i>yqll-ars</i>	it settled to the earth.
<i>tnḡšn pnt-h</i>	its crests heave,
<i>w-ydlp tmn-h</i>	and its southern breeze (?) moves gently(?)."

The theory may be tempting that *tnḡšn* is a pi'el or a nif'al of *nḡš*. This must be rejected, however, because *nḡš* with *pnt* is actually found in the qal.

The form in question is in the following context (II AB II 12 ff.):

<i>b-nši 'n-h w-tphn.</i>	"At once there recognized 'Aṭtrt (with regard)
<i>hlk b'l āttrt</i>	to Ba'l's appearance:
<i>k-t'n hlk bilt 'nt</i>	'Verily, it corresponds to the appearance of the Virgin 'Anat;
<i>tdrq ybmt [lmm]</i>	to the ..... of the progenitress(?) <sup>162</sup> of the peoples.'
<i>b-h p'nim [tṭṭ]</i>	With him the legs .....,
<i>[b-']dn ksl [tṭbr]</i>	gracefully <sup>163</sup> the (line of the) loins was broken,
<i>['ln p]n-h t[d']</i>	above his face was sweet, <sup>164</sup>
<i>tḡš [pnt ksl-h]</i>	the crest of his loins hove
<i>ānš dt zr[-h]</i>	and the muscles(?) <sup>165</sup> of his back."

The passage describes the beauty of Ba'l, when he appears naked.<sup>166</sup>

Whoever wishes to dodge the issue may assume a pi'el or a nif'al with approximately the same meaning as the qal. Though not very likely, the admissibility of this assumption cannot be denied.

<sup>161</sup> So with Virolleaud who refers to Akkadian *plsh*. Compare also Brockelmann, *Grundriss* 1 § 90.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Albright, *BASOR* 70 19 fn. 6.

<sup>163</sup> Cf. Hebr. *נָחַל*

<sup>164</sup> Cf. Arab. *wadu'a* "be quiet, tranquil."

<sup>165</sup> There may be mentioned tentatively Hebr. *נִשְׁכָּח* Gen. 32, 33 corresponding to Arab. *nasān*, pl. *'ansā'u* "nervus ischiadicus."

<sup>166</sup> The supplementation is Virolleaud's; it is taken from an unpublished parallel text. For *lmm* see V AB II 33.

b. *np'*. I D I 61 ff.:

*ydn il ysb pält-h*

" 'El beat <sup>167</sup> (and) . . . . . his flax <sup>168</sup>  
(saying):

*bš-ql yph b-pält*

'The byssus <sup>169</sup> provides flax,  
the byssus provides waste(?).<sup>170</sup>

*b[š-q]l yph b-yǧlm*

He embraced the byssus and kissed  
(it) (saying):

*bš-ql y[hb]q w-ynšq*

'I loosened the byssus.

*āhl ān bš-[ql]*

There will serve <sup>171</sup> as flax the byssus;  
if <sup>172</sup> there served as waste(?) the  
stalk,<sup>173</sup>

*ynp' b-pält bš-ql*

*yp' b-y[ǧl] ūr*

*tšp-k yd āqht ǧzr*

the hand of 'Aqhat ǧzr shall gather  
thee in,

*tšt-k b-qrb-m āsm*

shall put thee into the granary.'

*ydn-h ysb āklt-h*

He beat it (and) he . . . . . his  
grain <sup>174</sup> (saying):

*yph šblt b-āk<l>t*

'The spike provides grain,

*šblt yph b-ħmdrt*

the spike provides chaff(?).<sup>175</sup>

<sup>167</sup> I cannot see what *dn* "act as a judge, pass sentence" might mean in our context. It seems to me much more natural to derive *ydn* from a root corresponding to Arab. *wadana* "beat with a stick."

<sup>168</sup> *pält* and *bš-ql* are in the same relationship to one another as *āklt* "grain" and *šblt* "spike" (cf. Hebr. שבלל), that is to say *bš-ql* is a plant and *pält* its product. This leads inevitably to some variety of "byssus" and "flax." If so, *pält* corresponds to Hebr. שבלל. The peculiar form of the word offers considerable difficulty with regard to both vocalism and consonantism. This does not affect, however, the point under discussion.—It may be added that I am unable to accept Dussaud's view that ll. 61 ff. and 68 ff. contain the same text in two different dialects (*Les découvertes de Ras Shamra* 92).

<sup>169</sup> On the byssus see Olck in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* 3 col. 1108 ff.; Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie* (3rd ed.) 156. It seems that *bš-ql* is some variety of the plant.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Arab. *waǧlun* "scamp, parasite, thicket."

<sup>171</sup> Cf. Arab. *nafa'a bi* "be useful for."

<sup>172</sup> I take the following sentence as a conditional one without subjunction, both parts of the period being in the imperfect (or jussive), as it is familiar in Hebrew syntax. Cf. fn. 179.

<sup>173</sup> Cf. Dussaud, *Les découvertes de Ras Shamra* 91 who translates "plante."

<sup>174</sup> Cf. Hebr. אכל "grain."

<sup>175</sup> For *ħmdrt* Virolleaud has referred to Akkad. *ħamadirūtu* the meaning of which he gives as "desséchement" in accordance with Bezold's glossary.

<i>šblt yḥ[bq] w-ynšq</i>	He embraced the spike and kissed (it) (saying) :
<i>āḥl ān š[blt]</i>	‘I loosened the spike.
<i>t&lt;n&gt;p’<sup>176</sup> b-āklt šblt</i>	there will serve as grain the spike;
<i>tp’ [b-....] ṭr</i>	if there served as ..... the stalk,
<i>tšp-k yd āqht ḡz[r]</i>	the hand of Aqhat ḡzr shall gather thee in,
<i>tšt-k bm qrb-m āsm</i>	shall put thee into the granary.’”

The sequence *ynp’-yp’* in identical phrases precludes the assumption of a *pi’el* or a *nif’al* in this case. Both forms must necessarily belong to the same conjugation, that is to say, both must be forms of the *qal*.

c. *ntk*. I K 26 ff.:

<i>ybkky b-ṭn rgmm w-ydm’</i>	“He wept in repeating the words and shed tears;
<i>tntkn ṭdm’t-h</i>	his tears run down
<i>km ṭqlm ārṣh</i>	like sheqel pieces earthward.”

The same phrase *ntk ṭdm’t* recurs in an entirely identical fashion, only without preserved *n*,

I D 82 f.:

<i>w-l ytk dm[t-h]</i>	“And indeed his/her tears ran down
<i>[k]m rb’t ṭqlm ttq[l]</i>	like quarter sheqels they weigh out.”

The evidence requires claiming both forms for the *qal*.

## 2. Verba primae alif

A variation similar to that discussed in the preceding section may be observed with the *primae alif*. In this group of verbs we find the pair:<sup>177</sup>

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This cannot be maintained, however, since new material (Matouš, *LTBA* 1 58 IV 15 ff.) explains *ḥamadīrum* as “cut, harvested grain” (cf. Meissner, *MAOG* IX 1/2 34 f.).

<sup>176</sup> The emendation is virtually certain. It is easily understood how the pair *tnp’-tp’*, being read in successive verses, could be equalized to become *tp’* uniformly. The inverse process would be inexplicable.

<sup>177</sup> I had formerly regarded *yār-k* Nk 39 and *ṭr-k* SS 33 as a similar pair. I now prefer to analyze the former as *yār-k*, i. e. as a form of ‘*r*’ “to be bright.”

*tādm* I K 62; I D 204 as against *tīdm* I D 204.  
*yādm* I K 156.

Among these passages, I D 203 ff. is of particular significance, since it contains both forms side by side. The lines read:

<i>trih[s] w-tādm</i>	"Thou (f.) shouldst wash thyself, so that <sup>178</sup> thou mayst be fresh.
<i>tīdm b-ḡlp y[m]</i>	If <sup>179</sup> thou art fresh by (the use of) the <i>ḡlp</i> <sup>180</sup> of the sea
<i>d-ālp šd zū-h b-ym</i>	whose excrement <sup>182</sup> ..... <sup>181</sup> (is) in the sea,
<i>t['] tlbš npš ḡzr</i>	thou shouldst start (and) put on (thy) coat, ḡzr!"

The occurrence of both forms in one and the same line renders the assumption of mere writing variants<sup>183</sup> impossible. The difference in form must be correlate of a difference in notion.

The other occurrence of *tādm* (I K 62) is after *trihš* also; and *yrihš w-yādm* (I K 150) represents the same phrase in another person.

All these passages corroborate Bauer's explanation of *tāršn* as a present form of the Akkadian type. Probably *yārš-hm* (I K 42) can be also added. Other forms of the type do not exist.

Before the thesis that forms of the type *yāhd* represent the present-future can be considered as proved, the other side of the

<sup>178</sup> Syndesis of different forms (here jussive and present linked by means of *w-*) has the effect of a hypotaxis as in Arabic.

<sup>179</sup> Conditional period without subjunction and with the imperfect (or jussive?) in both protasis and apodosis; cf. fn. 172.

<sup>180</sup> This must be an animal or a plant furnishing a dye. Perhaps Arab. *ḡalfun* "a tree used for tanning" is comparable.

<sup>181</sup> In *ālp šd* I see a corroborative formula; see above fn. 44.

<sup>182</sup> Cf. Hebr. גִּזְרִי, Akkad. *ḡum*.

<sup>183</sup> Virolleaud, *Danel* p. 178: "une forme un peu differente." Also Obermann, *JAOS* 56 497 is, in my opinion, mistaken.—The form *yākl* II AB V 103, claimed by Virolleaud l. c. as a variant of *ytkl*, is not conceivable in this way. It seems to me that the line *yākl ktr w-ḥss* refers to Kuṭar's appointment as the architect of Ba'l's planned palace. As a matter of fact the text continues: "after Ktr w-Ḥss had arrived." One should assume then that he has been summoned before. The context therefore makes one think of Arab. *wakkala* "appoint." It is true, *yākl* points definitely to a verbum primæ alif; but the reference to Middle Akkad. *aklu* "fore-man" may lessen these scruples to some extent.

problem must be also investigated; it must be shown that all forms of the type *yḥd* are forms of the imperfect. I have record of the following:

Imperfect indicative:

- yḥd* "he seized" II D I 35; *Syria* 17 p. 212.  
*tḥd* "she seized" I AB II 9, 30; I D I 9; *Syria* 17 p. 212.  
*tīkl* "she ate" II AB VI 24, 27, 29.  
*tīkln* "they ate" BH I 10.

Imperfect subjunctive:

- yḥd* "he seized, caught" 1934 obv. 12, 17.

Imperfect apocope:

- tḥd* 3rd pl. of *ḥd* "seize, catch" II AB VII 35.  
*tīsp-k* 3rd sg. f. of *ʿsp* "ingather" I D 66, 73.  
*yip* 3rd sg. m. of *ʿpy* "bake" I K 83.

Of uncertain description because of mutilation:

- yīkl* of *ʿkl* "eat" BH II 14.  
*yīlm* of *ʿlm* *Danel* p. 224 l. 2.  
*yīsp-hm* of *ʿsp* "ingather" BH II 25.

A further fact is worth mentioning: the corresponding forms with inserted *t* invariably exhibit an *i*:

- yīddb* of *ʿdb* I K 24.<sup>184</sup>  
*ītlk* of *nīlk* "go" I AB II 15.  
*yītsp* of *ʿsp* "ingather" I K 18.

Accordingly, I feel justified in vocalizing the forms in question <sup>185</sup>

<sup>184</sup> Cf. also *īddb* I K 8; imperative or infinitive?

<sup>185</sup> The two forms which have *a* after the prefix must not be passed by in silence. I have little doubt that they are forms of the passive (cf. Harris, *JAOS* 57 152). The following translations may be ventured:

II AB IV 16 f.:

*qđš yāḥd-m*

*šb'r amrr k-kbkb*

*l-pnm āṭr bīlt 'nt*

I \*AB V 18 ff.:

*yāḥb 'glt b-dbr*

"Qadeš became affected with passion  
 there was 'Amrr made glowing like  
 a star

before ..... the Virgin 'Anat.

"He became affected with love for a  
 heifer in .....,



as follows: *tādm* = *ta'a(d)da/um(u)*; *tīdm* = *te'dum(u)*; *ytdb* = *ye'tada/ib(u)*. The two last-mentioned forms are developed from *ta'dum(u)* and *ya'tada/ib(u)* respectively by a phonetic law which shifted *a* to *e* before tautosyllabic alif except at the end of the word. There is no need of repeating the evidence, since it has been anticipated by Harris, *JAOS* 57 151 ff.<sup>186</sup>

### 3. 1st person singular

To judge from the related languages, the 1st person singular of the qal should exhibit the prefix *ā-*. This is actually found, but in no few instances *i* also occurs.<sup>187</sup> It is necessary to establish the rule according to which the prefix varies.

The *ā-* is invariably present in the following groups:

a. with middle weak roots:

- āmt* of *m-t* "die" II D VI 38.  
*ānhn* of *n-h* "rest" I AB III 18; II D II 13.  
*āšd* of *š-d* "roam" I AB II 15.  
*āšh* of *š-h* "cry" I \*AB II 21, III 9, 18, 25.  
*āšr* of *š-r* "sing" Nk 1, 38.

b. with verba primae *y* (< *w*):

- ābl* of *ybl* "bring" II D V 2.  
*ārd* of *yrd* "descend" I \*AB VI 25.  
*āībn* of *yīb* "sit down" I AB III 18; II D II 12.

c. with such verbs as have old <sup>188</sup> two radical imperatives:

- ālk* of *hlk* "go" I D IV 194. Cf. *lk* I \*AB III 14, 20;  
 III AB 8; II D VI 42; III D I 17.

---

*pṛt b-šd šḥlmmṭ*

for a young cow in the field of

.....

*škb 'mn-h šb' l-šb'm*

He was lying with her 77 times(?)

*t × ly īmn l-īmnm*

she..... 88 times(?)

It should be noted that both passages deal with emotions which are most properly expressed by the passive (the form with unknown agents). At any rate I refuse to believe in mere orthographic variants. The choice among the various alif signs was not left to the scribe's predilections, it was regulated by definite rules.

<sup>186</sup> Cf. before *JAOS* 55 364.

<sup>187</sup> The variation has been observed as early as 1931 by Virolleaud who quoted examples of it in *Syria* 12 p. 355 fn. 1.

<sup>188</sup> The imperative *qh* "take" seems not to belong here (see below fn. 213).

*ātn* of *ntn* "give" Nk 22; I K 206; II D VI 27. Cf. *tn*  
I AB I 45 (17), II 12; II AB V 70 and *passim*.

The correct vocalization, in these cases, is obviously *'amūt(u)*, *'ašir(u)*, *'abil(u)*, *'alik(u)* etc.

With all classes where the first two radicals retain their consonantic value, *i* also appears alongside *ā*. The following examples contain *i*:

- ībd* "I exalted" Nk 1, 37/8 (apocopate).<sup>189</sup>  
*īd'* "I recognized" I AB III 8 (apocopate).<sup>190</sup>  
*īṭ'n-k* "I pierced you" I \*AB I 26 (apocopate??).<sup>191</sup>  
*īlāk* "I sent" II AB VII 45 (apocopate).<sup>192</sup>  
*īlhm* "I ate" I \*AB I 20 (apocopate).<sup>193</sup>  
*īqh* "I took" I K 204 (apocopate).<sup>194</sup>  
*īmḥṣ* "I beat" I D 196 (apocopate).<sup>195</sup>

---

<sup>189</sup> *āšr nkl* "Let me praise Nikkal  
*w-ībd ḥrḥb mlk qz* and exalt Ḥiriḥbi, the king of summer!"

<sup>190</sup> I AB III 6 ff.:  
*šmn šmn tmṭrn* "The skies rained oil,  
*nḥlm tlk nḥtm* the creeks flowed with honey;  
*w-īd' k-ḥy āllyn b'l* and so I recognized that 'Al'iyān Ba'l  
is alive,  
*k-īṭ zbl b'l ārṣ* that *zbl*, the lord of the earth, (still)  
exists."

For the syntax see above p. 296 and for the vocalization below fn. 213.

<sup>191</sup> *p-nṣi b'l* "And shouldst thou neglect, Ba'l, (to do  
so),  
[*t*]'n *īṭ'n-k* I certainly will pierce thee!"

There precede forms of the imperative and optative. For the beginning of the line which so far has been untranslated the inference must be drawn that it implies an "if not."

<sup>192</sup> *āl ilāk* "I will not send"; for the construction of the prohibitive negation with the apocopate see above p. 296.

<sup>193</sup> I \*AB I 18 ff.:  
*hm tmt tmt* "How long, how long  
*npš blt ḥmr* (shall) (my) soul (be) without  
.....?  
*tmt b-klāt yd-y ilhm* How long shall I eat with both my  
hands?"

<sup>194</sup> The passage is quoted above fn. 151.

<sup>195</sup> I D 196 f.:  
*īmḥṣ mḥṣ aḥ-y* "I will kill my brother's killer,  
*ā[kl m]kly 'l tmt-y* I will annihilate the annihilator of  
my .....!"

- ispi* "I ate" I \*AB I 5 (apocopate).<sup>196</sup>  
*ispr* "I recited" I AB V 20 (subjunctive).<sup>197</sup>  
*iqnū* "I watched jealously" SS 21 (apocopate).<sup>198</sup>  
*išlh* "I sent" Nk 21 (apocopate).<sup>199</sup>  
*ištynh* "I drank it" II AB III 16 (indicative).<sup>200</sup>

Of these forms *ispi* must be read '*espi*' and *iqnū* '*egnu*'; furthermore, *ispr* in all probability represents '*espura*', and *ibd* and *ištynh* perhaps '*ebdu/i* and '*eštiy*.... respectively. The rest may contain the middle vowel *a*.<sup>201</sup>

<sup>196</sup> I \*AB I 5 ff.:

- |                               |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| <i>ānk ispi ātm</i>           | "I should eat .....  |
| <i>šrqm āmt-m</i>             | ....., I should even die   |
| <i>l-yrt b-npš bn-ll-m mt</i> | in order that thou mightst have descended to ....., 'El's son Mut! |
| <i>b-mhmrt ydd ll ḡzr</i>     | to the ....., beloved one of 'El, ḡzr!"                            |

<sup>197</sup> *āhr ispr w-yīb* is apparently one of the "Regie-Bemerkungen" found in the Ras Shamra epics. The comparison with II AB V 104 makes it virtually certain that a form of *spr* must be read. Cf. also Bauer, *OLZ* 1934 col. 243.

<sup>198</sup> SS 21 ff.:

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>iqnū šmt bn šr-m</i> | "I will jealously watch the names of the king's sons; |
| <i>iqrān lln n'mm</i>   | I will call the gracious gods!"                       |

The parallelism enforces the interpretation of *iqnū* as a jussive; it suggests the root *šp*, literally "be red," but also "be passionate, jealous."

<sup>199</sup> Nk 21 ff.:

- |                        |  |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>išlh ḡhrm iqnlm</i> | "I will send jewels (and) lapis.       |
| <i>ātn šd-h krm-m</i>  | I will make her field cultivated land! |
| <i>šd dd-h ḡrnq-m</i>  | her breasts.....!"                     |

The girl Nikkal is asked in marriage from her father; the bride-price is offered (see Gordon, *BASOR* 65 32). Then the promises contained in the quoted lines are given. The first of them refers to a present to the bride. The two others recall the proverbial saying that the unmarried woman is like an uncultivated field, which occurs e.g. in the Amarna letters (O. Weber apud Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* 2 1159 f.; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* 2 423 f.).

<sup>200</sup> II AB III 14 ff.:

- |                             |                                    |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>štt .[.....] b-ilh-y</i> | "I had dirt(?) placed on my table, |
| <i>qlt b-ks ištynh</i>      | disgrace I drank from the cup."    |

<sup>201</sup> This evidence makes it impossible to me to accept the view of Ginsberg who maintains that the variation of the prefix depends on the vowel of the second radical, *t-* being used before *a* and *ā* before *i/u* (Tarbiz 4 182). Ginsberg relies on the law posited by Barth, *ZDMG* 48 4 ff. which he thinks

Of forms with the prefix *ā-* I have listed the following:

- ābky* "I shall bewail" I D 111 (indicative).<sup>202</sup>  
*āhpk-k* "I shall turn thee" I \*AB III 12 (context mutilated).  
*āzmr* "I shall sing" 1929 3 rev. 51 (indicative?).<sup>203</sup>  
*āmllk* "I shall be king" I AB I 62 (34) (indicative?).<sup>204</sup>  
*āpt[h]* "I shall open" II AB II 30 (indicative?).<sup>205</sup>  
*āqbrnh* "I shall bury him" I D 111 (indicative).<sup>206</sup>  
*āqny* "I shall acquire" I K 57 (indicative).<sup>207</sup>  
*āqry-k* "I shall meet thee" II D VI 43 (indicative).<sup>208</sup>  
*ārgm-k* "I shall tell thee" II AB I 21; V AB III 18 (indicative).<sup>209</sup>

is substantiated by Ugaritic. It must be said Barth's position, based primarily on peculiarities of the Hebrew inflection and secondarily on single facts in Syriac and in Arabic dialects, is not particularly strong. Neither Akkadian nor classical Arabic bear out the theory. It seems to me, that the facts alluded to will better be accounted for by independent secondary development of the individual language. Ginsberg's best examples, *īd'* and *tqh*, will be discussed in fn. 213.

<sup>202</sup> This form and the others with retained *y* and *w* at the end cannot be apocopates. Neither can *āqbrnh* and *ārgm-k* since each is in intimate contact with one of these forms.

I D 111 f.:

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| <i>ābky w-āqbrnh</i>     | "I shall bewail and bury him,                                |
| <i>āšt b-ḥrt ʾlm ārṣ</i> | I shall place him in the holes of the<br>gods of the earth." |

<sup>203</sup> The context is mutilated.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <sup>204</sup> <i>l-āmilk b-ṣrri ṣpn</i> | "Verily, I shall rule on the cliffs of<br>Ṣapān." |
|--|---|

- |                                      |                                   |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <sup>205</sup> <i>'n mkīr āpt[h]</i> | "I shall open the eye of . . . ." |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|

The supplementation is that of Virolleaud and Bauer and seems inevitable.

<sup>206</sup> See fn. 202.

<sup>207</sup> The context is too mutilated as to allow for a translation.

<sup>208</sup> II D VI 42 ff.:

- |                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>īb l-y w-lk [.....]m</i> | "Return to me and come to . . . . ."                         |
| <i>l-āqry-k b-ntb pš'</i>   | Verily I shall meet thee on the road<br>of . . . . .         |
| [.....] <i>b-ntb gān</i>    | . . . . . on the road of . . . .                             |
| <i>āšql-k tḥt [.....]..</i> | I shall make thee fall down under<br>. . . . .<br>. . . . ." |

*n'mn 'mq nām*

<sup>209</sup> V AB III 17 f.:

- |                        |   |
|------------------------|---|
| <i>rgm lṭ l-y</i>      | "I have the faculty of speech,                  |
| <i>w-ārgm-k ḥwt</i>    | and I shall tell thee the story,                |
| <i>w-āṭny-k rgm 'ṣ</i> | and I shall relate thee the word of the<br>tree |
| <i>w-lḥēt ābn</i>      | and the . . . . . of the stone."                |

*āšlw* "I shall rest" I K 149 (indicative).<sup>210</sup>

*ātny-k* "I shall relate thee" V AB III 18 (indicative).<sup>211</sup>

Concerning the vocalization, it must be noted that *āpth* should be read with middle *a* according to the evidence of the related languages. Since middle *a*, then, appears after *i-* as well as after *ā-*, it cannot be made responsible for the variation.

The solution of the problem, it seems to me, is indicated by an observation which can be made from the list at the beginning of this section: in every single case the prefix *ā-* constitutes a syllable of its own.<sup>212</sup>

This observation is confirmed<sup>213</sup> when the investigation is extended to forms outside of the *qal*. One finds on the one hand that all 1st persons of the *pi'el* and of the *šafel* exhibit the prefix

<sup>210</sup> *āšlw b-sp 'n-h*

"I shall bask in the glances of her eye."

So according to Albright, *BASOR* 63 31 fn. 69.

<sup>211</sup> See fn. 209.

<sup>212</sup> I am somewhat hesitant to posit a phonetic law according to which 'a before tautosyllabic consonant became 'e. Words like *ālp* "cattle," *ālp* "thousand," *ārḥ* "cow," *ārṣ* "earth," *āṭr* "place" have apparently preserved their *ā-*. It is unlikely that this is due to the influence of the plural. One may ask, however, whether anaptyctic vowels (which finally lead to so-called Segolata) are already in play.

<sup>213</sup> *iqḥ* and *īd'* are only apparent exceptions.

*iqḥ* corresponds to Hebr. *תָּקַח*; that is to say, the first radical *l*, by one reason or another, was assimilated to the second radical (*\*alqaḥ(u)* > *\*aqqah(u)*). In historical Hebrew grammar the analogy of *nin* "give" is usually made responsible for this development, *\*antin(u)* > *\*attin(u)* forming the other part of a proportion. The assumed analogy cannot be true, however, in Ugaritic. Here the form which corresponds to *iqḥ* is *ātn*, to be read either *'atān(u)* or *'atin(u)*, the inflection being that of a middle weak as in the Assyrian branch of Akkadian. In Ugaritic the 1st person *iqḥ* is obviously independent from *ātn*. It must be read *'eqqaḥ(u)* with double *qq*; this double consonant is the reason for the employment of the prefix *i-*.

*īd'* is derived from a root whose first radical is an old *y* (cf. particularly the Ethiopic causative *'aide'a*). In Hebrew there is the corresponding *יָדַע*; its paradigm is to be classified with *i*-imperfects like *יִשָּׁב* and not with *a*-imperfects like *יִשָּׁב*. It must, therefore, be assumed that the *a* in *יָדַע* is due to the influence of the laryngeal. Ugaritic, with its difference between *ātb* and *īd'* seems to require an earlier form *\*'aydi/a'u*. The vocalization of the second radical vacillates between *i* and *a* in Amurritic where *yadaḥ* exists by the side of *yadiḥ* (Th. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer* 76). If *yadiḥ* is the older form, as it is reasonable to assume, Old Akkadian which offers *yadaḥ* (i.e. *yada'*) must have had the same shift operating independently.

â-; and on the other, that all *t*-forms show invariably *t*-. The evidence is as follows:

## Pi'el:

- âhwy of hwy "show, reveal" II D VI 32; III D I 27.  
 âhw of hwy "revive(?)" I D 16.  
 âlmd-k of lmd "teach" III D VI 29.  
 âmlkn of mlk "make king" I AB I 46 (18).  
 ânšq of nšq "kiss" III AB 4.  
 âqrb-k of qrb "bring close to ..." Nk 27.  
 âšlt-k of šlt "rule" II D VI 27.

## Šaf'el:

- âšhlk of hlk "cause to go" *Danel* p. 225.  
 âšši of yš "cause to leave" III AB 2.  
 âšspr of spr "cause to count" II D VI 28.  
 âš'rb of 'rb "cause to enter" I K 204.  
 âšql-k of qll "cause to bow down" II D VI 44.  
 âšrb' of rb' "cause to be fourfold" II D V 3.

*t*-form:

- itdb of 'db I K 8.  
 itlk of hlk "go" I AB II 5.  
 imthš of mħš "beat" II AB II 24.<sup>214</sup>

The principle thus established must also be applied to *ibd* etc. and *âbky* etc. That is to say, whereas in *ibd* the *b* belongs to the first syllable and must, therefore, be pronounced without a vowel (in other words whereas the form is 'ebdu/i), the *â* of *âbky* must be in a syllable of its own. This is possible only when a vowel is inserted after the *b*, in other words, when the form is 'aba(k)kiyu. Thus, the prefix *â*- in *âbky* and in the cases listed together with it testifies to the existence of a verbal form which coincides with Akkad. *aba(k)kî*. The translation of the respective passages which is contained in the footnotes will show that all these forms may well be considered as present-future.

4. *yqll* where not apocopate

In Ugaritic the verba mediae geminatae are inflected in the Arabic fashion (see above fn. 126), that is to say the identical radicals are fused wherever a vowel follows, but both come regularly into appearance in the apocopate. There exist, however, a few

<sup>214</sup> Add perhaps *ittpq* and *šttk* BH II 58, two forms which are incomprehensible to me.

forms of the type *yqll* which cannot be apocopate in their respective context. They are:

*yḥss-k* II AB IV 39.<sup>215</sup>

*tʿrr-k* *ibid.*

Perhaps also

*yʿrr* Nk 30.<sup>216</sup>

The context, as far as it can be understood, seems to allow for forms of the present-future. And the vocalization *yaḥa(s)sas(u)* would indeed account for the persistence of the two radicals.

### Conclusions

The result of this investigation may be summed up as follows:

The Ugaritic language had three tenses:

1. A "perfect" *qatila*, which was limited to certain definite groups of verbs; its force was that of a stative. It possessed also a passive variety *qutila*.

2. An "imperfect" *yaqtulu*, used primarily as past tense in the narration.

3. A "present-future" *yaga(t) talu*.

The significance of this result for Semitic linguistics is obvious. This statement must suffice here; the evaluation of our result would take us too far afield.

<sup>215</sup> II AB IV 35 ff.:

*lḥm ḥm šty-m*

*lḥ[m] b-tlḥnt*

*lḥm št[y-m]*

*b-krpnm yn*

*b-k<s> ḥrs dm 'šm*

*ḥm yd ḥl mlk yḥss-k*

*dhbt ṭr tʿrr-k*

"Eat and drink!

Food from the tables!

Eat and drink!

From the jars the wine,

from the gold cup the blood of the trees!

The love of 'El, the king, will hold thee!

the affection of the Bull will arouse thee!"

Of the two verbs *yḥss* is hardly pi'el. As far as *tʿrr* is concerned, this can not be denied so absolutely; *tʿrr* seems to correspond to the Hebrew pilpel עִירַר (otherwise Albright, *JPOS* 14 122 fn. 105).

<sup>216</sup> Nk 29 f.:

*bt db-h lbā yʿrr*

"The lion will awake the house of her father."

I do not understand what the sentence means in this particular context.

## YASNA LVII: AN ESSAY IN TEXT-RECONSTRUCTION

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Le linguiste, comme l'historien de la religion zoroastrienne, doit critiquer sévèrement le texte de l'Avesta avant de l'utiliser.

ANTOINE MEILLET, *Journal Asiatique*, XI, x (1917), 214.

THE AVESTA as we possess it is a collection made at the command of the first Sāsānian monarch, Ardashīr I (224/6-241), of fragments gathered at the order of the Arsakid Valagash (Volagases) which had survived the destruction of the original documents during the invasion of Alexander the Great (*Dēnkart*, iv, 23-26, tr. E. W. West, *SBE* xxxvii, Oxford, 1892, pp. 413-414). This Arsakid was probably Volagases I (51-77/8) (J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* iii, Paris, 1893, pp. xxiii-xxiv; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen, 1936, p. 34), although F. Justi (*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* ii, Strasbourg, 1904, p. 510; cf. K. Geldner, *ib.* p. 34) thought that it was Vologases III (148-191).

The Avesta had evidently been reduced to writing at a very early date (cf. Christensen, pp. 509-512), but the present text is a transcription of an older alphabet. This transcription is highly imperfect, and many forms appear which are plainly incorrect and which should be disregarded in linguistic investigation. It becomes necessary, therefore, to reconstruct the text by a combination of linguistics and palaeography; and on such reconstruction I am at present preparing a detailed study.

In evaluating the forms, one must bear in mind that the Vulgate reproduction shows more or less an attempt at phonetic writing. The form *yasnam* = Sanskrit *yajñám*, for instance, implies that, as in later India, the original oxytone accent had been shifted, with the result that [jas'nam] had become ['jasnm]. In addition to these linguistic, phonetic, and palaeographic problems, the Avestan Vulgate shows countless interpolations which disturb the continuity of the hymns and which must be excised in the interests of a more exact knowledge of early Zoroastrianism. The result of such reconstruction will, in all probability, give a text much closer to the original than is the present Vulgate; and until this work is



done, it would seem that little real advance can be made in any serious investigation of either the language, the literature, or the religion of the Avesta.

All knowledge that the so-called Younger Avesta was originally in verse, at least so far as its oldest portions are concerned, had vanished before its Pahlavi commentary was written sometime in the Sāsānian period and revised in the reign of Khusrav I (531-579). This commentary follows word for word the present Vulgate text; and the Parsi priests had no suspicion that they were reciting highly interpolated poetry, and not mere prose. Neither the edition of the Avesta by N. L. Westergaard (Copenhagen, 1854) nor that by F. Spiegel (Vienna, 1853-58) indicates any verse except in the *Gāthās*, and even Darmesteter (*Le Zend-Avesta*, i, Paris, 1892, p. xcix, note) could write: "On trouve dans l'Avesta proprement dit nombre de morceaux en prose rythmée, où domine le retour d'octosyllabes qui rappellent le pâda du gloka indien. C'est une tendance rythmique, rien de plus, et dont par suite on ne peut faire usage pour le critique du texte, encore moins pour sa restitution" (cf. his review of Geldner's *Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877, reprinted in his *Etudes iraniennes*, ii, Paris, 1883, pp. 28-38). Yet Pliny (*Nat. hist.* xxx, 2), citing Hermippos (third century B. C.), spoke of *vicies centum millia versuum a Zoroastre condita*, and the Scholiast B on Hephaestion (ed. Westphal, p. 135<sup>5-7</sup>), who may have composed his commentary in the third century A. D. (K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*,<sup>2</sup> Munich, 1897, pp. 594-595), says that the Persians wrote in the *ionic a majore* metre (ὁ ἀπὸ μείζονος Ἰωνικός . . . ὁ καὶ Περσικός . . . διὰ τὸ τὰς ἱστορίας τὰς Περσικὰς τοῦτω τῷ μέτρῳ γεγράφθαι).

The first to call attention to the metrical nature of the Younger Avesta seems to have been R. Westphal in *Kuhn's Zeitschrift* ix (1860), 444-452 (cf. his *Allgemeine Metrik der indogermanischen und semitischen Völker*, Berlin, 1892, pp. 10-11, 40-55); and his example was followed by R. Roth (*ZDMG* xxv, 1871, 215-231), H. Toerpel (*De metricis partibus zend-avestae*, Halle, 1874; the projected continuation seems never to have appeared), K. Geldner (*Über die Metrik des jüngeren Avesta*, Tübingen, 1877), E. Wilhelm (*Actes du dixième congrès international des orientalistes*, II, ii, Leyden, 1897, pp. 45-53), and H. Lommel (*ZII* i, 1922, 185-245). Reconstructions of the Vulgate have been essayed by Geldner (*Metrik*, passim; Ys. ix-x, pp. 120-162), C. Bartholomae (*Die*

*Gāthās und heiligen Gebete des altiranischen Volkes*, Halle, 1879; Yt. xix and i in *Arische Forschungen*, i, Halle, 1882, pp. 102-154; Yt. xiii in *ZDMG* xxxvi, 1882, 560-585), C. de Harlez (*De l'exégèse et de la correction des textes avestiques* Leipzig, 1883, pp. 197-244, especially Yt. xii and xvi, pp. 230-239), and T. Baunack (*Haptanhāiti, Studien auf dem Gebiete des griechischen und der arischen Sprachen*, i, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 328-341, with an exhaustive commentary, pp. 342-461). The general problem of the Vulgate text has been discussed by H. Reichelt ("Zur Beurteilung der awestischen Vulgata," *WZKM* xxvii, 1913, 52-64) and by A. Meillet ("Observations critiques sur le texte de l'Avesta" and "Sur le texte de l'Avesta," *JA* XI, x, 1917, 183-214; xv, 1920, 187-203).

In this article I have endeavoured to make an approach to a reconstruction of Yasna lvii, the "Srōsh Yasht." I say "an approach" advisedly. I have kept the conventional transcription of the Vulgate. The character transcribed *v*, for instance, in such words as *avanhō* "of help" = Sanskrit *avasō* is now known to have been really *h* with the ordinary *h*-character added when the original value of what is transcribed *v* had been forgotten; so that *avanhō* should be read *avahō* (cf. H. F. K. Junker, *Das Awestaalphabet und der Ursprung der armenischen und georgischen Schrift*, Leipzig, 1927, pp. 77-81). On the other hand, I have restored forms demanded by the metre, as *hūrō* "of the sun" for the meaningless *hū* (cf. Vedic *sūras*). In my translation I have used the conventional "Hiawatha" metre, which, as I hope to show elsewhere, I believe to have been true Indo-European. By the time of Hephaistion's scholiast, however, this would seem to have been shifted to one which sounded to Greek ears as an *ionic a majore*, i. e., - ˘ ˘, - ˘ ˘, where - and ˘ do not mean long and short in the Classical use of the term, but syllables of two morae and one mora respectively (e. g. "him í laud with | praise sónorous," not "hím I laúd with praise sonórous").

Out of 200 lines (comprising recognized verse and lines reduced to verse from passages written as prose in Geldner's edition) I have excised 97, retaining 103. My principles of excision have been (a) the dropping of lines not referring to Sraosha, (b) of those referring to Zoroaster and his ritual, (c) of general "epic tags," (d) of lines apparently borrowed more or less mechanically from other hymns, (e) of passages found word for word in the older Yasht x, and

(f) a feeling that the verses must be either *gāyatrīs* or *anuṣṭubhs*. The strophic result, according to lines retained, shows 25 *gāyatrīs* and 7 *anuṣṭubhs*, arranged as follows :

<i>gāyatrī</i>	2 a-c	<i>gāyatrī</i>	17 ab, d
"	2 d, fg	<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	18 ab, de
"	3 a-c	"	21 bc, fg
"	3 de, h	"	23 b-e
"	4 a, cd	<i>gāyatrī</i>	24 a-c
"	6 a-c	<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	25 b, f-h
"	6 d-f	<i>gāyatrī</i>	27 b, fg
"	10 a-c	"	29 a-c
"	10 de, g	"	29 d-f
"	11 a-c	"	30 a-c
"	12 a-c	"	31 a-c
"	13 b-d	"	31 e-g
<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	14 a-d	"	33 b-d
<i>gāyatrī</i>	14 e-g	"	33 e-g
<i>anuṣṭubh</i>	15 b-e	"	33 h-j
"	16 ab, ef	"	34 a-c

Yasna lvii, of which the latest special study known to me is E. Schwyzer's "Zum Srōš-Yašt (y. 57) " (ZII vii, 1929, 98-111), belongs, together with Yashts v, xvii, viii, xiv, Yasnas ix-x, and Yasht xv, 6-37, to a period antedated by Yashts x, xiii, and xix. With its group, it is held by Christensen (*Etude sur le zoroastrisme de la Perse antique* = *Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, hist.-filolog. Meddelelser* xv, 2, Copenhagen, 1928, pp. 7, 44) to have been composed in the Achaemenian period, and probably in the fourth century B. C.; and it is modelled in part on the still earlier Yasht x, in honour of Mithra, of the pre-Achaemenian or early Achaemenian period. Concerning Sraosha, whom I incline to regard as originally a divinisation of the morning star, I may refer to my discussion in my *Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, Bombay, 1929, pp. 106-110.

2. *sraoṣəm aš<i>yəm huraodəm  
vərəθrājanəm frādaṭ-gaēθəm*

*ašavanəm [ašahe ratūm]  
yazamaide*

Srosh, of lovely form <and> pious,  
Furthering creatures <and> vic-  
torious,

Him, the Holy One [lord of right-  
eousness], adore we;

- yō pao'ryō mazdā dāmaṇ* Who was first of Mazda's crea-  
tures  
[*frasterētaat pa'tti barəsmən*] <sup>1</sup> [With a spreading of the barsom]  
*yazata ahurəm mazdām* To adore Ahura Mazda,  
*yazata aməšō spəntō* To adore th' Amesha Spentas,  
[*yazata pāyū θwōr[ə]štāra* [To adore the Guard and Shaper  
*yā viṣpa θwərəsatō dāmaṇ*] <sup>2</sup> That give shape to every creature].
3. <sup>3</sup> *ahe raya x'ar[ə]nanača* For his radiance and his glory,  
*a'ne ama vərəθra-ynača* For his victory and power,  
*ahe yasna yazatanām* For his lauding of the Yazads,  
  
*təm yazāi s[u]runvata yasna* Him I laud with praise sonorous,  
*sraošəm aš<i>yəm zaōthrābyō* Pious Sraosha, with libations;  
[*ašimča van[u]him bərəza'tīm* [*<Yea,> and Ashi, good <and>*  
lofty  
*na'rimča sanhəm huraoðəm*] Nairyosangha, too, the lovely;]  
*āča nō jamyāt avanhe* May he come to us for aidance  
[*vərəθraja sraošō ašiyō*] [Srosh, victorious <and> pious!].
4. <sup>4</sup> *sraošəm ašim yazama'de* Srosh, the pious one, adore we,  
[*ratūm bərəzantəm [yazama'de* [*<Him> the Judge <and him>*  
*yim*] *ahurəm [mazdām]*] the high lord [Mazda adore we,]  
*yō ašahe apanōt[ə]mō* Who <is> loftiest of Rightness,  
*yō ašahe jamyūštəmō* Who <hath> most progressed of  
Rightness;  
[*viṣpa sravā zaraθuštri* [All the words of Zarathushtra  
[*yazama'de*] [adore we]  
*viṣpača h<u>varšta šyaoθna* And all actions <that are> well  
[*yazama'de*] done [adore we]  
*varštača var[ə]š<i>yamnača*] <sup>5</sup> <That have> been done and that  
shall be].

5 = 2

<sup>1</sup> Probably interpolated from Yt. x, 137 (cf. Yt. xv, 2; Afr. iv, 5; Vd. ix, 56); *barəsmən-* is disyllabic in Yt. xii, 3; trisyllabic in Yt. xvii, 61; and both in Yt. x, 138.

<sup>2</sup> Probably interpolated; cf. the simple *pāyūšcā θwōrəštārā* in Ys. xlii, 2.

<sup>3</sup> = Yt. xi, 8 (also in honour of Sraosha).

<sup>4</sup> = Ys. lxx, 7; lxxi, 24; Yt. xi, 9.

<sup>5</sup> An evident interpolation of the post-Zarathushtrian period.

6. *yō pao'ryō bar[ə]sma* Who was first to spread the barsom  
     *[fra]starənata* \*  
*θr<i>yaxštīš[ča] pañča-yaxštīšča* With <its> three stems and <its>  
     five stems,  
*hapta-yaxštīš[ča] nava-* With <its> seven stems <and>  
     *yaxštīš[ča]* nine stems—  
*āxšnūs[ča] <ā>[ma'dyōi-]* To the knee and thigh <it  
     *pa'tištānqšča* reacheth>—  
*[aməšanqm spəntanqm]* For adoring and for joying,  
     *yasnaaiča vahmaaiča* †  
*xšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča* For delighting and for lauding  
     [the Amesha Spentas].
- 7 = 2
8. \* *[yō pao'ryō gāθā [fra]srāvayaṭ* [Who was first to chant the Gathas,  
*yā pañča [spitāmahe āsaonō]* <All> the five of Zarathushtra,  
     *zaraθuštrahe*  
*afsmān[i]vqñ vačastaštivaṭ* With <their> verses <and their>  
     strophes,  
*maṭ-āza'ntīš [maṭ-]pa'ti-frasā* With the Zend <and> with the  
     answers,  
*[aməšanqm spəntanqm]* For adoring and for joying,  
     *yasnaaiča vahmaaiča*  
*xšnaoθrāiča frasastayaēča]* For delighting and for lauding  
     [the Amesha Spentas.]]
- 9 = 2
10. *yō dri-yaošča driv<i>yāsča* Mighty is the house he buildeth  
     *amavaṭ nmānəm hqm-tāšti* For the poor, or man or woman,  
     *pasča hūrō frāšmō-dā'tim* <In the night-time> after sunset;
- [*yo*] *aēšmēm starəθwata sna'θiša* Aeshma with his felling weapon

\* For *star-* without *fra* as a technical term for spreading the barsom cf. C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strasbourg, 1904, coll. 1595-1596.

† Explanations of *vahma-* from *vaf-* "pray" or *van-* "gain" (Jackson, *Avesta Reader*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 94; Bartholomae, *Wörterbuch*, col. 1404) seem unlikely. The word is better derived from the base \**yese-* "feast," finding a close analogue in Old Church Slavic *veselū* "happy" (cf. Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, i, Berlin, 1930, pp. 307-308).

\* This stanza an interpolation of the post-Zarathushtrian period.

<p><i>vīxṛumantəm xʰarəm jañti</i>  <i>[aṭṣa hē bāda kamərəðəm]</i>  <i>jaγnvā pa'ti xʰanhayē'ti</i></p> <p><i>[yaθa aojā nā'd&lt;i&gt;yāñhəm]</i> °</p>	<p>A sore-bleeding wound he smiteth          [Even on his pate &lt;so evil&gt;];          Smiting, he doth drive him back-          ward          [As a mighty man a weaker].</p>
<p>11. <i>sraošəm ašim [huraodəm . . .</i>  <i>ratūm]</i> <i>yazama'de</i>  <i>taxməm āsūm aojanhvantəm</i>  <i>daršitəm sūrəm bərəza'idim</i></p>	<p>Srosh, the pious one, adore we,          Sturdy &lt;he and&gt; swift &lt;and&gt;          mighty,          Bold, of lofty insight, valiant.</p>
<p>12. <i>[yō] vispaē'byō hača</i>  <i>ar[ə]zaē'byō</i>  <i>vavanvā pa'ti-jaśa'ti</i>  <i>vyaxmā 'məšanqm spəntanqm</i></p>	<p>From all battles &lt;that he wagheth&gt;          Having conquered, he returneth          To the council of th' Amshaspands.</p>
<p>13. <i>[sraošəm ašim [huraodəm . . .</i>  <i>ratūm]</i> <i>yazama'de]</i>  <i>yūnqm aojīštō [yūnqm]</i>  <i>tančīštō</i> <sup>10</sup>  <i>yūnqm θwaxšīštō [yūnqm]</i>  <i>āsištō</i>  <i>yūnqm parōka-tarštəmō</i>  <i>[pa'tišata mazdayasna</i>  <i>sraošahe ašyehē yasnəm]</i></p>	<p>[Srosh, the pious one, adore we,]          Of young men the strongest, [of          young men] sturdiest,          Of young men most active, [of          young men] swiftest,          Of young men the furthest          dreaded.          [Seek ye, worshippers of Mazda,          Lauding of the pious Sraosha.]</p>
<p>14. <i>dūrāt hača ahmāt nmānāt</i>  <i>dūrāt hača a'nəhāt vīsať</i>  <i>dūrāt hača ahmhāt zantaot</i>  <i>dūrāt hača a'nəhāt da'nəhaoť</i>  <i>aγā 'θyējā vōiγnā yēnti</i></p>	<p>From this &lt;pious&gt; household far          go,          From this &lt;pious&gt; village far go,          From this &lt;pious&gt; clan-land far          go,          From this &lt;pious&gt; country far go          Evil woes &lt;and&gt; inundations</p>

<sup>10</sup> Ed. has accusative throughout because of the interpolated first line.

- yenhe nmāne* <sup>11</sup> *sraošō ašyō* In whose house the pious [vic-  
[*vərəθraja*] torious] Sraosha  
*θraʃ[ə]dō asti pa'ti-zantō* Bideth well-content and welcome  
[*nāča ašava [frāyō-]humatō* [And the righteous man of good  
thought [rich],  
*frāyō-hūxtō frāyō-hvarštō*] Rich in good words, rich in good  
deeds].
- 15.<sup>12</sup> [*sraošəm ašim [huraodəm . . .* [Srosh, the pious one, adore we,]  
*ratūm yazama'de*]  
*yō vananō kayadahe* Conquering the he-kayadhian,  
*yō vananō kayaiδ<ī>yā* <sup>13</sup> Conquering the she-kayadhian,  
*yō janta daēvayā druʃō* Who the dev'lish Druj hath smit-  
ten,  
*aš-aojanhō ahūm-mərančō* Very mighty, life-destroying  
[*yō har[ə]ta a'w<ī>yāxštača* [He the guardian and the watcher  
*vispayā fravōiš gaēθayā*] <sup>14</sup> Of the whole creation's progress].
16. *yō axʷabdəmnō* <sup>15</sup> *zaēnanha* Who, unsleeping in his vigil,  
*nipā'ti mazdā dāmən* Keepeth guard o'er Mazda's crea-  
tures;  
[*yō axʷabdəmnō zaēnanha* [Who, unsleeping in his vigil,  
*nišhaʷrva'ti madzā dāmən*] <sup>16</sup> Keepeth watch o'er Mazda's crea-  
tures;]  
*yō vispəm ahūm astvantəm* Who o'er all the world corporeal  
*ərəzwa sna'iθiša nipā'ti* Keepeth guard with upraised  
weapon

<sup>11</sup> Ed. *nmānaya*; if this be followed, one must read *sraošō 'šyō*.

<sup>12</sup> §§ 15-18 = Yt. xi. 10-13; §§ 15-17 are discussed by Geldner, *Metrik*, pp. 91-92.

<sup>13</sup> Ed. *kā'dyehe*. Schwyzer, pp. 111-113, admirably etymologises *kayaḍa* as *ka-yaḍa* "practising an evil cult." If this be so, we have here a word borrowed from Old Persian (cf. Old Persian *yaḍ-* = Avestan *yaz-*, Sanskrit *yaj-* "worship"). For the reading here adopted cf. *kaya'dyāśā* in K4 to Ys. lxi, 3.

<sup>14</sup> Probably interpolated from Yt. x, 103 d-e, where the lines are in a more appropriate place as in honour of Mithra.

<sup>15</sup> Ed. *anavahəbdəmnō*; Geldner, p. 92, corrects to *anuhəbdəmnō*, which likewise conflicts with the metre; for the reading here suggested cf. *niṣʷabdayə'ti*, Vd. xviii, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Mere repetition of the two lines preceding with *nišhaʷrva'ti* glossing *nipā'ti*.

- [*pasča hūrō frāšmō-dā'tim*] [*<In the night-time> after sunset*].
17. *yō nōiṭ pasčaēta hušr'afa* Who hath never slept since that time  
*yaṭ ma'nyū dāmaṇ da'diṭem* Spirits twain the world created  
 [[*yasča*] *spəntō ma'nyuš yasča* [Th' Holy Spirit and the Evil],  
*anrō*] <sup>17</sup>  
*hišārō ašahe gaēṭā* Watching over Asha's creatures.  
 [*yō višpāiš ayqṇ[ča]* *xšafnasča* [Who in sunshine and in darkness  
*yū'dye'ti [māzanyaē'byō]* *haḍa* Ever battlcth with the [Ma-  
*daēvaē'byō]* zainyan] demons.]
- 18.<sup>18</sup> *yō nōiṭ tarštō frānāmāite* Who doth not in terror bow him  
*ṭwaēšaṭ parō daēvaē'byō* From affright before the demons;  
 [[*frā*] *ahmāt parō višpe* [*<But before him all the demons>*]  
*daēva*] <sup>19</sup>  
*anusō taršta nəmante* 'Gainst their will in terror bow  
 they,  
*taršta tēmōhva* <sup>20</sup> *dvarənti* Terrified in darkness hurtling.
- 19.<sup>21</sup> [*sraošəm ašim [huraodəm . . .* [Srosh, the pious one, adore we,  
*ratūm]* *yazamaide*  
*yim yazata* Whom worshipped  
*haomō frāšmiš baēšaz<i>yō* Haoma, prospering[?] *<and>* heal-  
 ing,  
*sriṛō xšaθryō za'ri-dōiθrō* Beauteous, kingly, eyes *<all>*  
 golden,  
*bar[ə]zište pa'ti bar[ə]zahi* On the *<very>* loftiest summit  
*hara'θyō pa'ti bar[ə]zayā* Of *<the mount>* Haraiti Barzi]
- 20.<sup>22</sup> [*h<u>vačā [pāpō-vačā]* *pa'ri-gā-* [Good *<his>* words [protecting  
*vačā* words], on all sides sounding;

<sup>17</sup> Gloss-interpolation.

<sup>18</sup> = Yt. xi, 13 (cf. Yt. ix, 4 e-i); for the stanza as a whole see Geldner, p. 63.

<sup>19</sup> Apparently an interpolation to emphasise the preceding line.

<sup>20</sup> Ed. *təmaṇhō*; for the reading here adopted see Schwyzler, p. 98.

<sup>21</sup> = Yt. ix, 17 (Drvaspa); x, 88 (Mithra); xvii, 37 (Ashi)—a stock stanza to enhance the dignity of the deities celebrated in their respective Yashts.

<sup>22</sup> Rather weak stanza; doubtful whether in the original.



- pa'θimnō vīspō-paēs<ī>yəm*  
*mastīm yəm po<sup>u</sup>ru-āza'ntīm*  
*māθraheča pa<sup>u</sup>rvatātəm]* Wisdom hath he, all adornèd,  
 E'en a wisdom full of knowledge,  
 And the <Holy> Word's quintes-  
 sence.]
21. [*sraošəm ašim [huraodəm . . .*  
*ratūm] yazamaide]* [Srosh, the pious one, adore we,]  
*yephe nmānəm vār[ə]θraγ<a>ni*  
*hazavrō-stūnəm vīdātəm*  
*[bar[ə]zište pa'ti bar[ə]zahi*  
*hara'θyō pa'ti bar[ə]zayā]*<sup>23</sup> His a mansion <all->victorious,  
 With a thousand pillars builded,  
 [On the <very> loftiest summit  
 Of <the mount> Haraiti Barzi,]  
*x<sup>u</sup>āraoxxnəm antarə-naēmāf*  
*stəhrpaēsəm ništara-naēmāf* Self-illuminèd on the inside,  
 Star-adornèd on the outside.
- 22.<sup>24</sup> [*yephe ahunō va'r<ī>yō*  
*sna'θiś visata vərəθraja*  
*yasnas[ča] haptanhātiś*  
*fšūšas[ča]*  
*māθras<ča> yō vār[ə]θraγ<a>niś*  
*vīspāšča yasnō-kərətayō]* [*<In> whose <hand> th' Ahuna*  
*Vairya*  
*Served as weapon <all->victorious,*  
*And the Yasna Haptanghaiti,*  
*And victorious Fshushas Manthra,*  
*And all chapters of the Yasna.]*
23. [*sraošəm ašim [huraodəm . . .*  
*ratūm] yazamaide]* [Srosh, the pious one, adore we,]  
*yephe ama[ča] vərəθraγnača*  
*haozəθwača vaēd<ī>yāča*  
*avāyən*<sup>25</sup> *aməšā spanta*  
*aoi haptō-karšvarīm zəm* Through whose might and through  
 whose conquest,  
 Through whose knowledge and  
 whose wisdom  
 Came th' Amshaspands <down  
 from heaven>  
 Unto earth, the seven-climèd.
- 24.<sup>26</sup> *yō daēnō-disō daēnayāi*  
*vasō-xšaθrō fračarā'ti*  
*aoi yəm astva'tīm gaēθəm*  
*[aya daēnaya fraorənta*  
 by  
 Who for faith of faith the teacher,  
 Ruling as he will, doth fare forth  
 Down unto this world corporeal.  
 [That the faith which is professed

<sup>23</sup> Interpolated epic tag.<sup>24</sup> Evidently a late addition from the post-Zarathushtrian period.<sup>25</sup> Ed. *avāin*; lines c-d and 24 a = Yt. xi, 14 c-e.<sup>26</sup> Lines c-h = Yt. x, 92 a-f.

- ahurō mazdā ašava* Ahura Mazda the holy,
- [*frā*] *vohu manō* [*frā a*]šəm Vohuman, Asha Vahishta,  
*vahištəm*
- [*frā*] *xšaθrəm va'rīm* [*frā*] Khshatraver, Spenta Armaiti,  
*spənt[a] ārmaitiš*
- [*frā*] *ha<sup>u</sup>rvatās* [*frā*] Haurvatat, Ameretat, questions  
*amərətātās<čā>*
- [*frā*] *āhū'riš frašnō* [*frā āhū'riš*] Of the Lord, and his <great>  
*tkaēšas<čā>* teachings].
- 25.<sup>27</sup> [*frā*] *aḍa <u>vaē'bya ahubya*] [For the two lives now <and hence-  
 forth>],  
 <u>vaē'bya [*nō*] *ahubya* For the two lives do thou guard us,  
 [*ni*]payā
- [*āi sraoša ašya huraōda*] [Srosh of lovely form and pious,  
*ahmāiča anhe astvaite* For the life <that is> corporeal,  
*ahmāiča anhe manahyāi*] <sup>28</sup> For the soul's life, <Oh, protect  
 us!>]!
- pa'ri dr<u>vataṭ mahrkaat* Dev'lish Death, from <him protect  
 us!>
- pa'ri dr<u>vataṭ aēšmaaṭ* Dev'lish Wrath, from <him pro-  
 tect us!>
- pa'ri dr<u>vaṭbyō haēnōbyō* Dev'lish Hordes, from <them pro-  
 tect us!>
- [*yā us xṛurəm drafšəm*] [That high hold their blood-  
*gərwənqən* stained banner;  
*aēšmahe parō draomēbyō* From assaults of Wrath protect us  
*yā aēšmō duždā drāvayāṭ* Wherewith evil Wrath assaults us  
*maṭ viḍātaoṭ daēvō-dātāt*] With Vidhatu, made by devils.]
- 26.<sup>29</sup> [*aḍa* [*nō*] *tūm sraoša aš<i>ya*] [Do thou then [for us], O pious  
 [*huraōda*] Sraoša [of lovely form],  
*zāvar[ə] ḍayaā hitaē'byō* Strength grant to <our harnessed>  
 coursers,

<sup>27</sup> Yt. x, 93.<sup>28</sup> Late glosses. In d-e Ed. reads *aheča aṇhēuš yō astvatō/yasča asti manahyō*; for the reading here adopted see Schwyzler, pp. 99-100.<sup>29</sup> Stock verse also in Yt. v, 53 d-i (Ardvi Sura) and x, 11 c-h, 94 b-g (Mithra).

- dr<u>vatātəm<ča> tanubyō* <Yea,> and health unto our  
bodies,  
*po'ru-spaxšt<i>yəm tbišyantəm* Full perception of <our> foemen,  
*pa'ti-jā'tīm dušma'nyunəm* Striking down of evil-minded,  
*haθrā-nivā'tīm hamərəθ[an]əm* Speedy conquest of the hostile,  
*a'rvaθanaəm tbišyantəm* Of <our> enemies <and> haters.]
27. [*sraošəm ašīm [huraodəm . . .* [Srosh, the pious one, adore we,  
*ratūm] yazama'de*  
*yim caθ<u>wārō a'rvantō* Who is borne by four swift cour-  
sers,  
*[a'ruša raoxšna frādərəsra* [White <and> shining, seen afar  
off,  
*spənta vīdvānhō asaya* Holy, wise, casting no shadow,  
*ma'nivasanho vazənti]*<sup>30</sup> Moving in the realm of spirits,]  
*sr<u>vaēna aēšəm safānhō* With <their> hoofs <of> horny  
<hardness>  
*zaranya pa'ti-θwarštānhō* <Inlaid with> gold damaskeening.
- 28.<sup>31</sup> [*ās<i>yanhā aspəēb<i>ya* [Than two steeds they twain <are>  
swifter,  
*ās<i>yanhā vātaēb<i>ya* Than two winds they twain <are>  
swifter,  
*ās<i>yanhā vāraēb<i>ya* Than two rains they twain <are>  
swifter,  
*ās<i>yanhā maēyaēb<i>ya* Than two clouds they twain <are>  
swifter,  
*ās<i>yanhā vayaēb<i>ya* Than two [flying] birds they twain  
[*patarətaēbbya*] <are> swifter,  
*ās<i>yanhā h<u>vastaēbbya*] Than two well-shot [hurled]  
<casts> are swifter.]
29. *yōi vīspē tē apayə'nti* Who <swift> overtake all <foe-  
men>  
*yə ave paskāt v<i>yə'nti* After whom they <rush> pur-  
suing,  
*nōit ave paskāt āfənte* But <themselves> ne'er overtaken;

<sup>30</sup> = Yt. x, 68 f-h (of Mithra's chariot).

<sup>31</sup> The use of the dual after *caθ<u>wārō* of the preceding stanza in itself renders this stanza suspect (cf. Bartholomae, col. 342); in line f Ed. has *hrastayd a'vəhmanayd*.

- yōi* <u>vaθ'b<i>ya *sna*θižbja      Who <themselves>, with weapons  
twofold,  
*frāyataye*'nti *vazəmna*      Forward <ever> press on, bearing  
*yim* *vohūm* *sraošəm* aš<i>yəm      Sraosha, <who is> good and pious.  
[*ya*ičit̥ *ušasta*'re *hindvō*      [Be in eastern Hind <the foeman>  
[āgə<sup>u</sup>rva<sup>e</sup>ite]      [he seizeth him],  
*ya*tciṭ̥ *daošata*'re *ni*yne] <sup>32</sup>      Or in western, he doth smite him.]
30. <*sraošəm* ašim [*huraodəm* . . .      <Srosh, the pious one, adore we,>  
*ratūm*] *yazama*'de>  
*yō* *bərəzō* *bərəz*<i>yāstas<ča> <sup>33</sup>      Who, the lofty <and> high-girded,  
*mazdā* *dāman* *nišanhasti*      Down to Mazda's world doth set  
him.
31. <sup>34</sup>*yō* āθrit<i>yəm *hamahe*      Who three times in each day's  
<brightness>  
*ayən* *hamayā* *vā* *xšapō*      Or <three times> in each night's  
<darkness>  
*ima*t̥ *karšvar*[ə] *avazā*'te      To this clime <of earth> de-  
scendeth  
[*ya*t̥ *xʷaniraθəm* *bām*<i>yəm] <sup>35</sup>      [To Khvaniratha the shining],  
*sna*θiṣ̥ *zastaya* *dražimnō*      In <his> hands a weapon bearing,  
*brōiθrō*-*taēžəm* *h*<u>*vā*-*vaē*yəm      Keen <its> edge, <yea, and> self-  
moving,<sup>36</sup>  
*kamərəde* *pa*'ti *daēvanəm* <sup>37</sup>      'Gainst the pate of <all the>  
demons.
32. <sup>38</sup>[*sna*θāi *anrahe* *ma*'nyōūš      [For to smite down [devilish]  
[*drvatō*]      Angra Mainyu,

<sup>32</sup> Apparently interpolated from Yt. x, 104 d-e (Mithra).

<sup>33</sup> The first line mechanically copied, with bad metre, from the metrical *yā* *bərəza*'tiš̥ *bərəz*<i>yāstā of Yt. xiii, 29 e; *nišanhasti* must be from an Indo-European \**ni-sés<sub>6</sub>dti* (cf. the type of Sanskrit; *Wörterbuch*, col. 1754; Bartholomae's explanation as for \**nišasti* (*Grundriss* i, Strassbourg, 1895-1901, p. 158 *bī-bhar-ti* "bears") seems less likely.

<sup>34</sup> For the metre of §§ 31-32 see Geldner, p. 98.

<sup>35</sup> Repeated in Yt. x, 15, 67, 133 (Mithra); xii, 15 (Rashnu); Vd. xix, 39; here evidently a mere gloss.

<sup>36</sup> This meaning suggested by my pupil, Mr. Wayne A. Kalenich.

<sup>37</sup> Repeated in Yt. vi, 5 (Khvare Khshaeta); x, 129 (Mithra); the distich copied in Vd. xix, 15 (Sraosha).

<sup>38</sup> Interpolated from Ys. xxvii, 1 (Amshaspands).

- snaθāi aēšmahe xr<u>vī-draoš* Aeshma <with his> mace <all>  
blood<-stained>,  
*snaθāi māza'nyanq̃m* For to smite the fiends Mazainyan,  
*daēv[an]q̃m*  
*snaθāi višpanq̃m daēvanq̃m* For to smite down all the demons.]
- 33.<sup>39</sup> [*sraošəm ašīm [huraodəm . . .* [Srosh, the pious one, adore we,]  
*ratūm] yazama'de*  
*iḍat[ča] a'nīḍatča iḍat[ča]* Here and elsewhere, <even> here  
<now>,  
*višpamča a'pi imq̃m zq̃m* And o'er all this earth, all con-  
quests  
*višpā sraošahe ašyehe* <Aye> victorious we worship  
*taxmahe hq̃m-var[ə]t'ivatō* <Won by> Srosh, the pious, sturdy,  
*taxmahe tanumaθbrahe* Spell incarnate <he, and> sturdy,  
*bāzuš-aojanhō raθāēštā* Full of courage <for the battle>,  
*kamərəδō-šanō daēvanq̃m* Strong of arm, a warrior<mighty>,  
[*vanatō*] *vana'tiš vana'tivatō* [Conquering,] smiting <down>  
the pates of demons,  
*ašaonas[ča] [vanatō]* <Yea, and> holy, [conquering,]  
<yazama'de> <them> we worship.  
[*vana'tiš[ča] yazama'de* [And the victories we worship  
*vana'ntyā uparatātō*<sup>40</sup> Of Uparatat victorious;  
*yamča sraošahe ašyehe* That of Srosh the pious, and that  
*yamča arštōiš yazatahe* Conquest of the Yazad Arshti].
34. *višpa nmāna [sraošō-pāta]* Every household[Srosh-protected]  
*yazama'de* do we worship  
*yenḥāda sraošō aš<i>yō* In the which the pious Sraosha  
*fr<i>yō friθō pa'ti-zantō* As a friend belov'd is welcomed  
[*nāča ašava [frāyō-]humatō* [And the righteous man of good  
thought [rich],  
*frāyō-hūxtō frāyō-hvarštō]*<sup>41</sup> Rich in good words, rich in good  
deeds].

<sup>39</sup> §§ 33-34 = Yt. xi, 19-20 (Sraosha).

<sup>40</sup> Ed. *vana'tiš vana'ntimča uparatātəm yazama'de*; for *vana'ntyā uparatātō* see Ys. i, 6; Vsp. i, 6; Yt. viii, 12; xiv, 0. The reference here to Uparatat seems to be a late addition.

<sup>41</sup> A formula recurring in Vsp. iii, 4; Vd. xviii, 64; apparently a late addition.

## OLD PERSIAN JOTTINGS

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SINCE THE writing of my article on "The Present Status of Old Persian Studies," which appeared in this JOURNAL in June, 1936, there have been a number of publications in this rather limited field, some of which give occasion for comment at this time.

For brevity, items in the appended Bibliography are referred to by their serial numbers.

I. The inscription of Darius about *The Restoration of Order in the Empire* (JAOS 54. 40-50), is dealt with in No. 11, pp. 210-1 with notes 23 and 26, and is the subject of Nos. 24, 25, 27, in which the Akkadian and the Elamite versions also are treated, as well as that composed in Old Persian.

36 *ci[nā]*, my restoration to fill the gap, seems to me to be supported by the remarks of Harl (No. 6) as to the phonetic development of Avestan *čina*.

39 *tauviyā* "stronger": this is the comparative to *\*tauma-*, cf. the OP subst. *tauman-* "strength." For the formation, cf. not merely Skt. *sthūra-* "strong," comp. *sthaviyas-*, but Av. *stūra-* "strong," comp. *staoyah-*, and *taxma-* "brave," comp. *tašyah-*.

39-40 *sakaūtim* (Bh. 4. 65 *śakauri[m]*): in addition to the references in No. 11, pp. 219-20 and note 62, mention should be made of Benveniste's earlier remarks (No. 1). The normalized form should perhaps be rather *skauṭim*, Bh. *škaurim*.

Two corrections to No. 25, p. 112, thanks to a card from Prof. Weissbach: (1) An "eleventh" OP fragment is reached by counting separately (JAOS 54. 41) the two sides of the fragment given by Scheil, *Mém.* 21. 61; there are eleven fragments of the text, but only ten fragments of tablets. (2) The second Akk. fragment, mentioned as unpublished, was in fact published by Weissbach in *AbkSGW* 29. 37-8 (1911) and in *Keilinsch.* xx and 99-101 (1911).

II. The Daiva-Inscription of Xerxes, found at Persepolis in 1935; see Nos. 7, 9-12, 14, 15, 18-20. The two OP copies are accessible in photographic reproduction (No. 20, p. 295), but the Akk. and Elam. versions are available only in Herzfeld's normalized transliteration (No. 19, pp. 56-61). This inscription is valuable

for new data on language, history, and religion; but even more so for its convincing evidence that when it was composed the reduction of OP to writing was still a living process, and not a matter of making a cento from old materials in the archives (No. 20, p. 304).

18-9 *dātam : tya : manā : avadiš : adāraya* "the law which was mine, that held them (the *dahyāva* or lands) firm." NRa 21-2 has the same text, with the variant *adāriya* (cf. *JAOS* 35. 347 n.). The usual interpretation of NRa is "they maintained my law" or its equivalent: Tolman, "The law which (is) mine, that was established for them"; Weissbach, "Mein Gesetz, das ward gehalten" as his composite version, and for the Akkadian, "meine Gesetze wurden gehalten." For the Daiva-Inscription, Herzfeld has "mein gesetz das wurde von ihnen gehalten." But the accusative *-diš* can hardly be the agent, which is expressed by the genitive (Meillet-Benveniste, *Gram.*<sup>2</sup> § 363); the idioms *auramazdām : avaθa : kāma : āha* and *yaθā : mām : kāma : āha* can hardly establish an accusative of the agent (cf. *Lg.* 9. 39), nor can the miswritten phrases *tya : mām : kartā* and *mām : upā : mām : kartā* in Art. Pers. a, b, in the face of *tyamaīy : kartam* and the like (cf. *TAPA* 55. 60-1). For these reasons I take *adāraya* as active, with *-diš* as direct object (*ava* = *dātam* is of course subject), as does Weissbach in his translation of NRa, given *AbkSGW* 29. 25, "mein Gesetz hielt sie (in Schranken)."

38-9 *daivā : mā : yadiyaiša* "the daivas shall not be worshiped." The verb is a passive optative; the active personal ending *-ša* (varying with *-ha*; cf. Meillet-Benveniste, *Gram.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 130) is justified by the presence of the passive suffix *-ya-*. This interpretation is to be credited to Dr. C. J. Ogden (personal letter, March 11, 1938). Previously I normalized *yadiyaiš* and translated "The Daivas thou shalt not worship!", but a general prohibition in the plural now seems to me more probable than one in the second singular.

47 and 48 *ahaniy*, first singular subjunctive, "may I be": for an expected *\*ahāniy* (cf. No. 20, p. 302). Dr. Ogden suggests that the first person form has taken the short vowel by imitation of the short vowel which is regular in the other persons, e. g., in 3d sg. *ahatiy*.

III. *θadayāmai*, occurring at the end of Dar. Susa a and of Scheil's No. 11 (*Mémoires* 21. 52), both mutilated inscriptions, but

with identical text. Brandenstein, WZKM 39. 20, correctly reconstructs the final sentence as follows (my version, JAOS 51. 215 n. and 217-8, was incorrect): *vašnā : AMhā : adam : ava : akunavam : tya : a[kunavam : visa]hyā : frašta : θadayāmaiy*. He translates thus: "Nach dem Willen des AM tat ich (jen)es; (durch das,) was ich tat, bin ich jeglichem als einer sichtbar, der (vordwärts) ans Ziel gekommen ist."

Brandenstein, it is true, makes the point that *ava* always refers to the preceding; but in Bh. 4. 51 the adv. *avā* refers to a following *yaθā*, and his objection to taking *ava* in our present passage as antecedent of *tya* therefore lacks validity. Thus *θadayāmaiy* may be an indicative of result depending directly upon the second *akunavam*, even as the subjunctive *kunavāmaiy* depends directly on *amaniyaiy* in Scheil's No. 10 (*Mém.* 21. 51; cf. JAOS 51. 217, with reff.), and we should interpret, "By the grace of Ahuramazda I have done the following, namely that I brought about (that) to every one I seem exalted."

For the other passage with this verb, lines 5-6 of Scheil's No. 7 (*Mém.* 21. 46), I now accept Brandenstein's text and translation (WZKM 39. 45): *vašnā : AMhā : hya [ : ima : hadiš : vainatiy : tya : manā : ka|rtam : ] visahyā : frašta : θadayā[maiy*, "Nach dem Willen des AM werde ich jedem, der diese Pfalz sieht, welche ich gebaut habe, sichtbar als einer, der an der Spitze steht."

IV. The long inscription of Xerxes dealing with his accession to the throne, found by Herzfeld at Persepolis in 1931 (*AMI* 4. 117-39; Kent, *Lg.* 9. 35-46; other reff. No. 11, p. 210, n. 19), has again been discussed by Herzfeld (No. 19, pp. 35-46), who no longer argues that in lines 33-4 *gāθavā : ašiyava* "(Darius) went from the throne" means "abdicated," but accepts (p. 45) the view already urged by others that it means "died"; the reason for his change of view is a newly discovered Akkadian version of the same inscription (apparently as yet unpublished), from which he quotes the corresponding passage (his transliteration): *ultu muḫḫi ša abūia dāriiāwuš ina šī-im-it el-li-i-ki* "from the time that my father Darius to his fate went." I venture to call attention to the fact that Professor Speiser suggested (*Lg.* 9. 42) this very idiom as one possibility of the Akk. equivalent.

V. The OP inscriptions whose authenticity has been called into question have received further discussion.



In No. 8, Herzfeld again discusses the inscription of the silver dishes of Artaxerxes I and that of Ariaramnes. In a personal letter, he interprets the second element of *bātugara* "Weinschale" (in the insc. of the silver dishes) as identical with *-gāra-* in *\*pati-gāra-*, from which comes Mod. Pers. *piyāla* "drinking-cup" (cf. No. 3).

VI. The inscription treated by Dyen (*JAOS* 56. 91-3) has been the subject of lengthy discussion by Eilers (No. 16), who finds in the parts of the inscription which defied Dyen's efforts at interpretation, a moderately successful attempt by the forger to put into OP the Pahlavi formula for Artaxerxes and his titles. These comprise the first three lines, and the column of characters in the remaining lines except line 5, at the right of the tablet. In the following transcription, a dash indicates a gap filled by a figure in the design, and + indicates a possible additional character:

1 *ma-za-du-i-sa-nu-:—a—ra-di-xa-ša-tu-ru-:*  
 2 *:i-za-du-na-i-:—mi-na-ja-ta-ru-i-:-mi*  
 3 *ra-ka-na-:-mi-ra-ka—a-:-a-i-ru-na-:-vi-:-da*  
 4 *: -ma-u*      6 *nu-+*    7 *θa*    8 *ra-+*    9 *mu*  
 10 *vi-:-a*    11 *gu-ru-+*

The Pahlavi formula is *mazdēsn bayē X šāhān šāh ērān u anērān kē čīhrē hač yazdān*, "the Mazda-worshipping God X, king of kings of Iran and Non-Iran, who (is) a scion from the gods." On this basis, Eilers reconstructs an original of the inscription, as follows:

1 *mazdēsn Ardaxšēr* 2 *yazdānē min čīhrē*  
 3-4 *malkān malkū ērān va anērān . . .* 10-11 *aguru*  
 "The Mazda-worshipping Ardashir, scion from the gods,  
 king of kings of Iran and Non-Iran . . . brick."

Note the change of order; the Semitic *min* for *hač*, *malkān malkū* for *šāhān šāh* with *l* changed to *r*, and *va* "and"; the Akk. *aguru* (whence Mod. Pers. *āgūr*) as a label for the object on which it stands.

VII. The glazed tile from Saqqara, published by Sayce in *AfOF* 8. 225 (1933), is the subject of comment by Weissbach (No. 24, p. 87), who finds that by reading both sides from bottom upward he gets an intelligible text. The inscription is as follows:

	Obverse	Reverse
1	<i>za-ra-ka</i>	<i>a-ma</i>
2	<i>XŠ-: -va</i>	<i>ya-a-na</i>
3	<i>: -u-ša</i>	<i>XŠ-XŠ</i>

Weissbach reads (in my normalization) :

: *uš(a) XŠ: vazraka XŠ XŠyānām*  
 “ *Uš(a)*, great king, king of kings.”

He suggests that *Uš* or *Uša* might have been a nickname of Darius (*dārayavauš*), and declines to pronounce on the genuineness of the inscription.

But to me such an abbreviation of the royal name seems grotesque. Writing from below upwards would be without precedent in OP records. The inscription on the tile can have meaning only in connection with another tile, yet could not have been fixed on a wall because it was inscribed on both sides (as I wrote before, No. 11, pp. 215-6).

Another solution is possible. The maker and inscriber of the tile was accustomed to right-to-left writing, as in Arabic and Hebrew (cf. the engraver of the Daiva-Inscription, No. 15, p. 62, and No. 16, p. 293). He did not understand the OP syllabary, but had before him a copy of Scheil's *Mémoires*, Vol. 21, in which he found three inscriptions with almost identical text: 2, complete in one line; 7, the extant text of the first line (incomplete at both ends); 11, the first line and the beginning of the second:

- 2    *adam : dārayavauš XŠ : vazraka XŠ XŠyānām : (etc.)*  
 7.1                    *]ārayavauš XŠ : vazraka XŠ XŠyānā[*  
 11.1 *adam : dārayavauš : XŠ : vazraka : XŠ XŠyān-*  
       *2 ām : (etc.)*

He realized that the slanting stroke was the word-divider, and believed that the characters were read from right to left; he used 7 as his model, but noticed by comparison that another character (*ma*) must have stood in the word, at the right. He began on the “reverse” side of the tile, inscribed three short lines there, went to the obverse and did the same, ending with a word-divider. A smear on Sayce's facsimile at the right end of line 3 of the “obverse” indicates that for a moment he was led by Insc. 11 into starting a divider, but obliterated it under the influence of 2 and 7.

And that this is what he did, is proved by the fact that nowhere else in all the facsimiles of OP inscriptions can there be found precisely this same omission of the divider, simultaneously in three positions: between *-uš* and *XŠ*, between *vazraka* and *XŠ*, between *XŠ* and *XŠyānām*.

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The following bibliography, which includes some items kindly furnished by Prof. Dr. W. Prinz of Halle, supplements that presented in "The Present Status of Old Persian Studies"; the same abbreviations, with a few obvious additions, are used:

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3. É. Benveniste, *JAs.* 228. 233-4 (on NP *piyāla* "drinking-cup").
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# THREE TURFAN PAHLAVI ETYMOLOGIES: 𐬱𐬰𐬭𐬀, 𐬰𐬰𐬭𐬀, 𐬰𐬰𐬭𐬀

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## (1) 𐬱𐬰𐬭𐬀

IN THE Turfan Pahlavi Manichaean Fragment T III 260 (ed. Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, I)<sup>1</sup> there is a mention of "that light of the gods, which from the beginning has been smitten by Āz and Ahrmēn and the demons and the witches and which even now they hold . . ." (*u-š nūn-č 𐬱𐬰𐬭𐬀 dārēnd*, leaf e 2, verso 1, lines 25-26, ed. A.-H., p. 179). Andreas-Henning render 𐬱𐬰𐬭𐬀 by "gefesselt," probably because in another passage of this text of the same general tenor (a 1, verso 2, lines 11-12, *ibid.*, p. 186) the expression used is *u-š nūn-č grift dārēnd*, "and even now they hold it (the light) seized." Henning later, in his article "Das Verbum des Mittelpersischen der Turfanfragmente" (*Ztschr. f. Indologie u. Iranistik*, 9. 158-253), cites at p. 181 both this past participial form, which he transcribes as *hafšird*, and a present stem *hafšir*.<sup>2</sup> He still adheres to the meaning "fesseln," but admits that the word is of obscure origin ("unklarer Herkunft"), suggesting, however, that the forms may be analyzed as *ham* + \**šrya-* or \**šrta-*, with the *m* of the prefix becoming *f* before *š*.

A more plausible etymological connection can be made with the Iranian root *fšar-* "to be ashamed, abased," from which we have Avestan *fšarəma-* and BkPhl. and NP. *šarm*, all meaning "shame," and, with metathesis, Soghdian *šb'r* (*šfar*). Benveniste<sup>3</sup> has further recognized that the TPhl. verb stems *šārs-* "be ashamed" (also in the Psalter Fragment), and *šrāsēn-*<sup>4</sup> "make ashamed, confound" (both listed by Henning, *ZII* 9. 191-192), are derived from (*f*)*šar-* with inchoative *s*. In *hafšird* here we have now the TPhl. past participle of (*f*)*šar-* without any enlargement of the root, and in *hafšir-* the present stem in *ya-*, presumably with intransitive or passive force. The *f*, which is lost before *š* in

<sup>1</sup> *Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.* 1932. X, Berlin, 1932.

<sup>2</sup> From M 246 recto 2, a fragment apparently not yet published.

<sup>3</sup> *Mém. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, 23. 403-405.

<sup>4</sup> The stem *srāwšēn-* "overcome," which Henning, *ZII* 9. 192, assigns to a root \**srwš*, is merely *šrāsēn-*, with the sibilants interchanged and an inorganic *w* inserted before *š*, as in *awšōz* and *awšādīh*, cf. *JAOS* 53. 392.

initial position in Middle and New Persian,<sup>5</sup> is preserved in the seam of the compound, while the *m* of the prefix *ham-* disappears before *fš* as *m* does before *ft* in such forms as *hangaft* and *franaft*, from the roots *gam-* and *nam-* respectively (Henning, *ZII* 9. 218-219). We may accordingly translate *hafšird* as "abased" or "oppressed."

(2) 'ŠKRWST

The same Manichaean text (T III 260) contains a passage describing how, after the seduction of the male demons by the Light-Realm-God, there arose from the sea a hideous monster.<sup>6</sup> The text continues:<sup>7</sup> *uđ ač drayāb bā 'škrwst u-š n(i)vist andar šahr vināh kunān* "and it . . . forth from the sea, and it began doing sin in the world." Andreas-Henning, following the context, render the verb '*škrwst* as "kroch," and in their glossary (p. 216) give the meaning "herauskriechen." Later Henning in *ZII* 9. 225, where he is discussing the prefix *uz-*, merely mentions the form as "unklar." The nearest parallels, I suggest, are to be found in the Avestan adjectives *skarəna-* "round," *skārayat.raθa* "causing the chariot to turn" (Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1587). These words presuppose a root *skar-* "to twist, turn," from which the meaning "crawl, wriggle," demanded in our text, might well enough arise. The change of initial *sk* to *šk* is regular in Middle and New Persian,<sup>8</sup> and the 'ayin here merely indicates the prothetic vowel which develops in Turfan Pahlavi before initial *s* or *š* followed by a consonant. The termination *wst* does present a difficulty, since the past tense of the verbs corresponding to the NP. verbs in *-istan* is regularly written *yst* in Turfan Pahlavi. The only recourse seems to be to regard the form here as written defectively and to vocalize it as '(i)škar(r)av(i)st, parallel to *var(r)avist* "believed," which is well attested for both Turfan and Book Pahlavi. The present stem which is to be inferred, *iškarrav-*, would be another example of the *nu-* or *nav-* formation in Middle Persian, cf. Henning, *ZII* 9. 201-202.

<sup>5</sup> Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, pp. 185-186.

<sup>6</sup> The beginning of the story, which must have told about the seduction, is missing by reason of the loss of a leaf at this point, but it can be completed from the accounts in other sources, especially Theodore bar Khoni, see A. V. W. Jackson, *Researches in Manichaeism*, pp. 244-247.

<sup>7</sup> Andreas-Henning, *Mitteliran. Man.* I, p. 181, b 1, recto 1, lines 12-15.

<sup>8</sup> Bartholomae, *AirWb.* s. v. *skapta-*, *skand-*, 1586-1587; Hübschmann, *Pers. Stud.*, p. 219.

(3) *MNWHMYD*

Among the etymologies advanced for the much discussed Turfan Pahlavi word *MNWHMYD* (also written *MNḤWMYD* and, defectively, *MNḤMYD*), which can best be rendered in English by "mind," in either the intellectual or the volitional sense,<sup>9</sup> the most plausible, despite those of Waldschmidt and Lentz<sup>10</sup> and of Nyberg,<sup>11</sup> is still that put forth by Schaeder,<sup>12</sup> who would read *manōhmēd*, from the genitive case of Old Iranian *manah-* (in Avestan *manaphō*) "mind," and *matī-* "thought." It seems unlikely, however, that the TPhl. compound would have arisen from a syntactic combination of a genitive and the substantive on which it depends; the once occurring Avestan phrase *mananphasča humaiti*, which Schaeder quotes,<sup>13</sup> is hardly sufficient evidence of the existence of such a fixed formula. The term seems rather to be a dependent compound of the ordinary type, *manah* + *matī* "thought of the mind," but is probably an old one, since even in the Avesta *matī-* is no longer found as an independent word. The appearance of *h*, and not *z*, before *m* may be justified by the analogy of such words as Av. *dušmainyu-*, Phl. *dušmēn* "enemy," with *š* instead of *ž*. That *h* is normally retained before *m* in Turfan Pahlavi has been shown by Benveniste.<sup>14</sup> The labial coloring of the vowel of the second syllable, indicated by the spelling with *w*, is doubtless caused by the following *m*, as in the superlative and ordinal suffix *-um*, from older *-ama-*.<sup>15</sup> We may vocalize the word accordingly as *manuhmēd* or *manohmēd*, the precise quality of the second vowel, whether short *u* or *o*, being unascertainable. The spelling *MNḤWMYD* probably represents *manah<sup>w</sup>mēd*, with *ḤW* indicating a labialized *h*, just as in such a word as *PḤYKR*, "picture" (NP. *paikar*), which is usually transcribed *pahīkar*, the prefix should be pronounced *pahī* with palatalized *h* and not as a dissyllable.

<sup>9</sup> See Polotsky's discussion in Schmidt and Polotsky, *Ein Mani-Fund in Ägypten*, pp. 67-69 (*Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl. 1933. I*, pp. 68-70).

<sup>10</sup> *Man-vah-med* "die Gesinnung des guten Sinnes," in *Manichäische Dogmatik aus chinesischen und iranischen Texten*, pp. 89-90 (*SPAW, Phil.-hist. Kl. 1933. XIII*, pp. 566-567).

<sup>11</sup> *Man-ahōmēd* or *man-ahmēd* "Seelenwurzel," *Le Monde Oriental*, 23 (1929) 368-369.

<sup>12</sup> *Studien zum antiken Synkretismus* (1926), p. 209 n. 5.

<sup>13</sup> From Pursishnihā 28; cf. Bartholomae, *AirWb.* 1833.

<sup>14</sup> *Bulletin de la Soc. de Linguistique*, 31. 76-79.

<sup>15</sup> Bartholomae, *Zum altiranischen Wörterbuch*, pp. 50-54.

THE HITTITE AND LUWIAN RITUAL OF  
ZARPIYA OF KEZZUWATNA

BENJAMIN SCHWARTZ  
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A = KUB 9.31

B = HT 1.

	A	B	
§ 1	1	1.	[ <i>UM-MA</i> 'za-ar-p]i-ya <sup>LA</sup> A.ZU URUki-iz-zu-wa-at-na
	2	2.	[ma-a-an MU.KAM-za] har-ra-an-za KUR-e-kán an-da ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-[ri]
	3	3.	[nam-ma-k]án ku-e-da-ni URU-ri EGIR-an har-ra-an
	4	4.	[nu <i>BE-EL</i> ] Ê-TIM ki-iš-ša-an i-ya-zi
§ 2	5	5.	[ha-an-te-iz-z]i ki-e-lu-un ga-an-ga-ah-hi nu-uš-ši hu-up- pa-li ZABAR
	6	6.	[ha-az-z]i-li-iš-ši-it ŠA <sup>KU</sup> UR.MAH wa-ar-hu-wa-ya-aš
	7	7.	[ga-an-ki nam]-ma-ma <sup>ZA</sup> ku-un-ku-nu-uz-zi-ya-aš ha-az-zi- ul-še-it-[ta?]
	8	8.	[hur-tág-ga-aš] ši-ša-i da-aš-šu hur-tág-ga-aš ši-ša-i
	9	9.	[ga-an]-ki-ma ša-a-ša-aš <sup>1</sup>
§ 3	10 <sup>2</sup>	10.	a-lj-eš-ša ŠA SÍG.GE <sub>6</sub> SÍG.DIR URUhur-nu-wa-ši-la-aš SÍG.SI[G <sub>7</sub> .SIG <sub>7</sub> ]
	11	4 11.	nu UZU MÁŠ(1) UR.TÚG me-na-ah-ha-an-da ša-kal- ša-a-an na-aš [ . . . ] 3-uš
	12	5 12.	ki-e-iz-za 1-an I-NA <sup>GI</sup> ŠGAG KÁ 1-an ki-e-iz-za-ma I-NA <sup>GI</sup> ŠGAG <sup>GI</sup> ŠMA.NU
	13	6 13.	ga-an-ki
§ 4	14	7 14.	pí-ra-an-na ha-an-te-iz-zi-ya-az I-NA KÁ <sup>GI</sup> ŠGAG KÁ IGI-i-e-iz
	15	8 15.	wa-al-ah-zi na-aš-ta ŠA ZÍD.DA.ŠE [ku-uk-k]u-la-an za- nu-wa-an-da-an <sup>3</sup>
	16	9 16.	ha-tal-ya-an-te-ya-aš ŠA [ZÍD.DA.ŠE ku-uk]-ku-la-an 1 DUGKU-KU-UB GEŠTIN
	17	10 17.	ga-an-ki ki-e-iz-ma [I-NA <sup>GI</sup> ŠGAG G <sup>7</sup> ] <sup>18</sup> MA.NU wa-al-ah-zi

<sup>1</sup> In rasura.

<sup>2</sup> B begins here with line 3(?) showing *iš-har*, perhaps better read URU<sup>3</sup>hur-.

<sup>3</sup> B *za-nu-wa-an-ta-an*.



TRANSLATION.

1. Thus (speaks) Zarpiya, medicine-man of Kezzuwatna.
  2. If the year (is) bad, and there is constant dying in the land,
  3. then, in what(ever) city (the pestilence) has struck,
  4. the Lord of the House does as follows:
- 
5. First I hang a ritual suspension(?). In it, in a bronze net(?),
  6. he hangs a handful of the shaggy mane of a lion.
  7. Next, moreover, with a *hazziul* of diorite,
  8. he crushes *hurtaggas*, he crushes strong *hurtaggas*,
  9. and hangs up what-he-has-crushed(?).
- 
10. A fillet(?) of black wool, red wool, (and) Hurnuwasilan yellow wool (is twined),
  11. then the meat of a goat (and) a dog cut to bits(?). Then ..... three;
  12. one on this side, one on the gate peg. But on the other side, on the gate peg,
  13. he hangs a twig of date-palm.
- 
14. First of all he knocks on the gate, before the gate peg.
  15. Then he hangs a cooked *kukkulan* of fine barley-meal
  16. on the gate bolts(?), (and with) the *kukkulan* of fine barley-meal one pitcher of wine.
  17. But on the other side he strikes the twig of date-palm on the gate peg,

A B			
	18 11 18.	na-aš-ta ŠA ZID.DA.ŠE ku-nk-ku-la-an za-nu-wa-an-ta-an	
	19 12 19.	ha-tal-ya-an-ti-ya-aš ŠA [ZID.DA.ŠE] ku-uk-ku-la-an Ū 1	
		DUGKU-KU-UB GEŠTIN	
	20 13 20.	ga-an-ki	
§ 5	21 14 21.	G <sup>IS</sup> GAG.HI.A-ma kat-ta har-ga G <sup>IS</sup> ha-ah-hal pa-aš-kán	
	22 15 22.	kat-ta-na <sup>4</sup> tak-na-az [.....]-aš kat-ta-an ha-an-te-iz- zi-ya-az	
ξ	23 16 23.	ki-e-⟨lu⟩-un ki-e-iz-zi-ya wa-aš-ši hu-wa-al-la-ri ŠUM <sup>5</sup>	
	24 17 24.	ha-ri-ya-az-zi nam-ma ki-e-la-mu-uš ku-e-da-ni	
	25 18 25.	I-NA KÁ EGIR G <sup>IS</sup> IG <sup>2</sup> hi-e-la-aš ga-an-ki pí-ra-an	
	26 19 26.	kat-ta-ma <sup>6</sup> ki-e-la-u-wa-aš 1 G <sup>IS</sup> BANŠUR AD.KID da-a-i	
	27 20 27.	še-ra-aš-ša-an a-te-eš-ša-an <sup>7</sup> ZABAR 1 NINDA a-a-an	
ξ	28 21 28.	1 NINDA.KUR <sub>4</sub> .RA GA.KIN.AG da-a-i se-ra-aš-ša-an <sup>8</sup> a-te-eš-ša-an ZABAR	
	29 22 29.	G <sup>IS</sup> R ZABAR G <sup>IS</sup> BAN hu-it-ti-ya-an 1 G <sup>IS</sup> GAG.Ū.TAG.GA da-a-i	
§ 6	30 23 30.	pí-ra-an kat-ta-ma <sup>9</sup> A-NA G <sup>IS</sup> BANŠUR AD.KID 1 DUGhu- up-pár GEŠTIN	
	31 24 31.	G <sup>IS</sup> pu-u-ri-ya-az da-a-i Ū 1 DUGKA.GAG.NAG G <sup>IS</sup> pu-ri- ya-az da-a-i	
ξ	32 25 32.	nu A-NA DUGKA.GAG.NAG iš-tar-na 1 G <sup>IS</sup> A.DA.GUR tar-na-i	
§ 7	33 26 33.	nu 1 MÁŠ.GAL u-un-ni-ya-an-zi na-an-kán EN É-TIM	
	34 27 34.	PA-NI G <sup>IS</sup> BANŠUR IŠ-TU GEŠTIN A-NA D <sup>IS</sup> MARDUK ši-pa-an-ti	
	35 28 35.	nu a-ti-iš-ša ZABAR pa-ra-a e-ip-zi nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i	
	36 29 36.	e-hu D <sup>IS</sup> MARDUK kat-ti-ti-ma-at-ta D <sup>IS</sup> in-na-ra-u-wa-an-ta-aš	
	37 30 37.	ú-wa-⟨an⟩-du e-eš-ha-nu-wa-an-ta ku-i-e-eš ú-e-eš-ša-an-ta <sup>10</sup>	
	38 31 38.	L <sup>IS</sup> C.MEŠlu-u-la-hi-ya-aš-ša-an hu-up-ru-uš ku-i-e-eš iš-hi-ya- an-ti-iš	
§ 8	39 32 39.	IŠ-TU G <sup>IS</sup> R-ya-aš-ša-an ku-i-e-eš iš-hu-uz-zi-ya-an-te-eš	
	40 33 40.	G <sup>IS</sup> BAN.HI.A-aš-ša-an ku-i-e-eš hu-it-ti-ya-an-ta	

<sup>4</sup> B *kat-ta-an*.<sup>5</sup> B DUMU ŠUM-SU.<sup>6</sup> B *kat-ta-an*.<sup>7</sup> A *at-te-eš-ša-na-aš*.<sup>8</sup> B *še-ir-ra-aš-ša-an*.<sup>9</sup> B *kat-ta-an*.<sup>10</sup> B *ú-e-eš-ta-ta*.

18. then hangs a cooked *kukkulan* of fine barley-meal
  19. on the gate bolts(?), and (with) the *kukkulan* of fine barley-meal
  20. one pitcher of wine.
- 

21. The pegs (are) broken to bits, (and) a *hahhal* set up.
  22. Down on the ground . . . . . beneath and in front of
  23. the ritual suspension(?), while on this side he pours(?) the ritual liquid,
  24. (and his) namesake prays(?). Next he hangs ritual suspensions(?)
  25. on the gate behind the door of the temple forecourt. Before
  26. and beneath the ritual suspensions(?) he places a wickerwork table.
  27. Upon the table he places a bronze platter(?), one hot loaf,
  28. one ordinary loaf, (and) cheese. Upon the bronze platter(?)
  29. he places a bronze dagger, a strung bow, (and) one arrow.
- 

30. Before the wickerwork table he sets one *huppar* of wine
  31. on a tray, and places a goblet on the tray,
  32. then puts one spoon into the goblet.
- 

33. Now they lead in a full-grown goat, and the Lord of the House,
  34. before the table, dedicates the goat to Marduk with wine.
  35. Then he holds forth the bronze platters(?), and says as follows:
  36. Come, Marduk, and, mark you, with you let the Innarawantes
  37. come, who wear bloody (garments),
  38. the *Lulahhu*-men, who (are) wrapped in *huprus* garments,
- 

39. who (are) girt with daggers,
40. who string (their) bows,

## A B

- 41 34 41. <sup>G18</sup>GAG.Ū.TAG.GA.HI.A-ya har-kán-zi nu ú-wa-at-tin  
                   nu e-iz-za-at-tin  
 42 35 42. nu li-ku-wa-an-ni ma-a-an me-mi-ya-u-wa-an-zi zi-ni-iz-zi  
 43 43. nu-uš-ša-an PA-AŠ-ŠU ZABAR A-NA <sup>G18</sup>BANŠUR kat-ta  
                   da-a-i  
 44 36 44. nu MÁŠ.GAL ha-at-ta-an-ta

- § 9 45 37 45. nu e-eš-har<sup>11</sup> da-a-i nu <sup>G1A</sup>.DA.GUR ku-iš A-NA <sup>DUGKA</sup>.GAG  
 46 38 46. tar-na-an-za na-an e-eš-ha-an-ta iš-ki-ya-iz-zi  
 47 39 47. nu <sup>UZUNIG</sup>.GIG <sup>UZUŠA</sup> hu-u-i-šu ú-da-an-zi  
 48 40 48. na-at EN Ê-TIM A-NA DINGIR-LIM pa-ra-a e-ip-zi  
 49 49. nam-ma-kán wa-a-ki hi-im-ma-an i-ya-an-zi  
 50 41 50. A-NA <sup>G1A</sup>.DA.GUR-ya-aš-ša-an pu-u-ri-in da-a-i  
 51 42 51. nu pa-a-ši nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i

- § 10 43 52. ka-a-ša <sup>PMARDUK</sup> Din-na-ra-u-wa-an-te-eš-ša li-en-ga-u-en

- § 11 44 53. na-aš-ta IŠ-TU <sup>UZUNIG</sup>.GIG hu-u-i-ša-wa-az wa-a-ku-e-en  
 45 54. 1-za-ma-kán <sup>G1A</sup>.DA.GUR-az e-ku-e-en nu-mu-uš-ša-an  
                   nam-ma  
 46 55. <sup>PMARDUK</sup> Din-na-ra-u-wa-an-te-eš-ša KÁ-ya li-e  
 47 56. ti-ya-a[t]-te-ni nu <sup>UZUNIG</sup>.GIG <sup>UZUŠA</sup> IŠ-TU IZI za-nu-  
                   wa-an-zi  
 48 57. MÁŠ.GAL-kán hu-u-ma-an-ta-an pít-tal-wa-an mar-kán-zi

- § 12 49 58. nu-uš-ša-an ma-ah-ha-an <sup>UZUYA</sup> a-ri nu <sup>UZUNIG</sup>.GIG  
                   <sup>UZUŠA</sup>  
 50 59. UZU-ya hu-u-ma-an A-NA DINGIR-LIM pa-ra-a ú-da-an-zi  
 51 60. kat-ti-iš-ma-aš-ši 2-ŠU 9 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA ŠA ZÍD.  
                   DA.ŠE 1/2 UP-NI ú-da-an-zi  
 52 61. nu 9 NINDA.KUR<sub>4</sub>.RA pár-ši-ya še-ir-aš-ša-an <sup>UZUNIG</sup>.  
                   GIG <sup>UZUŠA</sup>  
 53 62. zi-ik-kán-zi na-at-ša-an A-NA <sup>G18</sup>BANŠUR EGIR-pa da-a-i

## Col. II

- 1 54 63. nu ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i še-ir kat-ta ne-pí-ša-aš <sup>DUTU</sup>-uš  
 2 55 64. az-zi-ki Ê-aš ad-da-aš<sup>12</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ az-zi-kán-du  
 3 56 65. LI-IM DINGIR.MEŠ az-zi-ik-kán-du

<sup>11</sup> B *iš-har*.<sup>12</sup> B *at-ta-aš*.

41. and hold (their) arrows, come ye and eat!
  42. And if, under oath, they say: He is finished (speaking),
  43. then he sets the bronze axe down upon the table
  44. and they slay the full-grown goat.
- 
45. He takes the blood, and (taking) the spoon which (had been)
  46. put into the goblet, anoints it with the blood.
  47. Then they bring the raw entrails and heart,
  48. and the Lord of the House offers these to the god.
  49. Next he takes a bite (of the entrails), (and) they perform the  
*himman*.
  50. Then he takes the spoon from the tray,
  51. takes a sip (from the spoon), and says as follows:
- 
52. Lo, Marduk, and (ye) Innarawantes, we have taken oath!
- 
53. Since of the raw entrails have we eaten,
  54. and, moreover, from one spoon have we drunk. So henceforth,
  55. Marduk and (ye) Innarawantes, do not approach
  56. my gate. Then they cook the entrails and heart with fire,
  57. and cut up all the rest of the full-grown goat.
- 
58. When the meat fat comes, they set the entrails, the heart,
  59. and all the meat before the god.
  60. Along with these they bring twice nine ordinary loaves of half a  
handful of fine barley-meal
  61. to (the god). He breaks nine ordinary loaves and over these they  
place
  62. the entrails and heart, then he replaces these upon the table,
  63. and says as follows: O Sun of heaven above and below,
  64. eat. Let the deified fathers of (my) house (!) eat.
  65. Let the thousand gods eat.
-

A B		
§ 13	4 57 66.	nu-za ki-e-da-ni li-in-ga-i <sup>18</sup> ku-ut-ru-e-eš <sup>14</sup> e-eš-tin
	5 58 67.	nu EGIR-an-da GĚŠTIN 9-ŠU ši-pa-an-ti PA-NI G <sup>18</sup> BANŠUR
	6 59 68.	<sup>D</sup> in-na-ra-ú-wa-an-da-aš <sup>15</sup> nu-uš-ša-an uzUZAG.DIB uzUGAB-ya
	7 60 69.	da-a-i nu 9-at NINDA.KUR <sub>4</sub> .RA ar-ha pa-ar-ši
§ 14	8	70. na-at-ša-an G <sup>18</sup> la-ah-hu-ri šu-uh-ha-i nu me-na-ah-an-da
	9	71. GĚŠTIN la-ah-hu-u-wa-i nu 8! DUMU.MEŠ-uš ú-wa-da-an-zi
	10	72. SAL-ni-iš-ša-an ku-i-e-eš na-a-ú-i pa-a-an-zi
	11	73. nu A-NA 1 DUMU.NITA K <sup>U</sup> S MÁŠ.GAL wa-aš-ši-ya-an-zi nu pí-ra-an a-pa-a-aš
	12	74. i-ya-at-ta nu UR.BAR.RA-i-li hal-zi-iš-ša-i
	13	75. nu G <sup>18</sup> BAN[ŠUR an]-da wa-ah-nu-an-zi nu uzUZAG.DIB uzUGAB-ya
	14	76. ar-ha a-d[a-an]-zi
§ 15	15	77. a-da-an-na-ma [a-ku-wa-an-na-ya.....] a-aš-šu nu QA-TAM-MA
	16	78. ú-da-i nu uzU[NÍG.GIG uzUŠĀ ar-h]a a-da-an-zi
	17	79. a-ku-wa-an-zi-ya [.....]
	18	80. nu DUGKA.GAG-ya a-ku-wa-[an-zi]
§ 16	19	81. nu-za BE-EL É-TIM G <sup>18</sup> šu-ru-uh-ha-aš G <sup>18</sup> PA-an [har-zi]
	20	82. na-aš-kán A-NA KÁ an-da ti-ya-zi nu lu-ú-i-li
	21	83. ki-iš-ša-an hu-uk-ki-iš-ki-iz-zi
§ 17	22	84. <sup>D</sup> ša-an-ta-aš LUGAL-uš <sup>D</sup> an-na-ru-um-mi-en-zi
	23	85. aš-ha-nu-wa-an-ta ku-in-zi wa-aš-ša-an-ta-ri
	24	86. <sup>D</sup> lu-u-la-hi-in-za-aš-tar hu-u-up-pa-ra-za ku-in-zi hi-iš-hi-ya-an-ti
§ 18	25	87. pa-a-tar a-ap-pa za-aš-ta-an-za aš-tu-um-ma-an-ta-an-za-ta
	Col. II	
	26 2	88. at-tu-wa-la-hi-ti ni-iš da-a-ad-du-wa-ar a-az-za-aš-ta-an
	27 3	89. UDU-in-za GUD-in-za DUMU.NAM.GĀL.LU-in-za ga-ni-in
	28 4	90. du-ú-i-ni-in ni-iš az-tu-u-wa-ri
§ 19	29 5	91. NINDA.KUR <sub>4</sub> .RA pár-ši-ya na-aš-ta lu-ú-i-li an-da ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i

<sup>18</sup> B li-en-ga-i.<sup>15</sup> B in-na-ra-wa-an-da-aš.<sup>14</sup> B ku-ut-ru-e-ni-eš.

66. And to this taking-of-oath be ye divine witnesses.
  67. Afterwards he pours libations of wine nine times before the table
  68. to the Innarawantes. Then he takes the thigh and the breast,
  69. and breaks up the other nine ordinary loaves (over them).
- 

70. Then he sprinkles these (thigh, breast, etc.) on a sacrificial board
  71. and pours wine over (it). Then they bring in eight boys
  72. who do not yet know woman sexually.
  73. They dress one boy in the hide of the full-grown goat, and this (boy)
  74. steps forward and chants in Luwian.
  75. Then they surround the table,
  76. and eat up the thigh and the breast.
- 

77. And eating and drinking ..... propitious. And in the same  
way
  78. he brings in and they eat up the entrails and the heart.
  79. And they drink.....
  80. And they drink from the goblet.
- 

81. Now the Lord of the House holds (his) *suruhhas* staff,
  82. takes his stand at the (ritual) gate, and, in Luwian,
  83. conjures as follows:
- 

84. Santas, king, (and ye) Innarawantes
  85. who wear bloody (garments),
  86. *Lulahhu*-men, who are wrapped in *huprus* (garments),
- 

87. Come! Stand(?) back (from your wrath) and be propitious(?).
  88. In good relationship(?) this offering eat.
  89. In lieu(?) of (our) sheep, oxen, humans,
  90. eat ye this offering(?).
- 

91. He breaks ordinary bread, then, in Luwian, conjures as follows:
-

## A B

- § 20 30 6 92. u-ra-az <sup>D</sup>UTU-az ta-ti-in-zi DINGIR.MEŠ-in-zi  
 31 7 93. <sup>D</sup>Ĝ.A-aš-ha pár-na-an-za-ta<sup>16</sup> ku-wa-at-ti an-da hu-u-i-na-i  
 ma-an  
 32 8 94. la-la-an-ti pa-a u-za-aš a-da-ri-ta-an<sup>17</sup>
- 
- § 21 33 9 95. <sup>D</sup>Ĝ.A-aš-wa<sup>17\*</sup> hu-u-pal-zi-ya-ti-ya-za har-ša-an-za  
 34 96. a-pa-an ša-a-at-ta<sup>18</sup>
- 
- § 22 35 10 97. nu SISKUR.SISKUR U-NU-TE-MEŠ ša-ra-a da-an-zi  
<sup>GI</sup>IG-an-na  
 36 11 98. ha-at-ki na-at IŠ-TU YÀ.DUG.GA iš-ki-ya-iz-zi<sup>19</sup>  
 37 99. nu me-ma-i
- 
- § 23 38 12 100. i-da-lu-kán<sup>20</sup> pa-ra-a<sup>21</sup> iš-tap-du a-aš-šu-wa-kán an-da  
 kur-ak-du
- 
- § 24 39 13 101. 1 IM.GÍD.DA QA-TI A-WA-AT <sup>1</sup>za-ar-pí-ya <sup>LC</sup>A.ZU  
 40 14 102. KUR <sup>URU</sup>ki-iz-zu-wa-at-na<sup>22</sup> ma-a-an MU.KAM-za<sup>23</sup> har-  
 ra-an-za  
 41 15 103. KUR-e<sup>24</sup> an-da ak-ki-iš-ki-it-ta-ri  
 42 16 104. nu SISKUR.SISKUR ki-i-lu-uš ki-iš-ša-an<sup>25</sup> ši-pa-an-ti
- 

<sup>16</sup> B *pár-na-an-za-aš-ta*.<sup>17</sup> B *a-ta-ri-ta-an*.<sup>17\*</sup> B *DĜ.A-a-aš-wa*.<sup>18</sup> B *ša-at-ta*.<sup>19</sup> B *iš-ki-iz-zi*.<sup>20</sup> B *HĜ.lu-kán*.<sup>21</sup> B *ša-ra-a*.<sup>22</sup> B *ki-iz-iš-wa-at-na*.<sup>23</sup> B *MU-za*.<sup>24</sup> B *KUR-e-kán*.<sup>25</sup> B *kiš-ša-an*.



92. Heavenly Sun, Deified Fathers,  
93. and (let) Ea, too, enter the house, if  
94. they are willing. Come! Eat ye what-has-been-brought-hither.
- 

95. And (let) Ea, upon the heads (of the divine assembly)  
96. press garlands(??).
- 

97. They pick up the sacrificial implements. He closes the door  
98. and anoints it with fine oil,  
99. then says:
- 

100. Let it (the door) shut out evil and keep in good.
- 

101. One tablet is finished. Word of Zarpiya, medicine-man  
102. of the country of Kezzuwatna. If the year (is) bad,  
103. (and) there is constant dying in the land,  
104. he thus performs the ritual suspension(?).
- 
-

## NOTES AND COMMENTARY

This text includes three separate rituals directed against pestilence. The first (our present study), hitherto unattempted, contains an important 'quasi-bilingual' Luwian hymn which has been the subject of considerable attention, especially by E. Forrer ZDMG NF 1. 215 ff., and Hrozný, BoSt 5.36 ff. Friedrich has published a transcription of this hymn with its Hittite "parallel" in his *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin (1932), pp. 36-7. The last two rituals have been translated (without text), with the exception of a few lines, by Friedrich in *Der Alte Orient*, Band 25, Heft 2 (1925), pp. 10-13, and are therefore not included in this study. For an extensive account of Hittite religion, ritual, magic, etc., see G. Furlani, *La Religione degli Hittiti*, Bologna, 1936, especially for its bibliography and documentation, and the detailed review of this book in the *Columbia Review of Religion*, Vol. 2, no. 1 (Nov. 1937). Abbreviations, etc., are those made familiar by Hittite scholars, especially in the second edition of Sturtevant's *Hittite Glossary*, Phila., 1936. To Professor Sturtevant is also due the grateful appreciation of the author, for his criticism of this study has evoked whatever may prove sound in the treatment of this difficult text. In the transcription of Hittite words the diacritical mark under the *h* has not been used.

1. Restorations of the first two lines are from A 2. 39 f., B 2. 13 f. <sup>LÜ</sup>A.ZU "medicine-man."

2. [*ma-a-an* MU.KAM-*za*] *har-ra-an-za*, "if the year is bad." Friedrich, *Der Alte Orient*, l. c., p. 11, fn. 3, translates this phrase "Wenn das Jahre widrig (ist)." The meaning is probably "when the year (or time of the year, i. e., season) is pestilential."

4. [*nu* *BE-EL*] *É-TIM*. The supplement is certain, cf. lines 33, 48, and 81 in this text (the missing space requires *BE-EL* rather than *EN*). Probably a temple official, in view of his activities, although these are not necessarily a sure indication when barbers' duties include the sweeping of the floors of temples (cf. KfF 1. 147 fn. 4), and members of the king's bodyguard take an active part in the ritual procession (cf. KBo 4. 9). The meaning might, however, be literally "householder" or the like, and the ritual directed against pestilence affecting the individual home in any stricken area. A division of the duties among the <sup>LÜ</sup>A.ZU, the *EN É-TIM*,

and the ritual assistants would be desirable, but any such thoroughgoing attempt would be conjectural at best, since the text itself leaves few clear inferences.

5. The supplement is conjectural. For *ki-e-lu-un* the requirements of the context here and elsewhere in the ritual demand some such translation. It seems to receive some etymological support from Lat. *celsus*, *columen*, AS *heall*, Lith. *kelis*, *kélti*, OCS *čelo*, cf. Walde-Pokorny, 1. 433, 1. \**qel-* "ragen, hoch(heben)." For suspension rites might be compared the Hebrew Feast of the Tabernacles. *huppali* is dat.-loc. 6-7. The supplements are conjectural. Diorite is an igneous rock of crystalline character; its appearance recommended it for use by the ancients especially in the form of ritual weapons, cf. Carruthers, Lang. 9. 154-5; *hazziul* may therefore be a ritual weapon of some sort.

8. The supplement is suggested by its occurrence in the same line, in the same context, but there is no assurance that another word did not stand before the first *ši-ša-i*; the agreement, or lack of it, of neut. sg. *dassu* with an "animate" plural is not uncommon in Hittite. *ši-ša-i* seems to be a reduplicated form from the stem *sai-*.

9. The supplement is quite uncertain; perhaps a multiplicative number is required here, with *ša-a-ša-aš* taken as the predicate, a rather desperate solution, since a preterite verbal form would be altogether exceptional in this context. On the whole, since *ša-a-ša-aš* is in *rasura*, it seems better to exclude it from the text.

10. The translation attempts to meet the requirements of the context. GE<sub>6</sub> (transcribed MI in Sturt. Gloss.<sup>2</sup>, p. 102) = GfG, see Deimel, 427. 4, 7. The supplement is certain, cf. KUB 9. 31. 2. 47 = HT 1. 2. 20 and KUB 9. 31. 3. 31 = HT 1. 3. 10

11. UZU is not a determinative here. MÁŠ must be the reading of the third sign in this line, cf. the Delaporte sign list, no. 101. The translation suggested for *ša-kal-ša-a-an* receives considerable etymological support from Gk. *σπάλλω*, Thrac. *σπάλλη* "sword," Skt. *kalā* "smallest portion" (The etymology is made, of course, on the assumption that the spelling of the Hittite word is an orthographic device for writing the initial consonant cluster *sk-*, cf. *sakkar*). With *menakhanda*, then, we have here a compound verbal form. The numeral emerging from the lacuna may refer to the disposition of three of the pieces of meat, or to three different locations.

12. *ki-e-iz-za-ma* shows that the second *1-an* goes with what precedes <sup>GIS</sup>MA.NU. Comparison of texts A and B shows that this must be the full word; for its meaning see Deimel 342. 50.

14. IGI-*i-e-iz* is for *\*hantēz*.

15. The supplement is certain in view of lines 16, 18, and 19 following, although the partial sign visible looks more like the end of *da* than *ku*; the collocation *kukkulan zanuwantan* in line 18, however, assures the reading. The context requires a meaning of "measure" of some sort for *kukkulan*. The word occurs also in KUB 7. 1. 1. 22, 37 and 13. 35. 2. 12, where it seems to mean a copper vessel of some sort. It is tempting to see in this word a connection with Gk. κύκλος, Skt. *cakrās*, AS *hwēol*; the meaning might then be a circular container of some sort which came in time to serve as a conventional measure.

16. *ha-tal-ya-an-te-ya-aš* "gate-bolts(?)" is an oblique plural. It is probably to be connected with *hat(t)alu*.

21. *kattia hargā*. Another sign may well stand before *har-* in A, although the space in B shows this unlikely, unless the two texts differ at this point. *hargā* is to be connected with the stem *hark-* 'destroy'; its form is neuter plural. *paskan* is the neut. ptc. sg. from the stem *pasga-* 'set upright.' *hahhal* is unknown.

23. For the reconstruction cf. lines 24 and 26 following. *ki-e-un* cannot be predicate; a preterite first singular would be altogether too exceptional in this context. *ki-e-iz-zi-ya*, therefore, does not mark the beginning of a new clause or sentence here, but rather indicates another direction; perhaps there was a *ki-e-iz* in the lacuna in line 22. For *wassi* the suggested translation (or the like) fits the context here as well as in KBo 5. 2. 4. 25 *nu ki-e wa-aš-ši ta-an-ga-ra-an-za e-ku-zi*, "and this *wassi* he drinks thirstily(?)"; KBo 5. 2. 4. 40 <sup>DUG</sup>GAL-*ma ku-iš šu-u-wa-an-za na-at A-NA wa-aš-ši-HI.A da-a-i* "But which bowl having been filled, he takes it from the *wassi*"; ib. 41 *nu wa-aš-ši-HI.A ku-uš-ku-uš-ša-an-zi* "And they keep mixing the *wassi*"; ib. 46 *wa-aš-ši-HI.A-ma ma-ah-ha-an I-NA UD-MI MAḤ-RI-I e-ku-zi na-at I-NA UD.7.KAM QA-TAM-MA-pit ak-ku-uš-ki-iz-zi* "But even as he drinks the *wassi* on the first day, he continues to drink it in just the same way to the seventh day." Witzel, HKU 114. 25; 116. 40, 41, because of its apparent resemblance to the root *was-*, *wes-* "clothe," translates this word by "Kleider," a translation which seems extremely improbable in view of the contexts in which it is found. With the

meaning of liquid or drink of some sort established for *wassi*, some light is thrown on the probable meaning of *huwallari*, and Skt. *gālati* "träufelt ab," Gk. *βαλανεύς* "bather," and *βαλανείον* "bath" suggest the translation indicated, or the like.

24. *ŠUM ha-ri-ya-az-zi*. In Text B we have the fuller phrase *DUMU ŠUM-ŠU* literally "son of his name." The religious significance of one's namesake, one's "Name," and especially the perpetuation of the Name in one's descendants is still a living force in religion today. From KUB 9.4.3.20 *SUM-an hal-za-i*, ib. 4.18 *SUM-an te-iz-zi* we require a verb of speaking, calling, or the like in this context. Etymological considerations, cf. Skt. *aryati*, Lat. *ōrāre*, Gk. *ἀπά* demand the transcription *hariyazzi* instead of the equally possible *hatalyazzi*. *-ki-e-la-mu-uš!* Note the spelling *ki-e-la-u-wa-aš* in line 26; for this interchange of *m* and *w* see SHG § 47.

25. *ku-e-da-ni I-NA KĀ* literally "on which gate." Note the similarity in construction with Lat. *quo loco*.

27. *še-ra-aš-ša-an* is to be resolved into *sēr* plus the enclitic *-a* plus the enclitic *-san*. *a-te-eš-ša-an* is not composed of *ates* plus *-san*, but is neut. sg., as the neut. pl. form *atissa*, line 35 below, shows; the translation is based upon that of *ates* by Hrozný, CH 122.1, 124.14, 16.

30-31. *piran katta . . . . . dāi*. This verb with the ablative usually means 'take,' but this would yield little meaning here; it is better taken as compounded with the preverbs *piran* and *katta*, cf. Sturt. Gloss.<sup>2</sup>, p. 147, and the ablative is here ablative of place, a function more usually reserved for the dative-locative.

DUGKA.GAG.NAG. For this ideogram see Deimel 15.186 and his Nachträge und Verbesserungen, no. 137, p. 1120.

34. *ši-pa-an-ti* "dedicates." We should expect the translation here to be, 'he pours a libation with wine,' but the verb has a pronominal object in line 33 which can only refer to the goat. While this verb with an animal object usually has the meaning 'sacrifice a victim' to some divinity, the actual slaying of the goat does not occur until line 44 below; the probable action was that the wine was poured on the goat, and the animal consecrated or dedicated to Marduk.

36. The next three lines are the Hittite version of lines 84-6 below of the Luwian hymn. *kat-ti-ti-ma-at-ta* is to be resolved into *katti-ti-ma-ta*, apparently with two enclitic second person pronouns

separated by *-ma*; but *-ta* 'tibi' is here little more than an enclitic particle serving as an ethical dative, cf. Sturt. Gloss.<sup>2</sup>, p. 146 (where the reference to HG 99 should be stricken out). *Dinnarawantas* is plural, as the Luwian version shows. These were probably deities of manly vigour, cf. Kretschmer, KfF 1. 302 f., Madd. 95, Chrest. 118.

37. *ú-wa-[an]-du*. The reconstruction is required by the plural subject.

38. *lu-u-la-hi-ya-aš-ša-an*. The corresponding Luwian form in line 86 is prefixed with the god-sign. For a discussion of this term cf. Landsberger "Habiru und Lulāḫḫu" in KfF 1. 321-34.

42. *li-ku-wa-an-ni* is the dative of the verbal noun *lenkwar*. The meaning of the sentence must be: If those present at the ritual take oath, i. e., make the ritual response, at the conclusion of the invocation of the Lord of the House by saying, "He is finished (*amen*!?),", then, etc.

45. *ēšhar*. Blood did not play as all-important a rôle in Hittite ritual as it did almost everywhere else in the Ancient Near East. Its use was principally for the lustration of sacrificial implements, as here, in the anointing of the spoon; for a detailed account, see Furlani, p. 299 f.

49. Despite the lack of a connective particle here, two clauses are indicated. *himman* has the appearance of a cult word (Hattic?), probably a hymn which derived its name from beginning with this word; its meaning is unknown.

50. This line truly a *locus desperatus*, with not even the meaning of *dāi* sure. Perhaps it is best analyzed as "he takes the tray for (i. e., as regards the) spoon," hence the translation in the text. For this somewhat pregnant use of *ANA* cf. Bezold, *Babylonisch-Assyrisches Glossar*, Heidelberg, 1926, esp. pp. 45-6.

51. *pa-a-ši* is prs. sg. 3 from the root *pas*- "to swallow."

54. *1-za-ma-kán*. *1-za* is ablative in agreement with <sup>GIA</sup>DA. GUR-az.

57. *pittalwan*. This word occurs also in KBo 5. 2. 1. 12, 28; 5. 2. 2. 8, 15, 16, and its gen. sg. (or acc. pl.?) in the same text 1. 27, *tar-na-aš pít-tal-wa-aš*. Although the meaning in our text is clearly guaranteed by the context, it does not offer too much assistance for the solution of the meaning of this word in KBo 5. 2. The form here is sg. acc., as is shown by the accompanying adjective

*hūmantan*. Note the *pít* value for the BE sign here; cf. Sturtevant, *Lang.* 13. 285-91.

60. *kat-ti-iš-ma-aš-ši* is to be resolved into *katti* plus the enclitic possessive pronoun *-smas* (SHG § 245) plus *-si* "ei," with *-si* referring to the god.

63-4. *še-ir kat-ta ne-pí-ša-aš* <sup>D</sup>UTU-*uš az-zi-ki*. We may have here a conventional reference to two of the three manifestations of the sun god (sky, earth, and water, see Furlani, p. 39), with *ser katta* perhaps meaning "above and below"; the probability is larger, however, that we have here a compound verb, *ser katta et-* "eat one's fill." *az-zi-ki* is imperative sg. 2. *É-aš ad-da-aš* DINGIR.MEŠ. Can there be a reference to ancestor-worship here? The more conventional rendering of the collocation *addas* DINGIR.MEŠ is "gods of (our) fathers," cf. Furlani, pp. 47, 199.

67-8. Note the position of the verb in the middle of this sentence.

69. *9-at*. The phonetic complement is the enclitic demonstrative. *pa-ar-ši* is the prs. sg. 3 of *pars-* "break, divide."

70-1. *nu me-na-ah-ha-an-da* GEŠTIN *la-ah-hu-wa-i*. Literally "and he pours wine against (the *lahhuri*)." 8 DUMU.MEŠ-*uš*, in view of lines 60, 61, 67, and 69 above, must be a scribal error for 9 DUMU.MEŠ-*uš*.

74. UR.BAR.RA-*i-li* equals *luwili*, see A. Ungnad, ZA NF 1. 1-8, who makes Luwian equal Lycian because of this ideogram and its Hittite equivalent.

81. *suruhhas* recalls Lat. *sūrus* "branch, twig, shoot." The word is obviously the material of which the ritual staff or wand is made; it occurs in KBo 4.9.3.38 *an-da-ya-za-kán* <sup>GIŠ</sup>šu-*ru-uh-ha-aš* <sup>GIŠ</sup>PA-*an* (39) *har-zi*, and in the same text, 4.9.4.30 *Ū 3* <sup>GIŠ</sup>PA <sup>GIŠ</sup>šu-*ru-uh-ha-aš har-kán-zi*. The word is gen. sg. in all three cases, genitive of material. The supplement is virtually certain, in view of the predicate in the contexts of KBo 4.9 cited.

84-6. These three lines correspond to lines 36-8. Santas was a deity of Western Asia Minor; Furlani, p. 45, makes him the chief deity of the Luwian pantheon, equivalent with the Hittite weather god IM (whose Hittite name was Zashapunus?), and with the Hurrian Tešup and Luwian (?) Dattaš. LUGAL-*uš* does not occur in the Hittite version. Luwian *annarummenzi* is of threefold interest: a) Luwian *a* for Hittite *i/e*, cf. Forrer, ZDMG NF 1. 217 (although his strictures regarding vowel quantity in Hittite may safely be disregarded). b) Luwian *m* for Hittite *w* may throw

some light on this interchange in Hittite (was the *m* "lenited"?), cf. SHG §§ 47, 110. c) The Luwian plural in *-inzi*, which seems to have been extended to all types of substantival and pronominal inflection. *ashanuwanza* equals Hittite *eshanuwanza*, again with *a* for Hittite unaccented(?) *e*; like the Hittite word it is a neut. pl. ptc. *kwinzi* is, of course, the plural of the relative pronoun; it is of interest to note that Luwian, apparently, made no distinction between its nominal and pronominal inflections. *wassantari* could just as well be Hittite. In *Ḫūlahinza-sar* we have the plural plus an enclitic connective *-(s)tar* corresponding to the Hittite enclitic *-san*. If the Hittite complex is equal in meaning to the Luwian, a fair assumption under the circumstances, some light may be thrown on Hittite *-san*, whose meaning is still uncertain. Thus it will be observed that the Luwian particle seems to stand in etymological relationship with Hitt. *-(s)ta* (PHitt. *-tar* with weak sounding of the final *r*?), hinting at an early temporal connotation for Hitt. *-san*. *hūpparaza* is readily identified with Hitt. *huprus*, and like the Hittite word must be acc. pl., object of the verb *hishiyanti*, which is a prs. pl. 3, see Hrozný, BoSt 5.38 fn. 4 (probably with a primary medio-passive ending, cf. Hitt. *lukkatti*). The word is to be identified with *ishiyantes* in the Hittite version (the Hittite word is, however, a participle), and seems to preserve an initial archaic laryngeal stop already lost in Hittite.

87. *pa-a-tar* is composed of the verbal stem *pa-* "go, come," equal to Hitt. *pa(i)-*, and the Luwian enclitic connective particle *-tar*. The verbal form is a second singular imperative (can this be the form to which Sommer and Delaporte make reference? See SHG p. 277 fn. 120), although, like Hitt. *ehu*, it can scarcely have more than interjectional force. Hrozný, BoSt 5.37, suggests that this word might be a vocative(!) with accentual lengthening of the first syllable, and compares it with Gk. *πάτερ*. *a-ap-pa* equals Hitt. *appa*, and like the Hitt. preverb, forms a verbal compound with *zastanza* (whose meaning is conjectural); the form is a plural participle in agreement with the subject of the verb in line 88. *astummantanza-ta* is another plural participle plus an enclitic connective.

88. *attuwalahiti* contains two suffixes, *-wala* and *-hiti*, of which the former appears also in Hittite, while the latter, according to Forrer, ZDMG NF 1.222 is a Luwian abstract forming suffix. The suffixes may well be attached here to a primary noun of rela-



tionship, cf. Hitt. *attas. nis* (Forr. l. c., p. 221) is a neuter demonstrative pronoun. *dāduwar* is certainly the verbal noun of a reduplicated form from the stem *da-* "set, place." *azzastan* is the ipv. pl. 2 of the verb meaning "to eat," cf. Hitt. *et-*.

89. Forrer divides as DUMU.NAM.GĀL.LU-*in-za-ga-ni-in*, as does Hrozný. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*, p. 37, writes DUMU.NAM.GĀL.LU-*in-za-ga-ni-in*. There seems to be an echo of this line in KUB 9. 31.3. 49-50 = HT 1. 3. 43-4 = KUB 9. 32. 1. 29, hence the suggested translation for *ganin* as "substitute, stead, lieu," or the like.

90. *du-ú-i-ni-in*. This word is the object of the verb, hence its meaning must be something edible. *aztūwari* is a second person plural medio-passive form from the stem connected with Hitt. *et-* "eat." The ending (a prosoposeme like that in *wassantari*) is identical with the once cited Hittite *-tumari*, showing that Luwian, unlike almost all other IE languages which continued to make use of the *r*-seme for the medio-passive, did not attempt to avoid the awkward collocation resulting from IE *\*dhwomr*. Note again the interchange of *m* and *w* between the Luwian and the Hittite forms.

91. *anda kissan memai* stands in the same context as *kissan hukiskizzzi*, line 83, and seems equally entitled to the translation "conjure" or the like. For instances of the compound verb cf. KBo 4. 1. 1. 6 f. = KUB 2. 2. 1. 4 f., nu EGIR-an-da IŠ-TU GIŠNÍG.GUL AN.BAR *wa-al-ah-zi na-aš-ta an-da ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i* "Afterwards he strikes with an iron hammer, then conjures as follows" with *nasta* proving that the conjuration is not simultaneous with whatever ritual action is being performed; KBo 5. 2. 2. 21 *na-ašta* <sup>LO</sup>UŠMAŠ *an-da hur-li-li ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i* "and then the wizard conjures, in Hurrian, as follows"; KBo 4. 1. 1. 27 = KUB 2. 2. 1. 32 *nu-kán an-da ki-iš-ša-an me-ma-i* "and he conjures as follows"; and in the Ritual of Anniwiyannis, Chrest. p. 114, 3. 35 f., *nu ú-i-e-eš-ki-iz-zi an-da-ma-kán me-mi-iš-ki-iz-zi*, which Sturtevant translates "She prays and, within (the house), speaks thus." There is, however, no justification for the parenthesis anywhere in the text, while translation as a compound verb removes the necessity for the supplement. For the distinction between the compound *anda mema-* and the simplex *mema-* might be compared Lat. *incanto* beside *canto*.

92. *uraz* <sup>PUTU</sup>-*az*. Cf. the Hittite version in lines 63-5. This corresponds to *ne-pí-ša-aš* <sup>PUTU</sup>-*uš* (so Friedrich, *KlF* 1. 371

fn. 2) with *uraz* therefore meaning "heaven, heavenly," and the case form, with <sup>D</sup>UTU-az, nominative singular. *tatinzi* DINGIR. MEŠ-inzi corresponds, of course, to Hitt. *addas* DINGIR. MEŠ-as, and gives us the Luwian word for father, with good cognates throughout the IE continuants for this *Lallwort*; for the probable meaning of the phrase, see the note to line 64 above.

93. <sup>D</sup>É.A-aš-ha. Friedrich, loc. cit., sees in this word the genitive of a formalized expression for "house," taking -ha as a Luwian genitive singular case ending. Forrer, ZDMG NF 1. 218, citing a Luwian pronominal form *ku-iš-ha*, sees in the Luwian -ha an enclitic particle equal in force to the Hitt. -ki and compares the form with Hitt. *kwiski*. Text B reads <sup>D</sup>A-a-aš-wa in line 95, perhaps a genuine dialectal variation, and making it more probable that the god name is intended here (no one has claimed that the Hittite version coincides with the Luwian), a view confirmed by the very next word in our text. It is suggested that we have here an enclitic connective etymologically related to the Hittite enclitic connective -a, preserving a laryngeal stop lost in Hittite, cf. Luwian *hishiyanti* beside Hitt. *ishiyantes*. For *pār-na-an-za-ta* Text B reads *pār-na-an-za-aš-ta*, indicating that we have here again the familiar connective -(s)ta. *parnanza* is readily identified with Hitt. *parna*; the form is plural, and like many Hittite plurals, serves as an oblique case form. *kuwatti* invites an ultimate connection with the relative stem; the word is perhaps adverbial. *anda huwinai* might well be Hittite. *man* I take to be equal to the Hittite "particle of unreality." Hrozný and Forrer transcribe *hu-u-i-na-i-ma-an*, which would then give us a first personal plural, and would violate what little meaning may be gleaned from the context.

94. *lalanti*. This predicate seems to be a reduplicated form from a root *la-* "let, allow" or the like, cf. Gk. *λάω*. Forrer, Hrozný, and Friedrich all transcribe *la-la-an-ti-pa-a*, which yields no meaning whatsoever. *pā* this time stands alone, cf. line 87. *uzas* contains the familiar proclitic preverb *u-* plus a nominal form from a root seen in Hitt. *da(i)-* "set, place," cf. Hitt. *uda-* "bring." *adaritan* is a ipv. pl. 2 from the stem meaning "to eat." The form is an *r*-extension (a semato-prosopic of the type Skt. *duhrātām*) of *et-*, *at-*.

95. <sup>D</sup>É.A-aš-wa. From the fact that Luwian and Hittite seem to interchange *m* and *w* mutually, see *annarummenzi*, *aztuwari*

above, beside *innarawantes* and the middle ending *-tumari*, it is not too unwarranted an assumption to see in this complex the divine name plus an enclitic connective equal to Hittite *-ma*, especially since the complex stands at the head of its clause. *harsanza* (cf. Hitt. *harssan-*) is the plural of the word for "head." *hūpalziyatiyaza*, cf. *hupparaza* line 86 above, is probably the object of the verb, making *harsanza* an oblique case form. The meaning assigned is purely conjectural.

96. *apan* is better taken as equal to Hitt. *appan*, forming a compound verb with *sätta*, which seems to be from *sa-*, cf. Hitt. *sa(i)-* "press," etc. The form is sg. 3 present(!), morphologically a medio-passive (prosopic) like Hitt. *ya-ta*, *ya-nta*. A preterite concept is forbidden by the context, indicating that in Luwian as well as in Hittite this class of "medio-passive" might require the diagonal wedge (the "Glossenkeil," a paper on which, by the present author, will appear in the next number of *Archiv Orientalní*) to indicate a preterite.

100. This line translated in Sturtevant-Bechtel, *Chrest.* p. 121. 1. 44.

102. Note KUR <sup>URU</sup>*kezzuwatna* here. The first line of this ritual omits KUR.

## LATE MUGHUL ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE IQBĀL- NĀMAH'I JAHĀNGĪRĪ

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A MANUSCRIPT of the second volume of the well known Iqbāl-nāmah'i Jahāngīrī by Muḥammad Sharīf (otherwise known as Mu'tamad [Mu'tamid] Khān),<sup>1</sup> illustrated with fifty-four paintings, belongs to the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia, and has been described in the catalogue.<sup>2</sup> The complete work consists of three volumes: the first contains the history of Akbar's ancestry, the second gives an account of Akbar's reign from his accession to his death, and the third is devoted to the reign of Jahāngīr. The first two volumes are extremely rare; the third is commoner.

The author of the Iqbāl-nāmah, in his preface to the first volume, mentions the following works as his sources: the celebrated *Akbar-nāmah* of Abū al-Faḍl, the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad, and the *Tārīkh-i-Akbar Shāhī* of Khwājah 'Aṭā Beg Qazvīnī, the last having been left unfinished. He also states that he completed his work (volume 1) in Kashmir in 1029 A. H. (1619 A. D.).<sup>3</sup> But since the third volume covers the entire reign of Jahāngīr (1605-1627), the date of completion of the final volume must have been considerably later.

The author entered the services of Jahāngīr as a young man. He was made a military commander and received the title of Mu'tamad Khān in 1608, the third year of Jahāngīr's reign. He was later attached as Bakhshī, or Paymaster, to the services of Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān), whom he accompanied in the

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<sup>1</sup> Persian text published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1865; translated in part in H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The History of India, as told by its own Historians* (8 vols., 1867-77), vol. 6, pp. 393-438. There is a Lucknow edition of the text, published 1286 A. H.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammed A. Simsar, *Oriental Manuscripts of the John Frederick Lewis Collection in the Free Library of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia, The Free Library, 1937, pp. 56-63.

<sup>3</sup> Joseph Aumer, *Die persischen Handschriften der Kaiserlichen Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen*, Munich, 1866, pp. 92-95; and C. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London, 1879-83, 3. 922.

Deccan campaign. On his return from the Deccan in 1622, he was appointed to the post of Official Chronicler of the Court. He rose to higher ranks under *Shāh Jahān*, attaining the office of *Mīr Bakhshī*, or General Paymaster, in 1637, and, according to Rieu,<sup>4</sup> died in 1049 A. H. (1639 A. D.).<sup>5</sup> There is an old mosque, still standing in the city of Agra, which is supposed to have been erected by him.<sup>6</sup>

The manuscript in the Lewis Collection (MS 44) consists of two hundred and ninety-five folios, measuring 14½ by 7¾ inches. It is written in a large Nasta'liq, twenty-one lines to a page. Folio 1b has an illumination in gold and colors, and thirty-nine other illuminations appear in the volume. The fifty-four miniatures illustrate important events recorded in the manuscript, are nearly all full-page in size, and appear to be the work of the same artist.<sup>7</sup>

Two seals and a short note in a bold handwriting are the only indications which the manuscript contains of its history. The circular seal impressions appear on folio 1a, near the center of the left hand side of the page. The smaller seal, above the larger one and a little to its right, reads: '*Ināyat Khān, fadawī-i-khānah-zād-i-*' ("a devoted servant born in the house"), *pādishāh-i-'ālam* ("of the Emperor of the World"), *ghāzī* ("the Conqueror"), '*Ālamgīr*. Underneath this seal and just above the impression of the larger seal a memorandum in Persian reads: *dar hiyn-i-hayāt-i-khūd 'ināyat kard*, which means: "He bestowed (it) during his lifetime." The larger seal impression reads: *Amjad 'Alī Khān fadawī-i-pādishāh-i-ghāzī* ("the devoted servant of the Warrior King"), *Muḥammad Shāh, sanah 8* ("the eighth year of the reign").<sup>8</sup>

As the *Iqbāl-nāmah* was not completed until after the death of *Jahāngīr*, the present manuscript could not have been copied before the reign of *Shāh Jahān* (1627-1658), and not later than the reign of *Awrangzīb* (1658-1707), for it still bears the ownership seal of '*Ināyat Khān* while a courtier of the latter monarch. How and

<sup>4</sup> Rieu, *op. cit.*, I. 255.

<sup>5</sup> For other details consult *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā, Tadhkiratu'l-Umarā, and Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*.

<sup>6</sup> T. W. Beale, *An Oriental Bibliographical Dictionary*, new edition revised and enlarged by H. G. Keene, London, 1894, p. 284.

<sup>7</sup> See Simsar, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-62.

<sup>8</sup> The correct readings of these seals, as given here, should be substituted for the readings in Simsar, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63.

when this manuscript came into 'Ināyat Khān's possession cannot be definitely determined, for the original binding, the front flyleaf, and the last portion of the manuscript, which might have contained the seal impressions and autographs of its former owners, are missing.

To establish the identity of 'Ināyat Khān, we should consider three prominent courtiers who bore the same title of distinction at the Mughul Court.<sup>9</sup> All three were eminent historians and patrons of letters, as well as successful statesmen.

The first, 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān of Lahore, better known as Shaykh 'Ināyatu'llāh, was the patron and teacher of Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, who was the author of a historical composition called '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, commonly known as the *Shāh Jahān-nāmah*, or a history of the reign of Shāh Jahān. According to some authorities, Shaykh 'Ināyatu'llāh was a co-author of this last-mentioned work.<sup>10</sup> Its author Ṣāliḥ, however, calls himself only a pupil of the Shaykh and speaks of him as a writer of utmost elegance, and as the author of a history of Shāh Jahān and his predecessors entitled *Tārīkh-i-Dilkushā*, and of the well-known collection of tales *Bahār-i-Dānish*.<sup>11</sup> According to the '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, Shaykh 'Ināyatu'llāh died in 1080 A. H. (1670 A. D.), when he was sixty-five years old.<sup>12</sup>

The second 'Ināyat Khān, whose real name was Muḥammad Ṭāhir son of Zafar Khān, was Governor of Kabul and of Kashmir. He was raised to the rank of Khān in the twenty-third year of Shāh Jahān's reign, and filled in succession the offices of Dārūghah'i Huzūr, or the Overseer of the king's household, and Dārūghah'i Kutub-Khānah, or the Keeper of the Imperial Library. He was appointed to this last post in 1068 A. H. (1657 A. D.). He was the author of *Mulakhkhaṣ*, a history of the first thirty years of the reign of Shāh Jahān. He was also a poet, writing under the pen-name Aṣhnā, and has left a *Diwān* and a *Mathnawī*. He retired from the service in the first year of Awrangzīb's reign, and died in Kashmir in 1077 A. H. (1666 A. D.).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Courtiers bearing the same title during the reign of Jahāngīr, and those who received the title after the reign of Awrangzīb, are not considered here.

<sup>10</sup> Rieu, *op. cit.*, 1. 263.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. 929.

<sup>12</sup> Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Kambo, '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*, or *Shāh Jahān Nāmah*, edited by Ghulam Yazdani, *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1923, 1. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Rieu, *op. cit.*, 1. 261, 3. 1083; Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 179; *Mir'āt al-'Ālam*, *Mir'āt-i-Jahānumā*, and *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, Persian texts; A. Sprenger,

The third, known as 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān of Kashmir, was the son of Mīrzā Shukru'llāh, a descendant of Sayyid Jamāl of Nishapur, and an Iranian by birth. His mother Hāfiẓah Maryam was the tutor of Princess Zīb al-Nisā Begum, daughter of the Emperor Awrangzib, and through her influence her son 'Ināyatu'llāh was raised by degrees to the rank of 2500, and was appointed by Awrangzib as his special secretary. In the twenty-eighth year of the reign, in 1686, he was raised to the rank of Vaqāyī' Nigār "Court Chronicler." During the reign of Farrukh Siyār, in 1717, the rank of 4000 was conferred on him,<sup>14</sup> and in the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, in 1721, the duties of minister were entrusted to him.<sup>15</sup> He was the author of *Aḥkām-i-'Ālamgīrī* and *Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt*, both of which consisted of collections of letters and notes written by Awrangzib.<sup>16</sup> During the reign of the latter emperor he was successively appointed Dīwān-i-Khālīṣah or Accountant-General of the king's revenue, Khānsāmān or Overseer of the Court, and Šubahdār or Governor, and, according to *Tārīkh-i-Muḥammadī*, died in Delhi in 1139 A. H. (1723 A. D.).<sup>17</sup>

This 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān seems to be the 'Ināyat Khān of the seal on this MS. The shortened form of the official title is in keeping with the frequent Muslim practice of making such abbreviations.<sup>18</sup> 'Ināyat Khān, or 'Ināyatu'llāh Khān, was perhaps the most remarkable of the three, and was, to all indications, the owner of the manuscript at the Free Library. He joined Awrangzib's court at an early age, where he was educated and succeeded in gaining that monarch's favor. He was a devoted servant and apparently was born and raised in the palace of the Emperor Awrangzib, as the legend on the seal states. His mother was the tutor of the emperor's daughter, and this fact probably gave him an opening for success. But he must also have had great personal

*A Catalogue of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Manuscripts of the Libraries of the King of Oudh*, Calcutta, 1854, p. 339.

<sup>14</sup> *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, *The Mughul Period*, 1937, p. 337.

<sup>15</sup> *Idem*, p. 346.

<sup>16</sup> These letters were printed, without the editor's preface, in Lucknow in 1260 A. H., under the title of *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīr*, and in Lahore, in 1281 A. H., under the title of *Ruqa'āt-i-'Ālamgīrī*.

<sup>17</sup> Rieu, *op. cit.*, 1. 270, 1. 401, 3. 1083, and Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. abbreviations of names in al-Dīn cited by M. Aga-Oglu, *Ars Islamica*, V. 3 (1936). 118 f., and allusions to similar practice with official titles mentioned in that same article.

tact and ability to meet the rivalry, competition, animosity, and intrigue of the nobles, not to mention the emperor's own disposition and whims at a given moment, and to serve so bigoted and suspicious a ruler as Awrangzīb for fifty years without falling into disgrace, and later to obtain consideration and command admiration during the reigns of Farrukh Siyār and Muḥammad Shāh.

Two recorded incidents of his life, one of which occurred during Awrangzīb's lifetime and the other after his death, bear witness to the integrity of his character and to the high esteem in which he was held at the court. During Awrangzīb's march to Pūnā in January 1704, 'Ināyat Khān had pitched his tents in Wazīr As'ad Khān's quarters, and on account of this there seems to have been some sort of disagreement between the two. Niccolao Manucci, a contemporary Venetian traveler, says of the incident: "The wazīr's servants, observing this unaccounted boldness, never resorted to by anyone else, protested in a modest manner. But since the noble would not listen to reason, the servants of As'ad Khān cut the intruder's tent-ropes and put his men to flight by a hearty use of their staves. When the king heard of the affair he seemed put out, and sent a message to the wazīr directing him to visit the quarters of Mīrzā Wafā<sup>19</sup> and make him excuses. The wazīr pretended he did not understand; but the king did not desist from sending order after order. Thus the wazīr was forced to obey, to his great chagrin and much against his will."<sup>20</sup>

The second incident is reported by Muḥammad Sāqī Musta'idd Khān, author of the *Ma'āthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, a history of the reign of Awrangzīb. He says in his preface that in the reign of Shāh 'Ālam he was directed by his noble patron 'Ināyat Khān to complete a history of the last forty years of the reign of Awrangzīb, which, owing to that emperor's prohibition, had not been included in the *Ālamgīr-nāmāh*.<sup>21</sup> This attempt on the part of 'Ināyat Khān proves that he was not only an ambitious courtier, but also a conscientious scholar with a love of truth that led him to cause

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<sup>19</sup> Mīrzā Wafā appears to have been the real name of 'Ināyat Khān. See Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, translated by William Irvine, London, 1907, 3. 493, n. 2. For a different account of this incident see *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*.

<sup>20</sup> Niccolao Manucci, *op. cit.*, 3. 493.

<sup>21</sup> The *Ma'āthir-i-Ālamgīrī* is published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1870-71.



important annals of his adopted country to be recorded. It is in keeping with this character of his that he should have owned a copy of a historical document like the *Iqbāl-nāmah*.

The line of Persian below the seal of 'Ināyat Khān, reading *dar hiyn-i-hayāt-i-khūd 'ināyat kard* "he bestowed it during his lifetime" may raise a question as to whether it refers to a gift of the MS. by Awrangzīb to 'Ināyat Khān or to a gift of the MS., or perhaps only this single volume, by 'Ināyat Khān to Amjad 'Alī Khān. The latter alternative seems the more probable. In the first place, one would expect a more detailed record of a gift from the emperor, indicating the place, the occasion, and the date of the presentation. 'Ināyat Khān would not have been likely to consider such an honor as a casual incident worthy of only so brief a note. In the second place, according to Oriental usage, the seal, except that of a king or an emperor, appears below and not above the writing. Further, the pun on the word *'ināyat*, which is the title of the owner of the first seal, and appears with *kardan* as a compound verb, looks intentional, as though Amjad 'Alī Khān, the owner of the second seal, had ingeniously used the name of the donor in its primary meaning in this memorandum. Finally, the date on Amjad 'Alī Khān's seal, "the eighth year of the reign of Muḥammad Shāh," corresponds with year A. D. 1727, by which time 'Ināyat Khān had been dead for three years. It is quite possible that Amjad 'Alī Khān had neglected to add his own seal to the manuscript when he received it from 'Ināyat Khān, but afterwards wished to note that 'Ināyat Khān had given it to him during his lifetime, and so added this notation.

The identity of Amjad 'Alī Khān we have not established. He seems to have been a lesser official of the court of Muḥammad Shāh.

The date of execution of this volume and its miniatures may reasonably be assumed to be between the year 1686, when 'Ināyat Khān became Vaqāyī' Nigār "Court Chronicler," and the year 1707, when Awrangzīb died. Since we cannot be precise, we may state the time roughly to be about 1700. The place of execution is more difficult to determine. During the years 1681-1707 the center of Awrangzīb's interest and the Mughul empire was in the Deccan, where he was waging wars, and it is of course barely possible that the manuscript was made there. Other outlying regions of the empire might also conceivably have been the place of manufacture, but Delhi seems more likely. The style of these paintings

does not conform well to Deccani painting,<sup>22</sup> nor to 18th century Gujarati and Kashmiri paintings.<sup>23</sup> It is likely that the copy of the *Iqbāl-nāmah* would have been made from some copy in the royal archives or collection at Delhi; and more than that the style of paintings conform well to those considered to be Mughul of Awrangzib's time.<sup>24</sup> Those that come nearest in style and in manner of treatment to the paintings of the Lewis manuscript, are contained in a series of sixty-nine miniatures painted in Delhi for Niccolao Manucci, the Venetian traveler, for some time the court physician to Prince Dārā Shikuh. These miniatures, which now form part of the collection of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, are found in a separate volume and are classed as O. D., No. 45 (réserve). The volume is labeled on the outside *Histoire de l'Inde depuis Tamerlank jusqu'à Orangzeb, par Manucci*, and bears the date 1712.<sup>25</sup> This volume of miniatures originally formed a part of three volumes of Manucci's History, which he sent to Europe for publication. Manucci's own account of these pictures is as follows:

"Before I left the Mogul dominions," (that is, before 1686), "to satisfy my curiosity I caused portraits to be painted of all the kings and princes from Taimur-i-Lang to Aurangzeb, including the sons and grandsons of the last-named, together with the portraits of the rulers over Bijāpūr and Gulkhandah, of some of the chief Hindū princes, and of other famous generals. The artist was a friend of mine, Mīr Muḥammad, an official in the household of the

<sup>22</sup> See examples in Stella Kramrisch, *A Survey of Painting in the Deccan*, London, India Society, 1937, Plates X ff.

<sup>23</sup> Examples in unpublished photographs belonging to W. Norman Brown.

<sup>24</sup> See examples in Ivan Stchoukine, *La Peinture indienne à l'époque des grands Mogols*, Paris, E. Leroux, 1929, Plates LIV, LV, LVIII, LXII, and others. See also F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Paintings and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*, London, 1912, Vol. 2, Plates 186, 193, 197, 207, 208; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Indian Drawings*, Vol. 1, Plate 5; Laurence Binyon, *The Court Painters of the Grand Moguls*, Oxford University Press, 1921, Plate 25; W. Schulz, *Die persische-islamische Miniaturmalerei*, Vol. 2, Plate 193, and Percy Brown, *Indian Painting Under the Mughals*, Oxford, 1924, Plate 30.

<sup>25</sup> In the *Revue des Bibliothèques* for 1898, 1899, and 1900, E. Blochet published an "Inventaire et Description des Miniatures des MSS. Orientaux dans la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris." See also an article by Blochet entitled: "Miniatures des MSS. Mussulmans," in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1897, p. 281.

prince Shāh 'Ālam, and all were copied from originals in the royal palace. So far as I know, no one has yet imparted such portraits to the public; or if any ingenious person has so done, this collection of mine has nothing in common with such, mine being the veritable, which the others cannot be. Meanwhile to get them I have spared no expenses, and have given many presents; and the whole was carried out under great difficulties, it being incumbent on me to observe profound secrecy as to my having the copies. I do not bring forward any portraits of queens and princesses, for it is impossible to see them, thanks to their being always concealed. If anyone has produced such portraits, they should not be accepted, being only likenesses of concubines and dancing-girls, etc., which have been drawn according to the artist's fancy. It should be remembered that all portraits showing a nimbus and an umbrella over the head are those of persons of the blood royal."<sup>26</sup>

As far as can be judged from the black and white reproductions of these miniatures,<sup>27</sup> they have characteristic features of draughtsmanship which are also found in the paintings of the Lewis manuscript. Aside from obvious features of craftsmanship, such as the identity of treatment in the arrangement of the figures, landscape, trees, flowers, birds, and animals, and similarity in details of costumes, textiles, and of the draperies, there is a notable resemblance of technique and manner of representation used in portraying the leading figures. Compare for instance, one of the paintings in the Manucci series, which shows Akbar riding on an elephant, with any one of the paintings of the Lewis manuscript depicting the same scene.<sup>28</sup> From the treatment of Akbar's face and costume it can be inferred that his portrait in both series was copied from original likenesses of the emperor which appeared in older works, and this fact is confirmed by Manucci's own statement.<sup>29</sup> Both sets of pictures are clearly from the same school, possibly even by the same hand or under the direction of the same painter. Manucci gives us the name of his artist,<sup>29</sup> Mir Muḥammad, who was attached to the court of Shāh 'Ālam, the second son of Awrangzīb. We know that Manucci's paintings were painted before 1686,<sup>29</sup> the year

<sup>26</sup> Manucci, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Introduction, p. liv.

<sup>27</sup> Fifty-six of these miniatures are reproduced in the four volumes of Irvine's translation of *Storia Do Mogor*.

<sup>28</sup> Manucci, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1, Plate 8.

<sup>29</sup> See above, note 26.

during which 'Ināyat Khān was appointed Court Chronicler by Awrangzīb, and it is, therefore, possible that 'Ināyat Khān, who possessed or was having made a fine copy of the *Iqbāl-nāmah* with blank spaces for illustrations,<sup>30</sup> decided to have the paintings done by a court artist, not improbably Mīr Muḥammad or other painters who worked under this artist's supervision. It is also not improbable that the paintings were done with the knowledge of the emperor himself, whose son at the time dared to retain a court painter. Although Awrangzīb was opposed to painting,<sup>31</sup> it may be, as Percy Brown suggests, that after riper judgment and later in life, he gave his royal assent to continuance of the painter's art.<sup>32</sup> We may conclude then that Northern India, specifically Hindustan, and probably Delhi itself, was the place where the paintings were executed.

The subject matter of these miniatures consists of important events and scenes from Akbar's life. He appears in almost every one of them, being shown from youth to old age, and the portraits are somewhat depersonalized representations based upon pictures drawn by the principal artists of his own court, and the courts of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān. In spite of the difference in the style of painting, the portraits of Akbar and of his court officials have certain similarities to their well-known prototypes, but with some signs of failure, as weak drawing of the eyes, the chin, and the jaw.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> A careful examination of some of the paintings will reveal that their upper and lower borders are in many instances indented so as not to overlap the text.

<sup>31</sup> Awrangzīb has often been described as an orthodox Muslim who detested all sorts of art, and there is evidence that he discouraged miniature painting. Yet it is a fact that the lack of encouragement on the part of the state had already set in during the reign of Shāh Jahān. The descriptions of contemporary travelers, such as Bernier and Tavernier, show that in those days the painter was losing much of the prestige which he had gained during the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr. Had Prince Dārā Shikuh, the eldest son of Shāh Jahān, not taken a keen interest in painting and cultivated an artistic taste for it, the court artists would probably have been discontinued long before. During the second half of the seventeenth century many paintings were produced including portraits of the emperor himself, a fact which proves that he was not altogether hostile to the miniature painters of his time.

<sup>32</sup> Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

<sup>33</sup> Compare the portraits of Akbar, drawn during his lifetime, which appear in an early copy of the *Akbar-nāmah* and in the famous Album of Jahāngīr.

Portraits can be identified of some eminent nobles, among whom may be mentioned Āṣaf Khān, Akbar's foster-brother Khān-i-A'zam, Bāyram Khān, and his son 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān-i-Khānān. In general, however, portraiture is giving away to the use of types, according to indigenous Indian tradition, which shows its influence. Some scenes also appear to have been inspired by earlier paintings.<sup>34</sup>

While the portraiture and the grouping of the miniatures are not markedly original, their coloring departs strongly from that of the Mughul paintings of Akbar's and Jahāngīr's time. There is less of the gleam of Mughul coloration, and more approach to the so-called Rajput style of the 17th and 18th centuries, especially when a more varied palette was being used than was employed by the early Western Indian school.<sup>35</sup> There are many shades of *lājuward* "lapis lazuli" and *qirmiz* "red," with the well-known Indian yellow and various dark and light tones of brown and green skilfully blended. Faults in drawing and line composition are often palliated by the color composition. Frequently solid color backgrounds are used, as in "Rajput" styles (imitating earlier Western Indian). The attraction of the paintings lies in the combined effect rather than in the treatment of individual figures. Horses, elephants, lions, and other animals are not naturalistically perfect or proportional as in the time of Jahāngīr, nor are action

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which are now in the possession of Mr. Chester Beatty of London. Reproductions of these paintings are found in the three-volume work *The Library of Chester Beatty, a Catalogue of the Indian Miniatures*, by Sir Thomas W. Arnold, revised and edited by J. V. S. Wilkinson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1936; see particularly Vol. 2, Plates 15, 36, 37 and 65. The first three plates are from the *Akbar-nāmah*, and the last from the Album of the Emperor Jahāngīr. The miniature reproduced on Plate 15 is the joint workmanship of Farrukh, Manohar, and Anant, that on Plate 36 is by Nar Singh, that on Plate 37 by 'Ināyat, and that on Plate 65 by Bichitr. Compare also a portrait of Akbar painted under the direction of Muḥammad Faqīru'llāh Khān, Head Artist at the court of Shāh Jahān (c. 1650), now in the collection of M. Cartier, Paris, reproduced in Percy Brown, *op. cit.*, Plate 26. For other portraits of Akbar see Schulz, *op. cit.*, Vol. 2, Plate 193; and C. Stanley Clark, *Victoria and Albert Museum Portfolios, Indian Drawings, etc., in the Wantage Bequest*, London, 1922, Plate 6.

<sup>34</sup> Compare, for instance, the hunting scene painted on folio 167a, reproduced in Simsar, *op. cit.*, Plate 11 (facing p. 62), and the same scene from an early Akbar-nāmah, now in the British Museum, for a good reproduction of which see Laurence Binyon, *op. cit.*, Plate 12.

<sup>35</sup> See W. Norman Brown, *Story of Kālaka*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1933, p. 19.

and movement so skilfully shown. Architectural settings, such as the interior or the exterior of a palace, are reduced to indications rather than being full in detail, again approaching 17th and 18th century Rajput treatment rather than the 16th century Mughul.

The paintings are good examples of the late Mughul type. The emphasis has by then shifted from the elaboration of composition and minute detail to simplification and suggestion, as in the 17th century Rajput and earlier indigenous Indian styles. It is a much Indianized type of Mughul art.

### PLATES

#### I and II. *Celebration of the Fourteenth Anniversary of Akbar's Accession and of the Birth of Prince Salīm (Jahāngīr)*

The scene is on two facing folios, of which the righthand folio is first in order in the MS, and shows Akbar.

The action takes place in the palace courtyard. Akbar is seated on his throne surrounded by his bodyguards. The throne, which is bedecked with jewels and precious stones, is set on a platform under a tent supported with four decorative pillars. Other structural features of the tent, such as gold ornamented fences and richly embroidered red and blue velvet curtains, add to the splendor of the throne. The architecture is of Shāh Jahān's time, not Akbar's. Akbar's turban is covered with jewels, and he wears a gold brocaded lavender coat. His left hand holds a flower, the right rests on his lap. On a lower platform or garden court officials and eminent nobles dressed in richly colored costumes stand arranged by rank. The carpet (or garden) has the floral design on a rose background with narrow blue borders. Below, farther down in the yard, on the grass, are barefooted women dancers shaking castanets to the beating of the drum and tambourines, and to the hand-clapping of a female chorus.

On the lefthand folio, in the upper of four panels, under a covered platform is a group of eight musicians—five trumpeters, two drummers, and a cymbalist. Below is a group of two dancing dervishes, two sword-duelists, and two wrestlers. In the third panel are five richly harnessed Arab horses, each led by a groom, with three head-grooms at the head of the procession. The lowest panel shows a procession of five state elephants with highly embroidered coverings, their mahouts with hands raised in salute to Akbar. In the foreground are two royal standard bearers and musicians.

In these two Plates the use of panels is distinctly a device of early Western Indian painting,<sup>86</sup> which was carried thence into the earliest Rajput painting.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Cf. W. Norman Brown, *Miniature Paintings of the Jaina Kalpasūtra*, Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1934, Figures 1, 6, 13, 18, 19, et passim.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. W. Norman Brown, *Ars Islamica*, 4 (1937), Figures 13, 14 (facing p. 172).



Celebration of Fourteenth Anniversary of Akbar's Accession and of Birth of Prince Salim



II. Celebration of Fourteenth Anniversary of Akbar's Accession and of Birth of Prince Salim



و از کینه این ترک مشی و هندی هم آوردند و چون یک بود شاهزاده را شناخته مادر و خویش گرفتند و قوت



حضرت خاقانی تمسیر شده در رسیدن و غافل ازین که شاهزاده دراز کرد و بجهت فحش هم بر او راستند شاهزاده قوت

III. Prince Dānyāl subdues an Intruder in the Royal Harem

ایام مشاهیر اعیان و ائمه با سنی بایه سر خلافت حاضرند که دست در زیر پندار و ده میگویند



دیگران بنما گویند او ما و اهل مملکت مبارک بنمود و شرف ما بخواند و غصه منجمد. مجوا آمدند شمسید جمعه بخندید

IV. The Emperor Akbar on his Throne

### III. *Prince Dānyāl subdues an Intruder in the Royal Harem*

During the thirty-eighth year of Akbar's reign, late one night after a festival at the palace, one of the lesser officials, being in liquor, intruded in the harem and attacked some of the women. He was found and subdued by Prince Dānyāl, the third son of the emperor. The painting shows the Prince fighting with the intruder, while six of the Hindu, Abyssinian, and Turkish inmates (so designated in the text) armed with sticks, and Akbar himself with a drawn sword, rush to his aid. Dānyāl is ready to use his gold-inlaid *katar*, a dagger with a heavy triangular blade. In order not to be struck in the dark by his father or by the women, he warns them by shouting that he has subdued the intruder.

Around the border of the painting on three sides are the various private apartments surrounding the courtyard, within which no less than five thousand women dwelt at one time.<sup>38</sup> At the top, in the typical Rajput style, is shown the exterior of the harem with two towers and a central gate.

### IV. *The Emperor Akbar on his Throne*

During the forty-first year of the emperor's reign a blind man arrived at court who claimed that by putting his hand under his armpit and moving it he could produce not merely a sound but actually words, and could carry on conversation and recite poetry thus. (Boys in India frequently amuse themselves by making a noise in this fashion, but such a claim as this blind man's is naturally unusual.) Akbar had him summoned to his presence to perform this feat. The man is shown in this picture, standing barefooted in Akbar's presence, performing this act (by ventriloquism?). Although the scene is not a formal Darbār, Akbar is shown seated on a magnificent throne leaning against a brocade cushion. The back of the throne recalls the spired throne of personages in Jain paintings of the 13th century on.<sup>39</sup> Above him is an umbrella sign of royalty, as in India from early times. This type of throne or seat and umbrella with curved stem is common in Indian paintings from the late 16th century on.<sup>40</sup> Behind the emperor stands a whisk-bearer, who is also barefooted. Two middle-aged court nobles are standing behind the performer, as though fascinated by the unusual performance. In their dress they imitate the monarch. The throne room, only part of which is shown in this picture, is carpeted with a long, narrow, rose rug in floral design with yellow borders. The background of this painting, like that of the scene in the preceding plate, is painted in black.

<sup>38</sup> Vincent A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919, p. 359.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. W. Norman Brown, *Kālaka*, Plate II et passim.

<sup>40</sup> Examples to be shown in an article by W. Norman Brown on "Shaiva Paintings in the Early Western Indian Style," to be published in the *A. C. Woolner Commemoration Volume*.

## ARABIC MAGIC BOWLS II: AN ASTROLOGICAL BOWL

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THE *ṭāsa* described here is the one referred to as No. IV in my previous article "Arabic Magic Medicinal Bowls" in this JOURNAL.<sup>1</sup> It is of yellow bronze and of good workmanship. The letters are deeply and, on the whole, carefully incised. In some instances the words are, for lack of space, crowded together. Diacritical points are for the most part absent. The figures of the zodiac and planets are distinct and well engraved. Both the interior and exterior of the bowl are completely covered with inscriptions and the usual interlocking ornamentations.<sup>2</sup> There are no magic letters or signs, nor does the Most High Name of Seven Symbols<sup>3</sup> or any of its symbols occur on it. The *ṭāsa* has a diameter of  $6\frac{3}{4}$  inches and a depth of 2 inches. The rim is about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide.

*Maker.* The inscription in the center of the bottom on the outside of the *ṭāsa* states that "It was made by Ibrahim Naqqās." The absence of the article before Naqqās indicates that he was a Persian. This is also borne out by the Persian phrases which surround the maker's name:

May the world be the custodian of thy praise!

According to thy wish may also be thy deed!

May God be thy protector!

May thy world be pleasing to the Lord of the Universe! <sup>4</sup>

### INTERIOR OF THE *ṭāsa*.

On the rim is the *'āyatu 'l-kursī* (Sur. 2. v. 256) followed by Sur.<sup>5</sup> 108, to which *yā fattāḥ* <sup>6</sup> *yā rabb* is added. Directly below the rim, along the top of the interior, is Sur. 48. vv. 1-5 to *al-'anhār*.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. 55. 237 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 237, 239.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 243.

<sup>4</sup> Translation by Prof. Chas. C. Torrey. I wish to make grateful acknowledgment here of the great help received from Prof. Torrey and Prof. Macdonald in the decipherment of certain words and phrases difficult to make out. And I also take this opportunity to thank Prof. Macdonald for his generosity in placing his Arabic library at my disposal.

<sup>5</sup> *ṭāsa* has *'a'atāinā kull kawṭara* inst. of *'a'atāināka al-kawṭara*.

<sup>6</sup> Throughout the inscriptions on this *ṭāsa* there is a play upon the verb *fataḥ* and its nomina in its double meaning of "to open" and "to give victory," etc.

The Moon-Stations *al-manāzil*.<sup>7</sup>

Below this inscription there are 27 small circles formed by a narrow ribbon, skilfully winding in and out, so as to produce a chain without beginning or end.<sup>8</sup> All the circles are inscribed. With



Interior of tāsa IV.

few exceptions, each inscription begins with one of the “beautiful names” of Allah. The language of the inscriptions connects with the Qur’ān but the phrases are not qur’ānic.

1. Praise be to Thee! There is no God but Thou, O Lord of everything and its Inheritor!

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J. Wellhausen: *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, 2. ed. p. 210, note 3, re: moon-stations among the ancient Arabs.

<sup>8</sup> *JAOS* 55. 249.

2. O God of gods, the Exalted One! To Him belongs Majesty.
3. O God, the Praised One in all His work!
4. O Compassionate One of everything and its Compassionator!
5. O Living One! There is no duration of time in the continuation of His kingship and its duration.
6. O Self-Existing One! Nothing escapes His knowledge or His Gentleness.
7. O Only One, the Enduring One, the First and the Last of everything!
8. O Abiding One! There is no turning and no ceasing to His Kingship.
9. O Eternal One, without desire! And there is nothing like Him.
10. O Just One! There is neither anything to equal His judging nor is there a possibility to describe Him.
11. O Great One! Thou art He who guideth<sup>9</sup> the wise ones to describe His Grandeur.
12. O Creator of Souls, without pattern, independent of any other!
13. O Pure One! The Undeified in His Holiness by any taint!
14. O Thou who art the Sufficient One of the believers because of what He has created of gifts of His grace!
15. O Unsullied One by any violence! Thou neither delightest in it nor mixest Thyself in its workings.<sup>10</sup>
16. O Thou who art bands of auxiliaries to us, who has taken charge of the affairs of a people in mercy and knowledge!
17. O Most Bountiful One, the Lord of Benefices! Surely all creatures (receive) from Him.
18. O Rewarder of the worshippers! All shall rise fully restored, for the fear of Him and the desire of Him.
19. O Creator of everything that is in the heavens and the earth, unto Him is its return! (cf. Sur. 28 v. 85)
20. O Compassionate One of every distress and grief, its Liberator and its Refuge!
21. O Perfect One! Tongues cannot describe all the majesty of His kingdom and His power!

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<sup>9</sup> *tāsa* has *lā* before *tahtadī*.

<sup>10</sup> I. e. evil happens by His will but not by His good will and He does not allow it to pass into His works.

22. O Creator of the marvels! He has not taken advice of a helper from among His creatures in their creation.
23. O Thou who knowest the unseen! There are no souls without His care.
24. O Forbearing One, Lord of Patience! There is nothing in His creation that is comparable to Him.
25. O Restorer of what He has devised,<sup>11</sup> when the creatures shall appear at His call because of fear of Him.
26. O Laudable One, the Doer, the All-favorable One to all His creation by His kindness!
27. O Mighty One, the Unapproachable One, the One exalted over His command, and there is nothing besides His creation!

The circles are evidently intended to represent the moon-stations, as may be inferred from other astronomical representations on this *ṭāsa*. There is however one difficulty which requires some explanation. While the Arabs count 28 moon-stations, there appear on this *ṭāsa* only 27. Al-Birūnī<sup>12</sup> states that the Hindus count 27. Already Steinschneider<sup>13</sup> accepted 27 as the original number. Although Al-Būnī<sup>14</sup> says that the 28 letters of the Arabic alphabet correspond to the exalted number of the 28 moon-stations, there appear in the drawing of the *dā'ira*<sup>15</sup> only 27 stations, but the 28 letters, in the order of the *ḥurūf al-ġummāl*, are used in such a way that the 24th station *al-farḡ al-muqaddam* has the two letters *dāl* and *ḥā'* assigned to it. In consequence of this, the station *al-aḥbiya*, to which the letter *dāl* belongs, was omitted. However, in his explanation of the *manāzil* Al-Būnī<sup>16</sup> accounts for 28 stations. Is it assuming too much to say that we have in Al-Būnī's *dā'ira* (lithogr. edition) a reminiscence of the older, Indian conception of the number of moon-stations as 27, and that the maker of this *ṭāsa*, who was a Persian, followed the older Indian view which probably continued to be the guide in the making of utensils used for magico-medicinal purposes? The greater antiquity of the Indian *dā'ira*

<sup>11</sup> I. e. the Judgment Day.

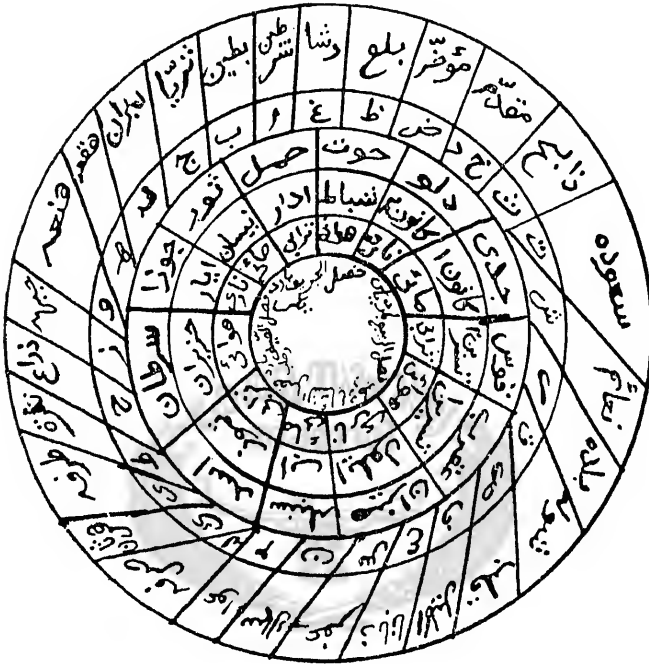
<sup>12</sup> *kitāb al-taḥīm l'awā'il šinā'at al-tanġīm* "Book of Instruction in the Elements of Astrology," text and trans. by R. R. Wright, § 164.

<sup>13</sup> *ZDMG* 18. 118 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Šams al-ma'ārif al-kubrā*, lith. ed. Cairo, 1322 A. H. part I p. 9. Printed ed. (n. d.), Cairo, Maṭba'at Muḥammad 'Alī Ṣabīḥ, p. 10.

would undoubtedly be considered to have its own peculiar mystic value and would therefore recommend itself to the adept.

As the circles are not accompanied by *hurūf ġummal*, or by any



dā'ira from Al-Būnī's *šams al-ma'ārif*.

sign or designation, the engraver would not be disturbed by having to account for 28 letters, each attached to its moon-station. He followed the old Indian design.<sup>17</sup> It was, however, a different

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. part I p. 15/18.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. part I pp. 15 ff. / 18 ff.

<sup>17</sup> Modern *ṭāsāt* reveal at once that the makers had not the faintest idea that the circles represent moon-stations, or the cartouches the zodiac. All these have gradually degenerated into simple, though mysterious ornaments, and, so far as the maker is concerned, the number of these astronomical symbols depends primarily upon space and the commercial value enhanced by an increased number of these ornaments. One of my modern *ṭāsāt* has 16 and another only 4 cartouches. But the original form and figure are retained, though by no fault of the maker, but by ancient and inviolable custom.



matter when Al-Būnī had to account for 28 letters. He overcame the difficulty by referring to it in the text in its proper place.<sup>18</sup>

The order of the names of the moon-stations in the *dā'ira* and text of Al-Būnī, both lithographed and printed Cairo edition,<sup>14</sup> and the list in the *Encycl. of Islām* practically agree up to No. 22, *su'ūda*. There are a few minor differences. Al-Būnī has for the first station the name *šaraṭain* while Tilimsānī<sup>19</sup> and *E. of I.*<sup>20</sup> have *šaraṭān*. Tilimsānī has for the eighth moon-station *suma'a*, "lions," and the *E. of I.* calls the eleventh moon-station *zubra*, neither name occurs elsewhere. Al-Būnī and Al-Birūnī name the thirteenth station *'awwā* for *sawwā* in *E. of Islām*. The arrangement of the remaining six names in Al-Būnī's *dā'ira* differs greatly from that of the text, printed edition, *E. of I.* and Tilimsānī. Also a few names occur only in Tilimsānī and *E. of I.* Al-Būnī and Tilimsānī agree in the use of the names *muqaddam* and *mu'aḥḥar*, *E. of I.* has in their stead *al-fargh al-awwal* and *al-fargh al-ṭhānī*. Al-Birūnī<sup>12</sup> admits that both names are used to designate the same m-stations, as well as *rišā* for which *E. of I.* has *baṭn al-ḥūt*. Tilimsānī's names for m-st's No. 26 and 28, *ḡawāzā'*, and *naṭḥ*, the name of a star in Aries, do not occur elsewhere. His order and list of names seems to have been derived from another source than that of Al-Būnī while that of the *E. of I.* list is related to Al-Būnī's. The letters in Tilimsānī's list do not follow the system of the *ḥurūf ḡummal*.

The order of the *manāzil al-qamar* according to Al-Būnī's *dā'ira* and text, the list in the *E. of I.* and Tilimsānī.

Al-B's <i>dā'ira</i>		Al-B's text	<i>Enc. of Islām</i>	Tilimsānī	
1. <i>šaraṭain</i>	a	<i>šaraṭain</i>	<i>šaraṭān</i>	<i>šaraṭān</i>	ṭ
2. <i>buṭain</i>	b			<i>dabarān</i>	y
3. <i>ṭuraiya</i>	ḡ			<i>dabarān</i>	k
4. <i>dabarān</i>	d			<i>han'a</i>	l
5. <i>haq'a</i>	h	<i>han'a</i>	h	<i>dhirā'</i>	m

<sup>18</sup> Reference may be made here to the fact that, according to the Gilgamesh Epic, the Zodiac seems to have had only 11 pictures, as the shears of the Scorpion were regarded as being the Libra. Even in Plato's time Greek astronomy knew only eleven pictures of the Zodiac. Libra was added later. Cf. Franz Boll: *Stern Glaube und Sterne deutung*, 4th ed. pp. 7, 92.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Ḥaḡḡ al-TILIMSĀNĪ, *Ṣumūs al-'amwār wakunūz al-'asrār al-kubrā*, Cairo, Maṭba'at al-'Amīra al-Šarafiyya (n. d.) p. 51.

<sup>20</sup> Art: *manāzil*.

Al-B's <i>dā'ira</i>		Al-B's text		<i>Euc. of Islām</i>	Tilimsānī	
6. <i>han'a</i>	w	<i>haq'a</i>	w		<i>naṭra</i>	n
7. <i>ḡabha</i>	z	<i>ḡirā'</i>	z	<i>dirā'</i>	<i>ṭarfa</i>	s
8. <i>ḡirā'</i>	ḥ	<i>naṭra</i>	ḥ	<i>nathra</i>	<i>suma'a</i>	ε
9. <i>naṭra</i>	ṭ	<i>ṭarfa</i>	ṭ	<i>ṭarf</i>	<i>ḡariṭān</i>	f
10. <i>ṭarfa</i>	y	<i>ḡabha</i>	y	<i>ḡjabha</i>	<i>'awwā</i>	ş
11. <i>hariṭān</i>	k			<i>zūbra</i>	<i>simāk</i>	q
12. <i>şarfa</i>	l				<i>ghafr</i>	r
13. <i>'awwā</i>	m			<i>sawwā'</i>	<i>zubāna</i>	š
14. <i>simāk</i>	n				<i>iklīl</i>	t
15. <i>ghafr</i>	s				<i>qalb</i>	ṭ
16. <i>zubāna</i>	ε				<i>şawla</i>	ḥ
17. <i>iklīl</i>	f				<i>na'ā'im</i>	ḡ
18. <i>qalb</i>	ş				<i>balḡad</i>	ḡ
19. <i>şawla</i>	q				<i>ḡābiḥ</i>	z
20. <i>balḡa</i>	r	<i>na'ā'im</i>	r	<i>na'ā'im</i>	<i>bula'</i>	gh
21. <i>na'ā'im</i>	ş	<i>balḡa</i>	ş	<i>balḡa</i>	<i>su'ūd</i>	a
22. <i>su'ūda</i>	t	<i>ḡābiḥ</i>	t	<i>ḡhābiḥ</i>	<i>aḡbīya</i>	b
23. <i>ḡābiḥ</i>	ṭ	<i>bula' z (read ṭ)</i>	ṭ	<i>bula'</i>	<i>muqaddam</i>	ḡ
24. <i>muqaddam</i>	ḡ; ḥ	<i>su'ūda</i>	ḥ	<i>su'ūd</i>	<i>mu'aḡḡar</i>	d
25. <i>mu'aḡḡar</i>	ḡ	<i>aḡbīya</i>	ḡ	<i>akḡbīya</i>	<i>baṭn</i>	h
26. <i>bula'</i>	z	<i>muqaddam</i>	ḡ	<i>{al-farḡh al-awwal</i>	<i>ḡawāzā'</i>	w
27. <i>rişā</i>	gh	<i>mu'aḡḡar</i>	z	<i>{al-farḡh al-ṭḡāni</i>	<i>buṭain</i>	z
28. *****	*	<i>rişā</i>	gh	<i>baṭn al-ḡūt</i>	<i>naṭḡ</i>	ḥ

INSCRIPTION BETWEEN THE MOON-STATIONS AND THE TWELVE  
CARTOUCHES

“O Victor, Lord of the mighty, the Strong One! Thou art He whom it is impossible to oppose. O Near One! The Exalted One over everything, Highest in respect of rank. O Holy One! The one pure of all evil. Nothing equals Him among His creation. O Near One! The Answerer of Prayer. The One who approaches closer than anything else in His nearness. O Creator of the creatures and their Restorer (to life) by His power, after their passing away! O Majestic One! The Great One above everything, and the Justice of His word and the Truth of His promise. O Praised One! Not even imaginary thoughts (can) approach every measure

of His praise and His glory. O Merciful One! The Forgiver, the Absolute Just One, Thou art He who filleth everything."

The Twelve Cartouches or Zodiac *falak al-burūġ*.<sup>21</sup>

The twelve cartouches are in appearance exactly like those on *tāsa* I, described in a previous article,<sup>22</sup> with the difference that each one of those was designated by the name of one of the signs of the zodiac. Although no name is attached to any of the cartouches found on the *tāsa* described here, I feel confident that they are intended to represent the 12 signs of the zodiac. This view as to the character of the cartouches seems to me to be confirmed by the seven medallions, symbolizing the planets, which form the next circle. All the cartouches are inscribed.

Inscriptions

No. 1. The Basmallah. O God! Open to us the gates of Thy goodness, of Thy mercy and of Thy sustenance by Thy Grace and Longsuffering. O Most Merciful One of the merciful. "And when they meet those who believe" (Sur. 2. v. 71)

No. 2. Continues Sur. 2. 71 "they say: 'We believe,' but when one goes aside with another they say, 'We will talk to them of what God has opened unto you.'" (Follows part of Sur. 2. v. 83) "but previously they had prayed for victory over those who disbelieved" those who lay in wait for you. And if there is to you

No. 3. "An opening from God." Perhaps that God will give the victory" (Sur. 5. 57). "And when they forgot what they were reminded of, we opened for them the gates of everything" (Sur. 6. 44). "And with Him are the keys of the unseen. None knows them" (Sur. 6. 59)

No. 4. Continues Sur. 6. 59 "save He." "And they magnified themselves against them. The gates of heaven shall not be opened to them" (Sur. 7. 38). "Upon Him is our reliance. O our Lord! Open between us and our people in truth. Thou art the best of openers" (Sur. 7. 87). "If the people of the town had only believed" (Sur. 7. 94)

<sup>21</sup> Al-Birūnī, op. cit. 159 says that the common people call gemini *al-ḡawza* inst. of *al-taw'amān*; virgo *al-sunbala* inst. of *al-'adrā*; sagittarius *al-qows* inst. of *er-rāmī*; pisces *al-ḥūt* inst. of *al-samaka*; aquarius *al-dēlū* inst. of *sākīb al-mā'*.

<sup>22</sup> JAOS 55. 250 f.

No. 5. Continues Sur. 7. 94 "and had shown godly fear, we would have opened up for them blessings from the heavens and from the earth." "If ye desire an opening, an opening has now come unto you; but if ye desist, it is better for you" (Sur. 8. 19). "And when they opened their goods" (Sur. 12. 65)

No. 6. Continues Sur. 12. 65 "they found their possessions." "And asked for an explanation; and every rebel tyrant was disappointed" (Sur. 14. 18). If (*law*) "we had opened for them a door with grievous punishment" (Sur. 23. 79), "until Yāgug and Māgug are let out, and from every sand-drift" (Sur. 21. 96)

No. 7. Continues Sur. 21. 96 "they shall run forth." "Until we opened for them a door of grievous punishment, then they were in despair" (Sur. 23. 79). "Open between me and them an opening and rescue me and those of the believers who are with me" (Sur. 26. 118). "And they shall say, 'When shall this opening be?' (Sur. 32. 28).

No. 8. Continues Sur. 32. 28 "If ye are truthful, say, On the Day of the Opening their faith shall not profit those who disbelieve, nor shall they be respited" (Sur. 32. 28 f.). "Say, Our Lord shall assemble us together; then He shall open between us in truth, for He is the Opener, the Knowing One" (Sur. 34. 25). "What God opens (Sur. 35. 2)

No. 9. Continues Sur. 35. 2 to mankind of His mercy there is none to withhold it; and what He withholds there is no one who can send it forth after Him, for He is the Mighty, the Wise" (Sur. 35. v. 2). "And remember Ishmael and Elisha and Du'l-Kifl, for all are of the best ones" (Sur. 38. v. 48).

No. 10. Show favor to Him, O Mighty One! Possessor of Praise, the Helper,<sup>23</sup> the Lord of Might; and to Him is the glory and the grandeur. His might does not change. How wonderful are (His) works! And the tongues cannot utter all His benefits and His glory. O my Sufficiency

No. 11. In all my anxieties and afflictions, in every calamity; and my Answerer to every invocation! I ask of Thee, by the truth of these names, that Thou bless Muhammed and the family of Muhammed. And I ask of Thee

No. 12. Faith and the highest degree of forgiveness in the present world and the hereafter. And that Thou turn away from

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<sup>23</sup> I. e. *al-qārin*; it might also be *al-qārib* "the Near One."

me injury, injustice of those who wish mischief against me; and that Thou turn away their hearts from the evil which they have kindled against what is good. O! there is no kingdom except Thine.

The Planets *al-kawākib al-saiyāra*

Below the cartouches are the figurative representations of the seven planets,<sup>24</sup> arranged in the Ptolemaic order, the sun being in the middle. The figures are separated from one another by short inscriptions.

The broad human face, covered with a headdress, enclosing both sides of the face and forming a knob on the top of the head, represents the Moon, *al-qamr*. To its left is a scribe with a stylus in his hand. This is Mercury, *ʿutārid*, in astrology *al-munāfiq* "the deceitful one." Then follows a woman playing on a harp. Her hair is done up in two thick braids. This is Venus, *al-zuhara*, in astrology *al-saʿad al-ṣaḡīr* "star of little good fortune." Her neighbor is the rising sun. In front of it stands a lion. This combination is the Sun, *al-šams*, in its *manzil*. This figure resembles one on a mirror reproduced by Reinaud.<sup>25</sup> The Sun is followed by the figure of a man holding a staff or lance over his right shoulder. His left hand rests on what appears to be a large jar, but in view of the fact that this is the image of Mars, *al-mirriḥ*, it is more probably a shield of which the lower part is not visible. This is not a usual representation of Mars. This planet exercises a sinister influence and is called in astrology *al-naḥs al-aṣḡar*, the star of "lesser misfortune" in relation to Saturn, the star of preeminently sinister influence, *al-naḥs al-ʾakbar*. Upon Mars follows Jupiter, *al-muštāri*, enthroned, holding in his left hand what appear to be two sticks laid across one another, perhaps thunderbolts. Jupiter is known in astrology as *al-saʿad al-ʾakbar wa yadall ʾala al-salāḥ*, the star "of greatest happiness that leads unto peace."<sup>26</sup> And finally there is Saturn, *al-zuḥal*, having the figure of a man

<sup>24</sup> When the sun and moon were first counted with the planets, probably to make up the "perfect" number seven, is not known. This combination existed already in 650 B. C., cf. Boll, op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> *Description des monumens musulmans du cabinet de M. le duc de Blacas*, vol. II, plate X.

<sup>26</sup> Tilimsānī, op. cit. 50. The characteristics of the planets and their indications are described by Al-Birūnī, op. cit. §§ 396 to 431; Al-Būnī, op. cit. 50; Al-Qazwīnī, *ʿAḡāib al-maḥlūqāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 22 ff.

with six arms, resembling the many-armed Siva. He is seated in the manner of a Buddha. In his upper right hand he holds an object resembling a spearhead or a pointed bud of a flower. In the corresponding left hand he holds an object of a triangular form with a rounded top. From his second arm there seems to flow a stream of water, while the hand of the corresponding left arm holds an object of a triangular form on a long stem. The remaining two arms hold nothing in their hands. The two sets of lower arms are attached to the middle of the body. This figure resembles fundamentally the representation of the Moon in its domicile *saraṭān*, cancer, as it appears on Reinaud's mirror.<sup>27</sup> There, a human head, enclosed in a crescent, is substituted for that of the crab, whose six stretched-out legs produce the same appearance as the six arm-like protuberances on the body of the human figure for Saturn on this *ṭāsa*.

The human figures on the *ṭāsa* are engraved only to about the end of the rump. The figures of the planets on Reinaud's mirror are represented as being in their domiciles, and where the conjunction is that of a representation of a human and animal figure, the person is depicted as being seated upon the animal (or as standing behind it?) without showing the legs. The engraver of the *ṭāsa* may have had before him a design similar to that on the mirror from which he copied such parts as he needed. As the human figures appeared as if squatting, he produced them in that form. In a book by Abu Ma'shar al-Balḥi<sup>28</sup> we have a somewhat crude conventionalized representation of the figures of the planets in their *burūġ*; here also only the upper parts of the human figures are depicted. This seems to point to a recognized tradition.

#### Inscriptions between the Planets

Saturn and Moon: "O God, I invoke Thee by Thy Name!"<sup>29</sup>

Moon and Mercury: This is a reminder! And verily, for those who fear God there is an excellent place to which to return,

<sup>27</sup> Cf. footnote 25.

<sup>28</sup> *kitāb ṭālī' al-mawlūd lil-riḡāl wa'l-nisā' 'ala'l-burūġ wa ṭawālī'ihā 'ala ṭalāṭa wuġūh*, Cairo, n. d. (printed at the expense of Šeḥ 'Abd al-Mun'im, pp. 12; 15 et al. Another work by the same author: *kitāb al-mḥaqqiq al-mudaqqiq al-yunāni al-failusūf al-šahīr bi'abi Ma'shar al-Falaki al-kabir* (Cairo, *maṭba'at al-Ḥusainiyya*, n. d.) has the same kind of illustrations as the other book.

<sup>29</sup> Undoubtedly the Most High Name of Seven Symbols, cf. *JAOS* 55. 239.

Mercury and Venus: Gardens of Eden of which are opened the Venus and Sun: gates. (Sur. 38. vv. 49-50.) And those who disbelieve shall be driven

Sun and Mars: unto Gehenna in troops. And when they arrive there, then shall be opened

Mars and Jupiter: its gates. And its keeper shall say to them (Sur. 39. vv. 71 f.) Peace be upon you! <sup>30</sup>

Jupiter and Saturn: Ye have done well! Enter therefore into it to dwell there" (Sur. 39. v. 73).

### The Boss

It seems to me, that the same intention is underlying the arrangement of the planets around the boss of this *ṭāsa* that is found expressed in the appendix to the Talisman of the Woman who washes the Dead.<sup>31</sup> In it the seven planets are invoked to surround the subject of the invocation, so that he may be protected against violent death and every kind of evil.

"The Sun is to his right and the Moon to his left; Venus before his face and Saturn behind his back, and Mars in front of him. Jupiter is looking toward him, Mercury is under his feet. He shall neither be killed nor taken prisoner. Neither adversity nor evil shall reach him ever."

The Boss is surrounded by the seven *siyārāt*. It is inscribed with an invocation in favor of the one who, by means of this *ṭāsa*, seeks a solution of his problems. The inscription is as follows:

In the section opposite Saturn, *zuḥal*: "O Living One! O Eternal One! O Lord of Majesty, and the Most Merciful One! O Lord,

In the section opposite Mars, *al-mirriḥ*: I implore Thee by Thy known Name, The holy one, the one that promises happiness,

In the section opposite Venus, *al-zuhara*: the blessed one, that Thou mayest forgive me my sins and judge my con-

In the section opposite Mercury, *al-ʿuṭārid*: -dition, and give me victory over my enemies. Have mercy upon us, O Merciful One of the merciful ones."

<sup>30</sup> The engraver's eyes must have wandered from v. 71 to v. 73, with the result, that now the unbelievers are made welcome with the salutation reserved for believers, and are commended for having "done well"!

<sup>31</sup> Winkler, op. cit. 11, 14, quoting *Cod. Par.* 2732 fol. 30a to 31b.

The astronomical character of the *ṭāsa* is maintained throughout. The Boss represents the earth, the four divisions the four cardinal points. It may also represent the inferior world and its four elements fire, air, water and earth. It is surrounded by the planets, above which are the twelve cartouches symbolizing the 12 signs of the zodiac, and above these are the 27(28) moon-stations. The whole represents a kosmos of a geocentric conception, such as Ptolemy's.

#### EXTERIOR OF *ṭāsa*.

The inscription on the underside of the rim is composed of *surāt* 109; 112; 113 followed by the *basmallah* and the beginning of Sur. 114.

The circular inscription below this one completes Sur. 114 and is followed by Sur. 110, the *basmallah* and "I have taught (or: known) evil and have wronged myself (*cf.* Sur. 3. v. 129) and confess my guilt. And forgive Thou me my sins, for in truth sins are forgiven" (*cf.* Sur. 39. v. 54).

In the circular space below this one are the symbolical figures of the twelve zodiac signs. Only *ḡadi*, *ḥamal* and *ṭōr* are accompanied by their names. The figure of *ṭōr* is that of the hump-backed cattle of Asia. Sagittarius is a minotaur. In front of Virgo, a squatting female figure, there are, standing upright, four separated stalks of wheat. The right arm of the figure is stretched across two of the stalks, thus creating the impression of a harpist playing upon a harp. This is actually the representation of Virgo on the mirror described by Reinaud.<sup>32</sup> The Twins are of the Siamese kind. The figures are separated from one another by the "Beautiful Names,"<sup>33</sup> following the usual order. The Names are preceded by the *basmallah* and "He is God; there is no other God but God, the Merciful." The engraver has interpolated among the Names a few additional words and phrases. Thus in the space between *al-ḥūt* and *al-ḥamal* the word *fōq* is introduced between *al-muta'ālī* and *al-barr*. It may be a corrected mistake, as a line is drawn through it. At the end of the same section occurs the additional name *al-mun'im* "the Generous One."

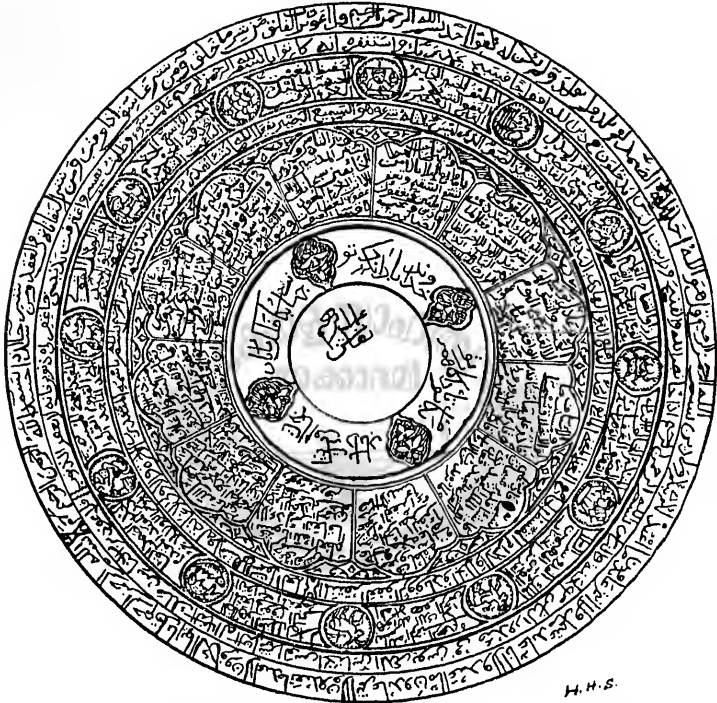
The enumeration of the Names continues in the circular inscription below this one. It begins with *al-muntaqim* "the Avenger"

<sup>32</sup> Op. cit., vol. II, plate X.—Venus plays the guitar, Winkler, op. cit., 109.

<sup>33</sup> Some of the words are abbreviated in the text. Three of the divine



and, ending with the 99th Name *al-ṣabūr* "the Patient One," it is followed by "There is nothing like Him; and He is the Hearer and the Seer. God doeth what He willeth, with power and wisdom, what He desireth. *Basmallah*. In the Name of God, in His Name of *al-mubtadī*" the Beginner (or: *al-mabḍī*? the Creator), the



Exterior of ṭāsa IV.

Lord of the future and the former life. He has no extreme or end. O, the high heavens!

The astrological character of the *ṭāsa* is maintained by twelve inscribed cartouches, like those on the interior wall of the *ṭāsa*, representing the zodiac.<sup>33a</sup> The inscription begins in the cartouche

Names have been omitted: *al-'aẓīm*; *mālik al-mulk* and *al-mu'ṭī*. The name *al-mubtadī* or *al-mabḍī* is new.

<sup>33a</sup> See note 22.

formed in the space below the two figures *taurus* and *gemini* continuing in the regular order.

1. *taurus* and *gemini*: "Praise be to Him who is mighty over what He wishes, almighty. Praise be to God the praiseworthy King, the Possessor of the glorious Throne; Who doeth what He wisheth, the Lord of lords, and Causer <sup>33b</sup>

2. *gemini* and *cancer*: of the causes, and the Creator of the creatures. Praise be to Him who is mighty over what He wishes, almighty; and the Mighty One of the mighty ones; the Victor of the victorious;

3. *cancer* and *leo*: And just in the Day of Judgment and Resurrection; God of gods, the Assembler of the Inevitable Day with fire; forgiving, merciful, knowing, thankful. And the praise <sup>34</sup> be to God

4. *leo* and *virgo*: The Lord of the Worlds; and the praise be to God the praiseworthy King, the Possessor of the glorious Throne! He doeth what He willeth, the First and the Last, the Apparent and the Innermost, the Everlasting, who giveth sustenance to the creatures

5. *virgo* and *libra*: And beasts. The Master of gifts. The Keeper-away of trials. O Thou, who healest the sick, and forgivest the sinners and pardonest those who are leading in the right way! And Thou lovest the upright,

6. *libra* and *scorpio*: And Thou givest good tidings to those who repent, and concealest the sinners; and those who fear (God) are safe. Praise be to Thee! There is no God but Thou, the Merciful, the Protector, the Forgiver of sins and the concealer of faults.

7. *scorpio* and *sagittarius*: Thankful, clement, knowing the bounds (of everything) and causing the seeds and trees to grow; and the Cleaver of the grains (*cf.* Sur. 6. v. 95). Thou art He to whom adoration is due, and the darkness of the night and the light of the day and the shining of the moon

8. *sagittarius* and *capricornus*: And the rays of the sun finely spread out and holding the water. And Thou art He to whom there is no likeness of anything; and He is the Hearer, the Seer. And Thou art powerful over that! And

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<sup>33b</sup> Reading on *ṭāsa* looks like *muslib*, should be *musabbab*.

<sup>34</sup> *ṭāsa* has *al-ḥamdu* i. e. *waw* inst. of simply *ḍamma*.

9. *capricornus* and *aquarius*: Having witnessed, Thou art He who knoweth the hidden and the revealed and what is in the graves. Thou art He who pardoneth those who lead in the right way and who saveth after a man abandoneth his sins.

10. *aquarius* and *pisces*: And God bless His creature, Muhammed, and his entire family; and (grant him) peace, much abiding and eternal peace. O God, grant forgiveness to the multitude of believing men and women, *muslimîn* and *muslimât*.

11. *pisces* and *aries*: The Merciful One directed Himself toward the Throne. O Mighty God, abiding in benefits, conquering enemies. The Merciful One, being gracious unto the khalifas, kind with His sustaining provision;

12. *aries* and *taurus*: Known by His Graciousness, just in His judgment; learned in the mercy of the merciful ones; Seer of those who see; Forgiver of those who forgive. The Master of the prophets.

The great popularity which astrology enjoyed during the early Christian centuries is demonstrated by an imaginary astrological dialogue between Plato and the Egyptian Peteësis written on papyrus, belonging to the 3rd century.<sup>35</sup> Plato asks the question: "What is the case with these phenomina?" To which Peteësis answers: "Listen! The sun is the right eye; the moon the left; the tongue, smell and hearing belong to Mercury; the viscera to Jupiter; the chest to Mars, the spleen to Venus, the kidneys to Saturn, the head to Aries, the neck to Cancer, the belly to Leo, the cheeks and loins to Virgo, the buttocks to Libra, the seat to Scorpio, the ... to Sagittarius, the nails to Capricorn, the calf of the leg to Aquarius, the extremities to Pisces." It is noteworthy that in this planetary and zodiacal division of the body no mention is made of Mars and of the two zodiac signs Taurus and Gemini. Each astral body is assigned to only one part or member of the body with the exception of Mercury to whom the rule over tongue, smell and hearing is given, and of Virgo to whom the cheeks and loins are assigned. This is already an expansion of an earlier planetary division of the human body which, according to Boll,<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> *Catalogue of the Greek Papyri in the John Ryland's Library*, vol. II 2 f.

<sup>36</sup> Franz Boll, *op. cit.* 138.

goes back to Nechepso.<sup>37</sup> According to it Saturn rules head and neck, Jupiter the shoulders and the breast, Mars the diaphragm and the sinews, the Sun heart, lung and liver, Venus the vulva, Mercury the shanks and the knees, the Moon rectum and abdomen.

In the course of time a more detailed division of the human body was recognized and, as a natural consequence, its distribution to the rule of the planets and the signs of the zodiac became still more detailed than in the earlier writings.<sup>38</sup> The writers, however, often differ as to the exact group of parts or single parts of the body to be thus assigned. The Arab period offers a good example of this development in the writings of Pseudo Mağrīṭī.<sup>39</sup>

Although faith in astrology and magic observances of various kinds had become a firmly established belief among Moslems, fostered by a flood of books dealing with these subjects, there was also strong opposition to these superstitious practices on the part of orthodox Islām.<sup>40</sup> Thus 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Iṣfahānī in his *aṭbāq ad-ḍaḥab* opposed astrology in the words: "People who praise and adore God do not pay homage to a belief in astrology."<sup>41</sup> Ibn Khaldūn declares it to be inimical to both religion and the State.<sup>42</sup> The pretensions of astrologers are ridiculed even in popular writings by facetious stories, as e. g. in the "Story of the First Brother of the Barber" in the Arabian Nights.<sup>43</sup> The Šēḥ, receiving in return for his good wishes for a happy marriage from the enraged bridegroom only vituperations, says serenely: "Thy star does not suit her star. If thou wishest it, I will change for thee the horoscope of thy marriage contract, so that thy star and hers may suit one another better." An amusing anecdote is told about Abu

<sup>37</sup> *Catalogus Codium Astrologorum Graecorum* vol. VI 83, 9 ff. For a complete list of references to classical and later literature dealing with astrology in one form or other see Boll, op. cit. 138 ff.

<sup>38</sup> Boll, op. cit. 138.

<sup>39</sup> *Ghāyet al-ḥakīm wāḥaqq al-natīğtain bil-taqdim al-mansūb ila 'abī l-Qāsim Maslama ibn Aḥmad al-Mağrīṭī* "The Aim of the wise Man and of that which of the two Advantages is worthier of Precedence, attributed to Abu l-Qāsim etc." ed. by Hellmut Ritter, vol. I Arabic text pp. 150 ff.; 157 ff.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Boll, op. cit. chapter III, Die Astrologie in Ost und West etc.

<sup>41</sup> *maqāma* 23. p. 40, transl. by O. Rescher, *Beiträge zur Maqāmen-Litteratur*, Heft 7.

<sup>42</sup> *Prolegomena, De Slane* I. 232-240.

<sup>43</sup> *Alf lēla wa lēla*, Cairo ed., vol. I. p. 77.

Ma'sar<sup>28</sup> by a witty Mesopotamian judge.<sup>44</sup> Being once outwitted by an "impostor," Abu Ma'sar cried out in great fury: "If I do not find out whence the impostor got his true forecasts, I shall go mad, shall tear up my books, declare that astrology is vanity." The "impostor" gave a satisfactory explanation and Abu Ma'sar's amour-propre was saved, so that he could say with quiet satisfaction *haraġ'anni*. And then there is the very expressive current Arabic saying, evidently the fruit of bitter disappointment on the part of former guileless believers, *kull munaġġim kāḏib* "All astrologers are liars."




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<sup>44</sup> *The Table-Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, being the first part of the *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍarah* or *Jāmi' al-Tawārikh* of Abu 'Alī Al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī, ed. and transl. by D. S. Margoliouth, pp. 177-277.

THE WORDS *san i fên shên* IN THE INSCRIPTION ON THE  
NESTORIAN MONUMENT AT HSI-AN FU

RUFUS SUTER

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INTRODUCTION

IN THE INSCRIPTION on the Nestorian Monument at Hsi-an fu the following passage occurs: 我三一分身景尊彌施訶戢隱真威同人出代 *Wo san i fên shên ching tsun Mi-shih-ho ch'i sui chên wei t'ung jên ch'u tai.*<sup>1</sup> It is a brief description of the Incarnation and means: "Thereupon, our *san i fên shên*, the brilliant and reverend Messiah, veiling and hiding His true majesty, in the likeness of a man went forth into the world." The words *san i fên shên* have not been translated here, as their ambiguity furnishes a problem which has divided the best authorities since the first translation of the tablet in 1625.

The problem lies in the fact that, if certain of the proposed translations are correct, the words are compatible with Catholic teaching. If others are correct, *san i fên shên* state the doctrine wherein Nestorianism is traditionally supposed to have deviated from Catholic dogma.

By way of introduction let us comment briefly on the nature of Nestorianism and the history of the Persians who carried it into China. For several centuries the leaders of thought of the ancient church in the Roman Empire were concerned with elaborating an unambiguous and precise conception of Christ, whom they regarded as God and man. The church at three ecumenical councils—Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople (553)—established a particular dogma. At these same three convocations a Cilician named Nestorius (d. circa 451) was condemned. This Nestorius, it was alleged, taught that in Christ were two persons, one divine and one human, brought into union with each other merely in the performance of psychological acts. The authoritative doctrine, on the other hand, which was defined the more clearly by being brought into contrast with this divergent statement, was that while in Christ two natures or substances existed,

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<sup>1</sup> *Variétés sinologiques*, No. 7, Table xxii, col. 4, to table xxiii, col. 2 (all references to *Var. sin.* are to Havret's masterful study, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fou*).

one divine and one human, these were moulded, in an ontological sense, into one person, so that it was accurate to say that God was born of a woman. Since the publication in 1910 of a copy of an ancient Syriac version of Nestorius's *Book of Heraclides*, which had been lost in Europe, some doubt has been cast on the justness of this condemnation of Nestorius. The Greek word *hypostasis*, the equivalent of the *persona* of the Latin Fathers, which has come into English as *Person*, is apparently used by Nestorius in an older sense of "nature" or "substance." His dictum, accordingly, that in Christ were two *hypostases* may not have differed from the Catholic doctrine, and the conflict between the ecumenical councils and Nestorius may have been verbal. (See the last paragraph of my Conclusion.)

However this may be, the church of Persia, or the Syriac church, so called because it used the classical Syriac in its rituals and sacred writings, in 483 rejected formally the decisions of the councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon and deliberately espoused the teachings which Nestorius had championed. Its action is not surprising since the Christian communities in the region between the Euphrates and the Tigris had long been well disposed towards Nestorianism, not only in the area under the sovereignty of the Persian Sassanids, but also in Edessa, the modern Urfa, then under Roman control, where a famous theological school was the principal seat of Nestorian learning in the Roman Empire until the emperor Zeno closed it in 489. At another school, in Nisibis, subject to the Persians at this time, Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. 428), who was the originator of the doctrine of Nestorius, was held in extreme veneration. The result was that before the end of the fifth century the bishop of the Sassanid metropolis, Seleucia-Ctesiphon, declaring himself patriarch of the East, along with the whole Persian church entered into permanent schism from Rome.

While more than a century was passing, the Syriac Christians alternately suffered persecution and patronage from the priests of the state Zoroastrian cult, according as the political expedencies of the Sassanid kings dictated. Finally, when the Arabs, bringing Islam, conquered the whole region, many of the Persian Christians sought safety in flight. One party, led by the monk Olopên, escaped into China. This group in 635 established the community afterwards celebrated in the inscription on the Nestorian Monu-

ment at Hsi-an fu, then Ch'ang-an, the capital of the T'ang dynasty. In 762 the patriarch of the East moved to Baghdad, which had been established as the seat of the more tolerant and enlightened Abassid caliphate. There the Nestorians enjoyed extraordinary favor from the Moslem rulers, and missions to China, traversing the land routes on either side of the T'ien range, were probably quite numerous. The Nestorian Monument was erected nineteen years later (781) under the patriarchate of Hananishu.

#### PROPOSED TRANSLATIONS OF *san i fên shên*

##### 1. *Translations compatible with Catholic Doctrine, and rendering fên shên as a noun*

We now return to the words *san i fên shên*. The oldest extant translation (of 1625), which has already been mentioned, is in Latin and is preserved in Rome. It is the work either of Father Nicolas Trigault (1577-1628), probably the first European to see the tablet, or of Father Jacques Rho (1593-1638), whose penmanship, if not authorship, is evidenced in the manuscript.<sup>2</sup> Here *fên shên* is taken as a single expression, a noun meaning "part," and *san i* as a compound noun meaning "Three and One," a reference to the Trinity. *San i* is rendered as an adjective phrase modifying *fên shên*. The passage as a whole reads: "Then behold, a part of our Three and One, the noble and great Messiah, hiding His true majesty, from one generation was born."<sup>3</sup>

Several other early translations exist. Among them the first printed one, in French, is of about a quarter of the total inscription. It appeared in 1628.<sup>4</sup> While the meaning it extracts from our sentence is essentially the same as that of the Trigault or Rho

<sup>2</sup> A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550*, London, 1930, pp. 33-34, footnote no. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Var. sin.*, No. 20, p. 67, last paragraph: "Tunc ecce nostri Trini et uni pars nobilis et magnus Messias, abscondita vera majestate, ex una generatione natus est."

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 12, pp. 326-327, footnote 3. Reference to: Inscription d'un marbre gravé l'an de N. S. 382 (782) en la province de Xansi au royaume de la Chine et découvert le 23-e d'Août 1625 (in Advis certain d'une plus ample decouverte du Royaume de Cataï. Avec quelques autres particularités notables de la Coste de Cocincina et de l'Antiquité de la Foy chretienne dans la Chine Tirées des lettres de PP. de la compagnie de Jésus de l'Anée 1626, Paris, 1628, beginning with p. 20. Bibl. nat. 0<sup>a</sup> m. 3).



version, there are some differences in grammatical interpretation. *San* is read as an adjective modifying *fên shên*, and the whole expression *san fên shên* is related to *i* as an adjective phrase. Our sentence thus becomes: "Then One of three Persons called Messiah covered His true majesty, and making Himself a man, went into the world."<sup>5</sup>

The earliest complete printed translation, in Italian, appeared in Rome in 1631<sup>6</sup> and it renders *san i fên shên* as does the French version.<sup>7</sup>

If we cross the centuries, we come in modern times to a translation by a Japanese scholar, P. Yoshio Saeki (1881-), who follows the ancient renditions. For him *san* is a noun, "Trinity," and as an adjective phrase modifies *i fên shên*: "Of Trinity, one Person."<sup>8</sup>

The significant point about these early translations and that of Saeki is that they treat *fên* as part of a noun, and they represent unambiguously the words *san i fên shên* as a reference to the Logos who becomes incarnate. Nothing suggestive of the Nestorian heresy is in these renditions, in the sense that in Christ were two persons, a divine and a human. Nor is there any intimation of another doctrine, occasionally attributed to the Nestorians (not to Nestorius himself), that in the sufferer on the cross were all three Persons of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

## 2. *Translations compatible with Catholic Doctrine, rendering fên as a verb*

Another type of translation is compatible with Catholic dogma. An interesting example is in the work of the Jesuit father, Michel

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<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 20, p. 73, article 26, 27: "Adonc une des trois personnes nommée Messia couvrit sa véritable Majesté et se faisant homme vint au monde."

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 12, p. 43, footnote 1. Havret speaks of a copy at the library at Zi-ka-wei. The title is: *Dichiaratione di vna pietra antica, scritta e scolpita con l'infrascritte lettere, ritrovata nel Regno della Cina*. It is bound in with the *Lettere annve del Giappone degl' anni MDCXXV, MDCXXVI, MDCXXVII, 1632*. Cordier (*Bibl. sin.*, col. 325) mentions a French translation.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 20, p. 79, article 3. "Allhora vna Persona diuina della Santissima Trinità, chiamata il Messia, restringendo e coprendo la sua Maestà, accomodandosi alla natura humana, si fece huomo."

<sup>8</sup> P. Y. Saeki, *The Nestorian Monument in China*, London, 1916, p. 163, line 24; p. 190, line 12.

Boym (1612-1659). Boym prepared a Latin version of our inscription for Father Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), volcanologist, mathematician, Egyptologist, orientalist, and inventor of the stereopticon, who was anxious to prove the orthodoxy of the East Syriac Christians. Kircher printed Boym's translation with a paraphrase.<sup>9</sup> In this version there is a new interpretation. *Fên* is read as a verb, and *shên* as the reflexive object of this verb. Otherwise the translation does not differ basically from its predecessors. *San* is treated as an adjective phrase modifying *i*, and *i* is regarded as the subject of *fên*. The rendering is: "One of three Persons communicated Himself to the most brilliant and venerable Messiah . . . as a man He entered the world."<sup>10</sup>

Afterwards a Catholic apologetic writer and orientalist, Eusebius Renaudot (1648-1720), used this very Boym-Kircher translation to prove that the Syriac Christians at Ch'ang-an were guilty of the Nestorian heresy! In so doing he was the first scholar to suppose that the tablet contained an allusion to the peculiarly Nestorian conception. The fact is that the Boym version of the sentence, which states that one of three Persons communicated Himself to the Messiah, might imply the "indwelling" of the Logos in the man Jesus Christ as a separate divine self united loosely with the human self, which doctrine was traditionally regarded as the teaching of the Nestorians. The sentence, however, need not be interpreted this way, if read without preconceptions. The paraphrase, moreover, certainly does not have this shade of meaning. We are probably justified in asserting with Havret<sup>11</sup> that Renaudot's theory was not supported by the evidence he had, although this of itself does not necessarily imply that Renaudot's theory was incorrect. (See below Section 3.)

Shortly after the appearance of Boym-Kircher version, Father Joseph Henri de Prémare (1666-1736) suggested that *fên* is a

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<sup>9</sup> *Athanasii Kircheri e Soc. Jesu China monumentis, quæ sacris quæ profanis, nec non variis naturæ & artis spectaculis, aliarumque rerum memorabilium argumentis illustrata*, Amstelodami . . . 1667, pp. 22-28.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 23, col. 1, line 13: "Personarum trium una communicavit seipsam clarissimo venerabilissimoque Mixio . . . simul homo prodiit in saeculum." The paraphrase (p. 29, paragraph iii) runs: "Tunc una de Divinis personis sanctissimæ Trinitatis dicta Messias restringendo tegendoque Majestatem suam, & se humanæ naturæ accommodando homo factus est." Cf. *Var. sin.*, No. 20, p. 36, starting with 5th line.

<sup>11</sup> *Var. sin.*, No. 20, p. 36, paragraph 2.

transitive verb and *shên* its object, but not grammatically reflexive. The subject of *fên*, instead of being *i*, is *san i* taken together as "Threefold Unity," an allusion to the idea that although in the Godhead are three Persons they constitute one Substance. Our passage would then read: "Threefold Unity separated off a Person. . . ." <sup>12</sup>

James Legge gives the same rendering. He remarks: "I must take *fên shên* actively as expressing the act of the Tri-une." His version, accordingly, is: "Hereupon our Tri-une (Eloah) divided His Godhead, and the illustrious and admirable Messiah, veiling His true majesty, appeared in the world as a man." <sup>13</sup> He continues: "The peculiar dogma of Nestorius underlies the expression . . . the dogma of two persons in Christ. . . ." What Legge means by this remark is not clear, but possibly the passage suggests to him, as it did to Renaudot, the idea of the "indwelling" in the man Jesus Christ of the Logos. Elsewhere Legge says that at the place in the tablet where an unambiguous reference to the East Syriac Christology would naturally have been expected (*fên shên*) "the great crux of the Nestorian doctrine was avoided, and very wisely avoided by those who composed the Inscription." <sup>14</sup>

The translation of Father Henri Havret belongs to this second type. He gives a reason for rendering *san* and *i* together as "Threefold Unity" or "Trinity." The author of the inscription, he says, used an expression already found in the native Chinese histories, although without the distinctive Christian flavor. He points to an example in the *Shih chi*, and defends his interpretation of this example by another example from the K'ang-hsi dictionary. <sup>15</sup>

Of more interest for our purpose is Havret's reason for reading *fên shên* as a verb. The expression means, he says, "was, as it were, multiplied," and the words, with this signification, were in common use among the Buddhists, for whom they were an allusion to a process also known among the ancient Catholic Fathers, "multilocation," the supernatural presence of a body or spirit at

<sup>12</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 20, p. 37, beginning with line 17: ". . . notre Unité Trine sépara une personne, afin qu'elle fût l'adorable Messie et . . . qu'elle naquit semblable aux hommes." Havret refers to: *Lettres édifiantes*, éd. Aimé-Martin, Tom. III, p. 584.

<sup>13</sup> J. Legge, *The Nestorian Monument at Hsi-an Fu*, London, 1888, p. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

<sup>15</sup> *Var. sin.*, No. 20, p. 15, last paragraph and footnote.

different places at the same time.<sup>16</sup> Our four words Havret translates: "Trinity was, as it were, multiplied"—then the rest of the sentence: "the illustrious and venerable Messiah, veiling and hiding. . . . [etc.]"<sup>17</sup>

One more example of this second style of translation is that of a recent Chinese scholar, Ignatius Ying-ki. Ying-ki sees in the passage a meaning too perfectly in accord with Catholic teaching. "It was then," he reads, "that our Messiah, who is a person proceeding forth from the Trinity and who is the *object* of the veneration of the Luminous (i. e. Religion), having concealed His true majesty, became man and entered this word."<sup>18</sup>

### 3. *Translations not compatible with Catholic Doctrine, rendering shên as a participial adjective*

The third and final type of translation differs radically from everything which has preceded, not only in respect of the grammatical interpretation of *san i fên shên*, but especially in regard to the meaning extracted. Alexander Wylie offers two translations, one less, the other more, literal. In the former, *fên* is taken as a participial adjective meaning "divided" and modifying *san i*, or rather standing to *san i* in the relation of attribute complement to subject; *shên* is an adverbial phrase qualifying *fên*. The less literal translation as a whole is: "Trinity being divided in nature, the illustrious and honorable Messiah. . . . [etc.]"<sup>19</sup>

At first this version does not appear to differ from that of Legge or Havret; but in the more literal rendering, although *shên* remains an adverbial phrase modifying *fên*, *san i*, taken together, and *fên* both qualify "Messiah": "Our Triune, Divided-in-nature, Illustrious and Honorable Messiah."<sup>20</sup> In this rendering the meaning is commendably unambiguous and precise. It is explicitly

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 38 (last paragraph) 39.

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 35, small type at head of text: "Cependant notre Trinité s'est comme multipliée, l'illustre et vénérable Messie, voilant et cachant son auguste majesté, se rendant tout semblable aux hommes, est venu en ce monde."

<sup>18</sup> "A New English Translation of the Nestorian Tablet," *Bulletin of the Catholic University of Peking*, No. 5, Oct., 1928, p. 91 f.

<sup>19</sup> A. Wylie, "On the Nestorian Tablet of Se-gan Foo," *JAOS* 5 (1856). 281, line 10 (reprinted from the *North China Herald*, No. 283, Dec. 29, 1855).

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 325, line 26.

stated that the Messiah is "divided-in-nature," by which Wylie intends to express the idea of the two persons in Christ, divine and human, attributed to the Nestorians. But he is confused in his theology, since he says "nature" instead of "person," whereas the orthodox Catholic view was, and is, that Christ was divided in nature. Furthermore, the notion, which we have mentioned once before, that for the Nestorians the sufferer on the cross was identical with all three Persons of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is implied, though not explicitly stated, for strictly speaking in the Nestorian inscription no mention of the Crucifixion occurs. Wylie's rendering, thus, certainly is not compatible with Catholic doctrine.

The interpretation of *fên shên* by Edouard Chavannes and Paul Pelliot falls into this third group. Their argument for treating *fên* as a participial adjective modifying *shên* is, first, that in a Manichaean text the expression 五分明身 *wu fên ming shên* occurs, which in its context plainly means "five divided luminous bodies."<sup>21</sup> While it is not clear why this parallel should be decisive and the Buddhistic parallel of Havret should not be, their second argument leaves no room for doubt. It is that previously in the Nestorian inscription itself is the passage: 我三一妙身 *wo san i miao shên*,<sup>22</sup> which cannot mean anything other than "the mysterious body (or person) of our *san i*," and since the parallel construction is common in old Chinese, it is inevitable that the *fên shên*, being parallel with *miao shên*, should read, "the divided body." Chavannes and Pelliot render our passage: "The divided body of our Threefold Unity, the brilliant and venerable Messiah."<sup>23</sup> These two authors, accordingly, attach a Nestorian value to the words *fên shên*, and again, like Wylie, they see in the words an allusion to what could be construed as patripassianism, if there were any mention of the Crucifixion in our tablet.

The most recent translation which has yet appeared is that of Arthur Christopher Moule. He follows Chavannes and Pelliot.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>21</sup> E. Chavannes and P. Pelliot, "Un Traité Manichéen retrouvé en Chine," *JA* 10<sup>e</sup> sér., Vol. 18, 1911, p. 513, footnote.

<sup>22</sup> *Var. sin.*, No. 7, Table xvi, col. 4, to table xvii, col. 1.

<sup>23</sup> *Un Traité Man.*, p. 514, "le corps divisé de notre Unité trine, le brillant et vénérable Messie."

<sup>24</sup> A. C. Moule, *Christians in China before the Year 1550*, London, 1930, p. 36, last paragraph.

## CONCLUSION

We may be convinced, in view of the parallel between *wo san i miao shên* and *wo san i fên shên* pointed out by Chavannes and Pelliot, that the *fên shên* in the latter expression should be read "the divided person," and that the passage therefore really contains a reference to the Nestorian doctrine of the two persons, divine and human, in Christ. We may object, however, to the further implication of the Wylie-Chavannes-Pelliot rendering, that the "divided person" was the divided person of the "Threefold Unity"—in other words that Christ was the whole Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Our objection might be for two reasons: first, that this idea must result in patripassianism, as soon as the Christ is pictured as suffering, an idea which has not commonly been associated with Nestorianism; and second, that the implication of patripassianism can easily be avoided, simply if the "in" in "Three in One" be changed to "'s." If this change were made, the Chavannes-Pelliot translation would read: "The divided person of our 'One of Three,' namely, of the Son, who is one of the three Persons of the Trinity. The Nestorianism would still remain in the more usual acceptance of the term, but the added allegation of what, to the orthodox Christian, must seem a vastly more intolerable distortion of doctrine, would vanish.

This alternative reading, however, will lead us off on the wrong path, for we have evidence from elsewhere that the Nestorians, and particularly the Nestorians who wandered eastward from Persia in the latter part of the eighth and the ninth century, spoke in terms of patripassianism. For this evidence we must travel from Hsi-an to St. Thomas's Mount, near Madras, in southeast India. There an inscription on a cross discovered in 1547 contains the following words, according to the translation of Arthur Coke Burnell: [In Syriac] "Let me not glory except in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ"; [in Pahlavi] "Who is the true Messiah and God above and Holy Ghost."<sup>25</sup> Here we certainly have the same identification of Christ with the other two Persons of the Trinity which we found suggested by the Wylie-Chavannes-Pelliot rendering of the passage on the monument at Hsi-an fu, and if previously we had doubts about the patripassianism of the East Syriac Christians,

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<sup>25</sup> A. C. Burnell, "On some Pahlavi inscriptions in South India" (reprinted with additions), *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 3, 1874, p. 314.

we can entertain them no longer. Athelstan Riley, in the article about Nestorians in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11-th ed.), not only speaks of the "semi-patipassianism" in the Indian inscriptions (he refers to an earlier translation of Burnell), but of the semi-patipassianism "which marked the Nestorian teaching."

Riley is conservative, using the term *semi-patipassianism* and speaking only of *apparent* identification of the sufferer on the cross with the three Persons of the Trinity. In this his instinct is sound. The Nestorians, who wished to emphasize the presence of a divine as well as human person in Christ, could have used simply the language of patipassianism for rhetorical purposes, to make emphatic to the utmost the full significance of their attribution of divinity to Christ. They need not have held literally, as an article of theological dogma, that the first Person of the Trinity suffered with the incarnate Logos on the cross.<sup>26</sup>

One point remains to be mentioned. In view of the doubts which have been cast on the justness of Nestorius's condemnation, since the re-appearance in the west of his *Book of Heraclides*, is it accurate to translate *fên shên* as "divided person"? Could Wylie have accidentally been correct in reading "divided in nature"? Venance Grumel,<sup>27</sup> in a study in the theology of Babi the Great Patriarch of the East from about 590 until 628 (thus until within seven years of the time when Olopên and his group started for China), claims that, although in their own technical vocabulary the East Syriac Christians did indeed, like the Catholics, say that in Christ are two natures and one person, they meant by "nature" precisely what the Catholics meant by "person." Perhaps the wise course, until scholars agree on what the Nestorians meant, is to translate *fên shên* as "divided hypostasis," or "divided *qnûmé* (the Syriac equivalent for hypostasis)." What "divided *qnûmé*" means could be left for the students of East Syriac Christian doctrine to determine.

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<sup>26</sup> Burnell says (*op. cit.*, p. 314): "This statement appears to be intended to contradict the Manichaean doctrine that the crucified Messiah was the son of a poor widow, and not Jesus." One must confess to some bewilderment at the attitude of the Nestorians. In India they were anxious to insist that the crucified Messiah was God, in the fullest sense of the term. In Europe, on the other hand, they objected to the Catholic idea that God was born of a woman, and took pains to avoid what seemed to them a blasphemy by positing the dual personality of Christ.

<sup>27</sup> V. Grumel, "Un Théologien Nestorien, Babi le Grand," *Échos d'Orient*, Constantinople, beginning with 26th yr., no. 130, April-June, 1923, p. 153.

NOTES ON THE ARAMAIC CONTRACT PUBLISHED  
BY BAUER AND MEISSNER <sup>1</sup>

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THE FOLLOWING notes were originally intended to be sent to Professor Bauer, but were laid aside because of his untimely death in March, 1937. It is in expanded form that they are now offered for publication.

The document, in 19 lines, is written on the two sides of a badly damaged sheet of papyrus. The script is generally legible where it is preserved, but the interpretation is difficult at many points. The editors have deciphered and explained the document so admirably and so completely that it is almost impossible to add any useful comment. The publication includes two photographed plates and a table showing the very interesting forms of the letters.

1. The contract concerns a lease of land under cultivation in the vicinity of Memphis.<sup>2</sup> The main features of the transaction are clearly set forth, but a few minor difficulties remain. The two technical terms in line 15 present an especially interesting problem. The one, deciphered by the editors as either פמטן or פמטז, denotes gain of some sort accruing to (ל) the lessee of the field; the other, read as either הויב or צויב, denotes loss of some sort falling upon (על) the owner. The editors saw in the former word nothing Semitic and rendered it doubtfully by "Extraabgabe(?)," referring to the (apparent) occurrence of the same word in line 12, where a preliminary payment of two shekels is recorded. For the other word the equally doubtful rendering "Schuld(?)" is proposed.

I would offer the reading פמטב, which, as far as the photograph can show, is preferable to either of those proposed. Every portion of the ב can be seen, and the form is in all respects typical. The long vertical line which runs across it does not look like נ; it is

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<sup>1</sup> *Ein Aramäischer Pachtvertrag aus dem 7. Jahre Darius I.*, Von Hans Bauer und Bruno Meissner, *Sitzungsber. der Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, Berlin, 1936, pp. 414-24, with two plates.

<sup>2</sup> The editors read the name as נר, but the shaft of the first letter (the head is missing) suggests rather נ; compare the example two lines below. May it not even be possible to read מנשאר, by supposing the stem of a ש to have been destroyed by the crack in the papyrus?



probably a mere smudge, as the editors regarded it when they proposed ֿ as the final consonant. What is more important, the reading as *nun* ignores the stroke which appears plainly just after the מ. פִּמְטָב (evidently a conventional term) is good Aramaic, however it may be interpreted, and a good example of an Aramaic compound. It might be noun with attributive adjective, meaning simply "agreement" (cf. פה אהר, etc.); or even abbreviation of the phrase הוּ יִטָּב כְּפִי, "according as it prospers," which might naturally apply to this variety of speculation, in which the success of the venture is largely dependent on the unpredictable forces of nature. The term would then have some such meaning as "favorable agreement" or "promising venture."

The other term, corresponding antithetically to פִּמְטָב, is certainly written צוֹב, not הוֹב. The whole word is very distinct on the papyrus, with no sign of fading or erasure, and the first letter is a typical צ. The stroke on the right ends clearly below, just as the reed pen finished it. The doubtfully supposed "Biegung nach links" is the discoloration of the papyrus which appears in precisely the same form before the foot of the next-following letter, the ה. The root צוֹב is well attested in Syriac, but has not hitherto been found in Western Aramaic. The best illustration is from the Arabic, in which several stems and derivatives of the root denote misfortune, disaster, calamity, etc. The Syriac verb, with the meaning "approach, arrive, meet," stands close to the Arabic, "befall, reach, hit," and it is easy to see how the Aramaic צוֹב came to designate an ill turn of fortune.

Note that in line 15, וְאִית לָךְ פִּמְטָב וְצוֹב עָלַי, the two nouns are *in the absolute state*, not definite. This is a contract according to which the resulting crop of grain<sup>3</sup> is to be shared equally by owner and lessee. Is the latter here guaranteed against eventual loss: "You have a fair bargain, and any loss (catastrophe) falls on me"? The text in line 12, where the payment of 2 shekels is mentioned, || וְנִתְּנָת לִי פִּמְטָב חֲקָלִי כֶסֶף שׁ, is almost certain; and the unknown word seems here to mean "contract fee," the 2 shekels

<sup>3</sup> The variety of grain is specified, but the reading is uncertain. The editors read שׁוֹרִי (constr. plur.) in line 6, but have no explanation of the word. Is not the true reading שׁוֹרִי in line 6, and שׁוֹרִי in line 13? The scribal error in the former case, the extra ך, is very easily accounted for; שׁ and שׁ, in *this* alphabet, may be practically identical; and "barley" is the grain by far most often mentioned in the Egyptian papyri.

sealing the bargain; but the explanation of the technical terms in the two lines must be left to those who are more familiar than I with such transactions.

2. The editors of the document hesitate strangely over the word **טבא** at the end of line 5. They render, with a query, "in richtiger Weise (?)," and say of the word that its form is "nicht ganz klar; vermutlich wird es eine femininische Form im Stat. absol. sein, wofür im Syrischen dann ein scheinbarer Stat. constr. eintritt," etc. (p. 418). But this is merely an unexpected example of the *typical* Aramaic adverb (which the grammarians have been slow to give its full due), namely the fem. absol. form of the adjective. There are similar examples in Biblical Aramaic, thus in Dan.: **עלא, יציבא, יתירה, ארעא**; also in the Elephantine papyri: **עלא, יתירה, כותא<sup>4</sup>, בלא** (!).

An important further example, if I am not mistaken, is to be found in the word **תמה** (recognized as an adverb) at the end of the second line of the Carpentras Aramaic inscription (CIS, 141). After reviewing the former conjectures, including my own published in this *JAOS* 46 (1926). 241-247, it seems to me extremely probable that the word is to be read as **תמיה**, the adverbial form of the adjective **תם**, "complete," an adjective almost unrecognized hitherto in Aramaic, though well known in Hebrew. The phrase in the inscription, **תמה . . . לא**, means in any case "not *at all*." The fem. n. pr. **תמה**, Tammā, frequently occurring in Palmyrene inscriptions, must exemplify this same adjective, as already conjectured by Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 386. (Even the longer form of the adjective, **תמים**, appears to have been little used in Western Aramaic.)

The great majority of the Syriac adverbs are likewise feminine adjectives in form, though here the absol. ending is with the consonant *t*.

3. The phrase "in the city Memphis," in line 3, contains the reading **בקריה**, in which the final **ה** is regarded by the editors as certain ("scheint sicher zu sein," p. 7, footnote). If this may be accepted as the original reading, it gives us an important example, apparently unique, of a form which we had already had reason to postulate. A scribal error at just this point is unlikely; and besides, there is good ground for believing that the form **קרְיָה**, meaning "*the city*," represents some genuine early usage.

<sup>4</sup> See the article by J. A. Montgomery, *JAOS* 43 (1923), 391 ff.

This feminine noun is truly protean in its various Semitic forms; see especially Nöldeke, *Beitr. zur sem. Sprachwissenschaft*, 61 f., and *Neue Beiträge*, 131 f. An early Aram. form of the stat. absol. sing. is קרי, which appears in the Targums in distributive expressions, e. g. Is. 19:2, קרי בקרי, "city against city." This implies at least an occasional use of קריא (or קריה) as the stat. emph., "the city"; whether this was ever the regular Aram. use, or even a legitimate use, is immaterial. The form קרי went out of circulation (except in the distributive repetition) at an early date; and all through the later history of this noun the tendency to attach the fem. ending to an original collective plural, or to add a plural termination, is in evidence. It is not difficult to believe that at the time when this document was written (6th century B. C.) קריה, the form found here, was still surviving as stat. emph. sing., and we probably shall do well to accept it.

In the Elephantine papyri, the word occurs only in the phrase בעל קריה, "free citizen," here evidently stat. abs. sing., like קריא in Ezr. 4:15.

In this connection, it may be well to call attention to the much misunderstood קריה in Ezr. 4:10, as another illustration of the occasional survival of early forms of this noun. The word has been badly treated on almost all hands. The English Revised Version renders בקריה די שמרין "in the city of Samaria"—as though recognizing an example of the form found in our Egyptian papyrus! Siegfried, in Nowack's *Handkommentar*, translates in the same way. The Brown-Driver-Briggs *Lexicon* declares the word to be abs. sing.—quite impossible in this context, for the plural number is evidently required (see 2 Kings 17:24, 26), and thus the ancient versions all render. According to Kittel's *Biblia Hebraica*, 3rd. ed. (and so previously the *Handwörterbuch* of Gesenius-Buhl), the Greek of Esdr. β indicates the reading בקריתא. This is not the case, however; the Grk. reads ἐν πόλεσιν τῆς Σομορών not ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. That which the context in fact requires here is an *undetermined* plural: "in (various) cities of (the province of) Samaria." In view of Theodotion's<sup>5</sup> habit of exact translation, and

<sup>5</sup> For the proof that the canonical Greek version of Chron.-Ezra-Neh. is the work of Theodotion, I may refer to *Ezra Studies*, pp. 66-82. The way in which he sticks closely to his original is illustrated in this passage by the transliteration Σομορων, where any ordinary translator would have written Σαμαπelas.

the occurrence of קרנא in vs. 15 as the stat. abs. sing., the probability becomes very strong that we have here the old collective plural, *qūryā*, familiar in Syriac and postulated by the best authorities for the oldest Western Aramaic.

Even if the form in Ezra 4:10 stood quite alone, there would hardly be justification for abandoning the Massoretic text. We know, however, that the form remained in regular use among the next-door neighbors of the Jews of Palestine at least as late as the second century A. D. The bilingual *Tariff* of Palmyra furnishes the important example. For the following references, see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, I, 468, 473; Cooke, *Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, 319, 329.

The Greek text in IV, a, 49 ff. reads as follows: τοὺς δὲ εἰς χωρία ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων κατακομίζοντας ἀτελεῖς εἶναι, ὡς καὶ συνεφώνησεν αὐτοῖς, "Whoever exports to villages or imports from them is not liable to a tax, as also they agreed." The corresponding Aramaic in II, c, 13 f. reads: מן די מפק לקריא או מעל מן קריא מכס לא חייב היך, agreeing exactly with the Greek. Here, beyond question, is the absol. (indefinite) plur. קרנא, the same form which the Syriac would have used; and we may without hesitation read קרנא in Ezra 4:10, as was proposed in *Ezra Studies* (1910), p. 186. The definite singular, which appears frequently in the Aramaic of Ezra, is קרנתא, and the def. plur., if it occurred in Bibl. Aram., would have been קרנתא.

Thus certainly in Ezra 4:10, and probably in our papyrus of the year 515 B. C., we see the survival of old Aramaic forms of unusual interest. There is gain here for the grammars and dictionaries of the language.

## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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### LUNCHEON OF THE ISLAMIC GROUP

In connection with the meeting of the American Oriental Society, a group interested in Islamic studies met for luncheon in the Normandie Hotel, Philadelphia, on April 21st, 1938, at 1 p. m. The following were present:

Albright, W. F.	Johns Hopkins University
Brown, W. N.	University of Pennsylvania
Calverley, E. E.	Editor, <i>Moslem World</i> , Hartford, Conn.
Faris, N. A.	Princeton University
Glidden, H. W.	Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.
Gordon, C. H.	Johns Hopkins University
Hardy, E. J., Jr.	General Theological Seminary, New York City
Jurji, E. J.	Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J.
Hitti, P. K.	Princeton University
Lybyer, A. H.	University of Illinois
Lichtenstädter, Miss	Society of Oxford Home Students
Montgomery, J. A.	University of Pennsylvania
Matthews, I. G.	Crozer Theological Seminary
Nathan, E. I.	Monterrey, Mexico
Obermann, J. J.	Yale University
Santesson, H. S.	New York City
Simsar, M. A.	Free Library, Philadelphia
Smith, M. B.	Library of Congress
Stinespring, W. F.	Duke University
Wolfe, R. E.	Tufts College

Professor Hitti was asked to take the chair and Professor Matthews was asked to act as recording secretary. At the close of luncheon, Dr. Hitti introduced the question of finding ways and means for the promotion of Arabic and Islamic studies in America. A lively discussion followed in which Albright, Montgomery, Stinespring, Obermann, Lybyer, Nathan, Glidden, Simsar, Calverley, and Santesson took part. It was stated that while in several universities some attention was given to Arabic and other Islamic studies, it was necessary to develop centers for such studies which should include Turkish and Persian. The value of Arabic for students of Romance languages, medieval and Byzantine history, art, and comparative religions, also for the history of philosophy as well as for the history of science, was emphasized. It was further suggested that steps be taken in collaboration with the American Council of Learned Societies to arrange for lecturers who could visit the various universities that might be interested and present publicly as well as individually the claim of such studies on the curriculum.

A resolution was adopted to the effect that those interested constitute themselves a committee within the American Oriental Society, for pro-

motion of Arabic and Islamic studies, both as subject of instruction at colleges and universities and as subject of research and scientific publications; and that Professor Hitti be asked to act as the chairman, and Professor Obermann as the secretary, of that Committee.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

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The University of Michigan announces the second season of its Institute of Far Eastern Studies to be held at Ann Arbor, June 27-August 19, 1938. Courses will be offered in the Chinese, Japanese, and Russian languages, and in Far Eastern civilizations. All inquiries should be addressed to the Director, Professor Robert B. Hall, 11 Angel Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

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The first number of a new magazine on the Far East appeared in January. It is *Leaves from a Western Garden*, edited by Helen B. Chapin, of the faculty of Mills College, California. The first number contains some interesting material, all of it apparently by the editor.

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The American Council of Learned Societies expects to continue in 1938 assistance to the publication of a limited number of meritorious works in the field of the humanities written by American scholars. It invites its constituent societies to propose books they deem suitable for assistance, but reserves the right to consider works submitted by others if the Executive Committee has accepted them for consideration.

Works proposed for publication should ordinarily be complete in themselves, preferably the results of constructive research presented in the form of volumes of conventional size. Important books of reference and critical editions of valuable texts may also be submitted. Applications for aid in the publication of doctoral dissertations will not be considered save in exceptional cases. It is expected that few dissertations, in the form in which they are presented in candidacy for the degree, will be approved by the committees of the constituent societies and by the jury.

Plans for the manufacture, publication, and distribution of each assisted work, and for the disposition of any proceeds, must be approved by the Executive Committee.

Applications for the next awards of grants in aid of publication, on forms provided for the purpose, must be received in the Executive Offices of the Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., on or before November 1, 1938. Applications must include descriptions and critical appraisals of the works proposed, together with full manufacturing specifications and estimates of cost. No work can be considered of which the manuscript is not available for examination in completed form.

This announcement supersedes that of January 15, 1938.

The American Council of Learned Societies is prepared to extend assistance, through the Committee on Research and Publication in the Fine Arts, in the publication of a limited number of meritorious works in the fine arts by American scholars.

Works proposed for publication should be complete in themselves. Preferably they should be the results of constructive research in the history or the theory of the fine arts; but this does not exclude the consideration of works whose appeal is to the general reader as well as to scholars.

Plans for the manufacture, publication, and distribution of each assisted work, and for the disposition of proceeds, must be approved by the Committee on Research and Publication in the Fine Arts. Ordinarily the subventions are intended as partial contributions toward the cost of publication of works, a definite demand or need for which is indicated by a willingness on the part of publishers or other persons to assume a certain risk, rather than as complete subsidies.

Applications for grants in aid of publication, on forms provided for the purpose, should be received in the Executive Offices of the Council, 907 Fifteenth Street, Washington, D. C., on or before November 1, 1938, to be acted upon in December. Applications will include descriptions and critical appraisals of the works proposed, together with manufacturing specifications and estimates of cost, including illustrations. No work can be considered of which the text is not available for examination in completed form ready for publication.

This announcement supersedes all earlier announcements.

Washington, D. C.,  
June 1, 1938.

The following communication has been received and is reprinted here verbatim:

Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft  
Eingetragener Verein

Der Schriftführer  
Prof. Dr. W. Andrae  
Fernsprecher 80 58 51

Berlin-Nikolassee  
Cimbernstr. 4

Den 25. Mai 1938

*An die Mitglieder der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.*

Um den Fortbestand der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu sichern, muss der Arbeitsausschuss gemäß § 8 Absatz d der Satzungen denjenigen Mitgliedern, die im Sinne der Nürnberger Gesetze als Juden gelten, nahelegen, binnen 14 Tagen ihren Austritt aus der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu erklären.

Der Arbeitsausschuss der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft

gez. Dr. F. Schmidt-Ott  
Stellv. Vorsitzender  
gez. Dr. W. Andrae  
Schriftführer

## ORIENTAL STUDIES IN THE PRESENT WORLD PICTURE \*

LEROY WATERMAN  
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

EMPHASIS upon the larger significance of Oriental studies is a matter of more than academic interest today, and is in line with a trend of thought to be found in other scholarly associations, notably the physical science groups, which are already fully conscious of a relationship of physical science to society as a whole, and have for some considerable time in Britain <sup>1</sup> and more recently in America been thinking in terms of a world picture of science and its responsibility to mankind.

Certain conditions in the present world tend to make such evaluations more or less inevitable, calling for reappraisal of human effort in many directions, with ever lessening assurance that because a thing has been, its continuance is therefore to be relied on.

We live in an age approaching apocalyptic expectancy. It is a dictum of the historian <sup>2</sup> that the ancient Greeks and Romans conceived of humanity not universally but only in terms of nationalities. It was accordingly an Oriental philosophy that gave to the West its first world outlook, appraising the world not as an asset to be treasured, but an absolute liability soon to liquidated by Divine fiat.

The western nations, having inherited this view as a kind of sacred philosophy, have at the same time gradually come to make one of their major objectives the possession of as much as possible of these doomed resources of the world. A measure of success in so doing, plus the scientific exploitation of resources in hand have largely dispelled that earlier view. The world can be regarded as good, indeed as excellent, if one can only get possession of enough of it. This idea has never suggested the remaking or improvement of the world in any significant particular, but only its possession,

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\* Presidential address delivered at the Society's Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, April 19, 1938.

<sup>1</sup> James H. Jeans Presidential Address, Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1934, 1-16 ff.

<sup>2</sup> H. Steinthal, *Geschichte der Sprachwissenschaft bei den Griechen und Römern*, pp. 7, 12.



an achievement that has always presumed a large amount of the dispossession of others.

Such is the dominant working philosophy of the Occident, with ardent imitators in the rest of the four quarters. Its ultimate success on any large scale would require that there be only a few, perhaps as few as two or three large units seeking possession, and all the rest of mankind fairly well content to be dispossessed. But if the world should be broken up into numerous major groups in such a way that each one should have this same acquisitive urge, regardless of its presence in others, and if each in order to retain its present holdings, as well as to acquire more, should be enabled by means of applied science to unleash ever vaster forces and instrumentalities for the wholesale destruction of all opposers, then the age of apocalyptic expectation would be bound to return. These conditions having been met, it is not too much to assert that it has already returned.

With such disturbing prospects before the larger human units, how fares the individual in this picture? For still in many quarters, the individual does count, or at least so believes. In the past, personal interest in the larger world has usually meant concern about human affairs and peoples so remote as to be regarded as wholly external to the life of the individual, whether as moved to lend succor to those in need or even more often, perhaps, to thank God he is not as other men.

As a result of present world conditions a striking change is taking place in this feeling of smug insularity. A directly contrary note touched by universal social implications more nearly expresses a widespread and growing attitude. It has been recently said: "Never was a species more perilously poised than ours at the present time." The prospect of any sure salvation in human affairs for a chosen few is more and more recognized to be an illusion, but while all experience is seen to have a bearing on the outcome, there is as yet no effective means in sight to assure our generation against apocalyptic catastrophe, not by Divine fiat, but through the deliberate choices and instrumentalities of men.

As a group, ours, in the main, is the double responsibility of recovering and specifically identifying, in space and time, the lost and forgotten minutiae, found in a certain area of man's higher cultural life, and at the same time of seeing them as coherent parts of a larger whole.

These minutiae, coming from the niches of individual investigation, yield an ever increasing volume, so ramifying in range and extent, so far flung and diverse that no man can correlate them all. Yet without organization they are meaningless, mere flotsam and jetsam of past experience. Their coordination and integration are as essential as the minutiae, and a necessary test of the genuineness of the latter and their ability to convey truth. Such data are like the electrons that constitute the atom of oxygen, if one is separated from the whole, we are told, it is no longer even an electron.

It is similar with the integrations themselves. They are in a measure tentative and provisional. Their true significance and appraisal are in turn put to the test by the place they take in larger wholes.

The largest unity that can be formulated when all the available parts have been assembled, though still incomplete, should nevertheless show the kind of an entity that is at present being formed. In it the values, the goals, and the significance of the whole as now grasped should appear, though not too precisely or absolutely stated, since scientific thought has recently taken great pains to affirm what the Orientalist has generally assumed, namely, that we are a part of a mysterious and unfathomed universe. There are however times and circumstances when certain accumulations of data, in favorable perspective, yield comprehensive visions of a larger whole that are exceptionally striking and greatly inspiring. These must always be cherished and perpetuated like all true glimpses of great realities, since such moments and such combinations cannot be produced at will. Nevertheless the need for renewed grasps of a rapidly developing field of knowledge in a swiftly changing world is sufficiently insistent to assure frequent efforts to gain them, even as this is regularly occurring for the smaller units.<sup>3</sup>

From time to time the insight of outstanding leaders like a Salisbury, a Whitney, or a Breasted have given new meaning to the whole picture of our Oriental studies. This was perhaps preeminently true of the last named, in no small measure because of the splendid implementation which he was able to give to his ideas.

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<sup>3</sup> Superbly illustrated by the current publication of The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible.

It was one thing to admit that the religious ideologies of the west and much of its higher culture had come from the east. It was quite another to realize that this inheritance was but a climax of a larger civilization, which covered the farthest connected bourn of the history of the higher life of man, and led at the same time directly onward to our own day. Something of deeper kinship of the spirit, of solidarity and upward thrust of experience was here, that went far beyond mere physical or racial ties and has given to the concept of our humanity a breadth of outlook, a depth of meaning, and a panorama of unfoldment, that have added immeasurably to the sense of dignity, achievement, and the inherent potentiality of man.

Nor can we overlook the far reaching effect of that enlarged perspective upon those religious ideals that were the first incentive to western orientation. Traditionally they seemed to spring forth mechanically at certain points without regard to the life process and were scarcely saved from further detachment by being labelled divine. The drawing back of the time curtain and the prolongation of connected history have had the effect of naturalizing those idealisms as a product of the life stream, so as to permit us to see them as resting upon and growing out of a vast substratum of accumulated human experience. At such points we pass beyond the range of Oriental studies to a glimpse of their relationship to the whole of man's higher life. There has thus emerged the task of a kind of planned humanity of the past, which falls quite largely within the scope of Oriental studies. If the framing of the idea was imposing and inspiring in itself, there is a better right to expect even more from its actual reconstruction in detail, for to begin with and until more recently the gaps and uncertainties were such as seriously to challenge both the unity of the whole and consequently many sequences in those very items that were more nearly understood.

At the outset Oriental studies could be likened to isolated points of light in a vast obscurity. They may more properly be described today as a connected fabric gradually unfolding the patterns of man's measured experience on the time loom, apparently turning biologic time backward and never more swiftly than in the immediate past.

One of the most fascinating factors in this process is the pottery

time shuttle. Of all the worn out and cast off equipment of early man's life, discarded pottery is apparently the most worthless and useless, yet as is well known, when all other data and available clues fail, the lowly potsherd furnishes the surest and most unfailing source of time sequence and cultural spread. And as if to make doubly sure that far off future ages should not be able to lose sight of this indispensable guide, the makers of the marvelous polychrome pottery, of the fourth millenium B. C., spread its warm colors across the world from the Syrian coast to the Indus valley, and within a decade the realization of this fact has changed the whole time perspective of the near and middle East.<sup>4</sup> More particularly, with its help has the last season's work at Tepe Gawra, under joint auspices of the American Schools and the University Museum of this city, and led by Dr. E. A. Speiser, clarified the chronology to the beginning of the fourth millenium B. C., and with the aid of monochrome wares beneath, pointed the way well into the fifth. But what is even more striking and significant are the accompanying remains of the acropolis in stratum XIII, with its intricate and highly artistic religious architecture, viz., its red, white, and purple temples, which were apparently even more richly spread with color within than without, thus showing the same artistic feeling for color exhibited in the pottery and revealing a higher cultural development, commensurate with the evidence from the pottery, but wholly unsuspected hitherto. However little uniform or unified that culture may have been, when compared with the uniformity of the pottery (a thing which only vastly more investigation will be able to show), the range of higher development as thus far illustrated lifts the culture of these people to a new and surprisingly high level.

Within the current year further studies and syntheses dealing with the Ghassulian pottery have definitely carried back the culture of Palestine to the fourth millenium B. C., with other evidence suggesting possible connections with Halafian culture of the fifth millenium. In that far off age so enormously separated from us, we can nevertheless see how far removed its life was from the truly primitive. There is here one of the major remaining gaps, which it will be the task of archaeology to span. In fact the "catwalk" for that bridge may lie almost ready made at the base of Tepe

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<sup>4</sup> BSOR 66. 121.

Gawra. When that task is accomplished, the historic time sounding apparatus will probe no farther, but even then we shall be far from the human beginnings in one of the best known areas of the Oriental field, viz., Palestine, for it has also proved to be a rare treasure house of prehistoric man and the crossroads of his wanderings, forcefully set forth by a distinguished scholar of the prehistoric field as "The gateway of Prehistoric human migrations."<sup>5</sup>

Thus the external limits of this problem seem to be fast coming into view. On the other hand the internal gaps are still extensive not merely as measured in time, but also in relation to literary and archaeological materials already in hand. Some of these are beginning to close. The Old Testament is a case in point. In spite of the maximum of intensive study and the application of cognate languages and related literatures, positive and assured progress has been slow and fluctuating in character. A main difficulty has been the slight amount of outside contemporary and closely related literature with which to compare. The discovery and rapidly developing elucidation of the North Canaanite Ras Shamra texts of the second millenium B.C., mark a new epoch in this situation. Already the gains from a study of grammatical forms and thought content of this literature promise to rival the similar help to be gained from all other cuneiform literature; not only has the immediate horizon of the Old Testament been pushed back half a millenium, but the world of Syria-Palestine, in the second millenium before our era, into which Israel was about to enter, takes on a concreteness of cultural ideas that is indeed challenging, envisioning this region even in that remote period, as the center from which there was a great cultural spread, both east and west, of religious and especially of god ideas, that can only remind us of the one familiarly known, nearly 2000 years later, but at the same time furnishing added background and explanation of the latter event.

Upon the early part of the same millenium a new light has broken as a result of the excavation of ancient Mari on the Euphrates, and it bids fair to rival in brilliance and perhaps in extent that of the Amarna-Letter literature.

Far eastern studies, while dealing with other phases of eventually the same great complex of early human culture, will probably always have a different connotation and motivation in the west and

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<sup>5</sup> Miss Garrod in *AJSL*, July, 1937.

especially for the dwellers on this continent. For one thing, although the farther Orient is geographically most remote, modern communication has actually made it in reality out next door neighbor.

Historically its past deepens with investigation, and is indeed ancient when compared with the Occident, but the continuous stream of its culture from the remote past down to the present, in a peculiar sense calls for a clear understanding of its present status as the prerequisite to fully appreciating its past phases. Nevertheless its deepest significance and impact upon the west is bound to be its contemporary character. Here the great barrier to understanding has been language, without which any contemporary culture remains a sealed book. We of the west have been glad and probably flattered to be teachers of Indians, Chinese, and Japanese. But western students have shown no corresponding zeal to explore eastern thought. There are signs of a change in this respect. The striking phenomena in the last summer session of the Linguistic Institute of America, at Ann Arbor, of seventeen students beginning Sanskrit, eighteen studying Japanese, and twenty American students giving their entire time to the study of Chinese marks a milestone in these fields and is a welcome harbinger of a changed attitude that may result in a two-way bridge of thought across the Pacific.<sup>6</sup>

Near Eastern studies have dealt primarily with the past. Far Eastern investigations compel us to deal with present-day realities as well. At this point the larger significance of Oriental studies emerges and becomes inescapable. Our west has insisted on an open door in China not necessarily for China's good but for our goods. Similarly we have insisted on exchanging wares with the Nipponese. For good measure in both instances we have thrown in our religion and our political and scientific techniques. Neither one has accepted all our offerings. Where our religion and politics have been favored, science has been denied. Where science has been accepted, religion and politics have been shunned. To those who have adopted our religion we have also bequeathed our divisions, our empty rivalries, and our mental and moral confusions. To those who have appropriated our practical science there have gone

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<sup>6</sup> The enrollment in Chinese and Japanese in the Linguistic Institute of 1938 was 61.

few or no moral controls. The result is chaos in the Far East today that may well engulf the world.

Have Oriental studies any responsibility for such a situation?

It is the statement of a great engineer and past president of the British Association,<sup>7</sup> that the command of nature has been put into man's hands before he has learned to command himself, and this statement is made the basis of a warning comparison with certain extinct species which perished through the very amplitude of their apparatus for attack and defense. The leaders of scientific thought are fully aware of these implications and frankly admit that the prostitution of scientific truth may lead to world catastrophe. Their main counsel, however, is to continue to invent and construct ever more deadly instruments for the mass destruction of human beings, with the faint hope that these will become so devastating in character that men will ultimately fear to unleash them. If history teaches anything it is that this hope is vain.

The highest idealism of the western world has its primary expression in an Oriental literature. An adequate scholarship today knows of no sufficient grounds in that literature for the manifold sectarian breakup of Christendom and its consequent loss of possible moral leadership in the very areas where its formal supremacy is most fully acknowledged. This was therefore due for one thing to an inadequate Oriental scholarship in the past.

The West as a whole has never forgotten or successfully denied that its higher spiritual guidance came from the Orient. Yet neither institutionally nor theoretically has scholarship thus far been able to release from the trappings and encumbrances of outgrown traditional thought the highest ethical contribution of this source for the guidance of society. This might seem strange were it not necessary to remind ourselves that the most disinterested scholarship has been compelled to labor in an atmosphere of traditional institutionalism, that could scarcely fail to be a deflecting influence in certain kinds of conclusions. Nor is this by any means the most serious aspect of the problem.

The lacunae in our exact knowledge in connection with most problems of spiritual values in the remote past are still so extensive that experts and specialists will often differ widely in their practical conclusions, which means that, whether because of faulty

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<sup>7</sup> Sir Albert Ewing, Presidential Address, RBAAS, 1932.

method or equipment or of scantiness of material, such tasks are not yet mastered.

It is also necessary to emphasize that the Jewish-Christian movement has been in what I venture to call a state of mental confusion for more than twenty centuries. I mean that, assuming an ethical ordering of the world, that movement has presumed to satisfy the highest claims of life, by means of words and gestures, regarded as more efficacious than deeds, by claiming its adherents to be the chosen of the Lord on other grounds than conduct, and by professing withdrawal from the world and so disclaiming all responsibility for it and yet claiming all the prerogatives and benefits of direct partnership with it.

As long as its representatives constituted only a struggling minority, it mattered little to the world at large, but when it became the representative and claimant of the highest truth of a world dominant civilization, the accumulated product of such age-long inward confusion could not fail to manifest itself in the outward life. To be sure, as long as the major political aggregates remained separated by vast stretches of inhospitable lands and dangerous seas, with slow and infrequent communication, the full import of those inward contradictions was not apparent, but in our own day with distance annihilated, with modern industrialism fully operative and thus accentuating and aggravating every unsolved problem of social relations, the wonder is that our human world has not sooner begun to disintegrate from its own thought contradictions.

Abolition of civil rights, physical violence, and mass slaughter of human beings are but natural concomitants, when these antinomies reach world-scale proportions in their operations, as at present manifested.

Deliverance from this unfolding catastrophe calls as yet for no new formula of higher truth. It is not lack of truth but lack of clear apprehension and application of what is already given in experience that threatens a return to chaos. Indo-European scholarship once rejuvenated an oriental faith by opening its original springs that had been clogged by the debris of later ages. It may seem fantastic to assume that clarity of thought could be injected into the present world situation in time to save it from catastrophes of the first magnitude, and more especially so, that



this could be accomplished through the agency of Oriental studies. Nevertheless one thing seems clear, the present threatening turmoil of the world is the direct outcome of confused and self contradictory mental concepts, and without clarity of thought in the highest realm of the spirit there can henceforth be no assured salvation in human affairs.

It is also a fact that responsibility for this problem in a peculiar sense lies within the domain of Oriental studies, since within that realm are to be found the highest spiritual contributions of the race. This task can no more be left to institutional and sectarian thinkers than the pure scientists can leave the theories of matter and the physical universe to engineers and architects.

We are the custodians not only of a museum of historical human culture, but also of a laboratory of the highest human values and the method of their achievement and preservation. We may be derelict in linguistic acumen, historical precision, or chronological accuracy, and no one living be the worse for it and few the wiser, but if we fail to clarify, wherever possible, the spiritual thought inheritance within our field as it applies to the most pressing problems of human life on this planet, we may well be responsible for irretrievable loss in which all men will unwittingly be forced to share. I sense in this assertion no indication that this SOCIETY should change its character or methods, nor that any member should do less than develop his specialty to the utmost. Rather by the sum total of individual contributions such a well-knit fabric of the past should eventually be reconstructed that not only the historical content, but its application to the ongoing life should become clear and unmistakable. Thus the most significant experience of the race shall at last become an assured and unequivocal asset in building an orderly, neighborly, and enduring humanity of the future.

Even if the present turmoil and confusion cannot be stayed from producing sweeping disaster, Oriental studies have every right to be zealously cherished as one sound hope of a better day, a Shangri-la indeed, and no matter how long hidden, as in some sheltered valley of Blue Moon.



ADOLF ERMAN

## ADOLF ERMAN, 1854-1937

L. BULL and W. F. EDGERTON

Adolf Erman, an honorary member of this Society since 1903, died on June 26, 1937, in the eighty-third year of his age.

The name Erman was originally Ermatinger, from Ermatingen on the Bodensee, and the family were living in northern Switzerland as early as the fifteenth century. Adolf Erman's ancestors moved to Geneva in the seventeenth century where the name assumed its present French form, and French blood first entered the family through the marriage of Jean Erman with the daughter of a protestant réfugiée. In 1721 Jean Erman and his family moved to Berlin where there was a considerable colony of French protestants with its own school. Both his son and grandson married within the French colony so that the French atmosphere continued to be preserved. Jean Erman's son was a glover. His grandson, Jean Pierre, was one of the leading protestant pastors of Berlin. Jean Pierre's son, Paul, Adolf Erman grandfather, married soon after 1800, a daughter of the Jewish *Stadtrat* Elias Itzig of Potsdam. As it happened, the Itzig family had been drifting away from Judaism, and they all adopted Christianity about this time. However, since Adolf Erman's grandmother was not baptized until 1802, Erman himself, in his old age, fell under the ban placed on those of Jewish blood by the National Socialist régime. Erman's grandfather was the first professor of physics at the University of Berlin, and Erman's father, who spelt his name Adolph, had the same post. His mother's father was the well-known astronomer, Bessel. Adolf Erman, the son, like all his forbears since the family had lived in Berlin, attended the French Gymnasium. He took his doctorate at the University of Berlin. Erman returned to the tradition of his ancestors and married a descendant of French réfugiées, Käthe d'Heureuse, in 1884. Five children were born to them and they lived together in great happiness till his death fifty-three years later. Erman has left a charming record of his forbears and of his own life in his *Mein Werden und mein Wirken* (Leipzig, 1929).

After two years as an assistant in the library of the Royal

Prussian Museums, Erman became an assistant in the numismatic cabinet in 1877, the same year in which he received the doctor's degree. A notable percentage of his earliest publications dealt with numismatics. In 1881 he became an instructor in Egyptology in the University of Berlin. In 1884 he succeeded Richard Lepsius as Director of the Egyptian Section of the Royal Museums and also as Professor of Egyptology in the University. He held the directorship until 1914 and the professorship, as *Extraordinarius* and as *Ordinarius*, until 1923. In 1895 he became a member of the Prussian Academy of Sciences. From 1881 to 1884 he was an assistant editor and from 1889 to 1906, at first with H. Brugsch and later with G. Steindorff, he was one of the editors of the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. During the last forty years of his life, his scholarly activities centered in the great *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, a work which Erman himself called into being, in which he enlisted the aid of successive generations of Egyptologists of diverse nationalities, and which he personally planned and guided through all its stages from the initial copying and collating of texts in European museums and in Egypt, to the completion of what we may hopefully call the "first edition" of the Dictionary itself.

It would be hard to overestimate the importance of Erman's work. The whole course of Egyptological scholarship since 1880 could be described in terms of his clear, bold, wise, and eminently well-rounded mind and of the long process by which that mind ultimately remade the field in which it operated. What passed for Egyptian grammar in Erman's student days was a welter of guesses; what passed for Egyptian archaeology was the reckless destruction of ancient monuments to obtain inscriptions and works of art. There were others besides Erman who understood and deplored this situation. But the actual substitution of proven fact and proven methods of investigation for guesswork in Egyptian grammar has been brought about almost exclusively by Adolf Erman and by those who learned directly or indirectly from him, while in the parallel improvement of Egyptian archaeology Erman's influence, though less obvious and less exclusive, has not been less real.

Interested in grammar from the first, Erman was a pioneer in the recognition of the marked changes in the Egyptian language in its development over the centuries, and in marking off "Neu-

aegyptisch" or Late Egyptian as a definite phase of the language, represented by letters, records and literary compositions of the period from about 1600 to about 700 B. C., and to a lesser extent in monumental inscriptions after about 1300 B. C. Erman's *Neu-aegyptische Grammatik* appeared in 1880 and more than half a century later, in 1933, when he was 79, he brought out an enlarged and completely revised second edition.

The breadth of Erman's scholarship and of his interest in the ancient Egyptians is shown in that remarkable book, *Aegypten u. aegyptisches Leben*, published in 1885, in which the whole of Egyptian civilization is presented to the reader in a series of brilliant chapters dealing with various aspects of it. A second edition, fully revised by Prof. Hermann Ranke, appeared in 1923.

The *Aegyptische Grammatik*, based on the classical phase of the language, first appeared in 1894, and its 4th edition in 1928. Previously, in 1889, on joining Heinrich Brugsch as an editor of the *Zeitschrift für aegyptische Sprache*, Erman had had much to do with the introduction in the first issue of that year, of the system of transliteration of Egyptian now in universal use.

Amid his grammatical and lexicographical work, Erman was also collecting material for a book on religion. His *Aegyptische Religion* appeared in 1905, and a new edition was needed only four years later. He continued to collect material, and finally in 1934, when he was 80 years old, he brought out a greatly enlarged edition under the title of *Die Religion der Aegypter*. In 1937 this work appears in a French translation.

Precisely because his methods and results were so far in advance of theirs, Erman in his youth aroused the hostility of some other Egyptologists—even of some who themselves possessed distinguished scholarly abilities. One of these men used to say that it was a pity the ancient Egyptians had not had the opportunity of studying Prof. Erman's grammar! The phrase "Berlin school," which bulks large in the Egyptological literature of the generation following 1880, was invented as a term of opprobrium to characterize Erman and his students. The words are hardly more than a memory today, but if they were now used they would be universally understood as a term of honor. This history of a phrase may serve in some slight degree as a measure of the difficulties which Erman once encountered, and of the overwhelming success with which he patiently and laboriously faced them.

A bibliography was compiled in 1935 in honor of Erman's eightieth birthday by Hermann Grapow who has recently succeeded Sethe in Erman's old chair at Berlin. This enumerates 284 titles without counting reviews and lectures. Two further titles would have to be added today, marking the sixty-first and sixty-second years of his uninterrupted scholarly productivity. Notwithstanding their great number, his publications were never hasty and never ill-considered; many of them marked epochs in the history of Egyptology; many of them have been superseded, but only after the labor of years and only by scholars who incorporated Erman's results in the foundations of their own work. His first article, a small but completely original observation on a point of Egyptian morphology, appeared in 1875, some months before his twenty-first birthday, and contains no positive statement which is not accepted as true today. His last books, written under the handicaps of blindness and physical weakness and made possible only by the selfless devotion of his wife and his friends, still show in the octogenarian the same intellectual independence which characterized the youth.

Our colleague and former fellow-member, Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams, who knew Erman more intimately than any living American, having studied under him for four semesters, frequently visited the Ermans and constantly corresponded with them, and she has given us recollection of his family life. The Ermans, in Dr. Ransom's student days, lived in a suburb of Berlin, where it was easy to get into the country. They often invited Egyptological students to their house, and Dr. Williams recalls an occasion when the party experimented in the garden with facsimiles of ancient Egyptian throw-sticks. Expeditions were made in the Grönwald and summer Sundays were sometimes spent rowing on the Havel. On such expeditions, the father took pains to instruct his children in the architectural merits of the old country churches. "Erman," writes Dr. Williams, "in true German fashion, completely dominated his household. His library was the quietest, largest room, his word law in all matters large or small. It was not, however, a severe régime, for affection, the gay spirits of the wife, and the homely never-failing humor of the husband prevented any suggestion of tyranny. In University seminars, one of the master's characteristics especially to be respected was his intellectual honesty. He would denounce a former opinion of his own as a 'black thought,' and

this being his attitude toward his own mental processes, he was severe with any student who showed signs of too much satisfaction with his own translations. He took delight in many things, both serious and light, outside his own field. He could repeat with gusto German student songs and English limericks. In his later years, the family lived in the village of Dahlem, and it was in the nearby church, of which Martin Niemoeller was until recently the pastor, that the Ermans' daughters were married and their own golden wedding anniversary was celebrated. Erman's sturdy independence is illustrated by the fact that after the outbreak of the World War, he refused to sign the famous professional letter which so irritated scholars in other countries. Always his creed was that, in scientific pursuits, there should be international amity, whatever political or military conflicts might be going on. This principal he maintained, in spite of the loss in the war of his beloved elder son Peter. Once, before Americans were actively involved, and when feeling against even the German language ran high in this country, a letter from his wife mentioned a little granddaughter sitting at her side studying her French lesson. Through many years the family read the *Atlantic Monthly*, and especially the stories in dialect pleased this specialist in language. I often heard that they read the magazine from cover to cover, that even the advertisements gave them an idea of our ways. None of the Ermans ever crossed the Atlantic, although the two older daughters attended school in England, and the family thereafter, drank afternoon tea, not coffee. In his letters, Erman often introduced phrases in hieroglyphic writing, and not a letter failed to contain some racy or droll passage.

"My last glimpses of Erman were in April, 1936, only a little more than a year before his death. He was then an octogenarian, at the time desperately ill, a touching, endearing, somewhat stooped figure in his velvet house jacket, for, with indomitable will, he insisted on being up for a part of each day. With all his old-time dignity and alertness of mind, he plied me with questions about the past fruitful season of 1935 to 1936 in Egypt, having had many letters concerning the newest discoveries, but as yet no visitor who had been in the midst of them. Almost blind, he yet drew rapidly and well various hieroglyphs to illustrate his interpretation of puzzling objects found only a few weeks earlier at Saqqāreh by Walter B. Emery. More than ever I sensed the greatness, the

essential sweetness, and the strength of his personality. And I came away from Berlin comforted that, as he had lived, so in his last days he could remain in his own familiar surroundings, finding his books by their position on shelves, still the center of his family, engaging constantly their loving solicitude and care. The last letter written to me before his death told that he reverted often to French, the language of his boyhood, and that, from the storehouse of his remarkable memory, he repeated long passages of the finest poetry."





A VEDIC HYMN TO THE SUN-GOD SŪRYA  
(TRANSLATION AND EXEGESIS OF RIG-VEDA 1. 115)

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RIG-VEDA 1. 115 is important in any consideration of Sūrya's Vedic character and aspect. No attempt is made here to interpret and define fully even the Rig-Vedic character of the deity. Such a definition is the subject of an investigation that is now being carried on by the author. This investigation is, in turn, but a small portion of a larger plan of research that aims at a treatment of the solar concept from an Indian, Indo-Iranian, and Indo-European point of view.<sup>1</sup> It will be apparent that the views expressed in this study should not be considered conclusive. It will be noted that the explanations presented depend primarily upon Vedic usage as determined by parallel passages in the Rig-Veda itself and in the Atharva-Veda. Upon this particular hymn the ritualistic literature throws little light. For the most part we have to rely upon the evidence of the Samhitas themselves.

Our hymn is one of the most important and most difficult hymns in the Rig-Veda and many attempts have been made to solve it. Of the hymn's six stanzas, Nos. 1, 3, and 6 offer no difficult problems. It should be noted, however, that almost everyone has overlooked the significance of the first line of stanza 1 which says: "The brilliant countenance of the gods *has risen*," and of the first line of the last stanza which entreats: "This day, O Gods, *at Sūrya's rising*, deliver us from misfortune, from evil." The invocation opens and closes with emphasis upon the *rising* aspect of the sun. As we shall see later, the entire song is an invocation to, and description of, the *rising* sun. The failure to observe that point has led many into error in their interpretations of stanzas 4 and 5. The misinterpretations of the last two lines of stanza 2 are to be explained by the fact that some scholars have failed to realize that all of the Vedic hymns were written, in their present form at least, primarily for the sacrifice.

Taking up the difficult stanzas, 2, 4, and 5, in order of occurrence,

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<sup>1</sup> The author is grateful to the American Council of Learned Societies and to Baylor University for grants in aid of these researches.

we shall consider first the various renderings of No. 2, paying particular attention to the last two lines: *yatrā naro devayanto yugāni/vitanvate prati bhadṛāya bhadraṃ*.

H. H. Wilson<sup>2</sup> gives a translation of the whole stanza reading: "The sun follows the divine and brilliant Ushas—as a man (follows a young and elegant) woman—at which season pious men perform (the ceremonies established for) ages, worshipping the auspicious (sun), for the sake of good (reward)." H. Grassmann<sup>3</sup> translates somewhat differently:

"Der Sonnengott, er folgt der Morgengöttin,  
der strahlenden, so wie der Braut der Freier;  
Dort wo die Frommen ihre Wagen schirren,  
von einer Seligkeit zur andern fahrend."

Still another interpretation is that of Sayana, K. Geldner-A. Kaegi,<sup>4</sup> and R. Roth,<sup>5</sup> which may be paraphrased thus: "The sun pursuing and the dawn pursued go forward to that place where pious men extend their generations, adding life to life, each new one happier than the previous, that is, to the highest heaven where the righteous enjoy eternal happiness." Similar is Ludwig's<sup>6</sup> translation which reads: "wie der bräutigam der jungfrau, so geht Sūrya der Uṣas, der stralenden göttinn, von rückwärts nach, wo fromme männer ausbreiten ihre geschlechter unter des glückbringenden augen glücklich." R. Griffith<sup>7</sup> renders the stanza in accordance with Ludwig. T. Benfey's<sup>8</sup> interpretation has much in common with the interpretations just described but differs in that it views the sun and dawn hastening to the house of the sacrificer, "where godfearing men extend their generations, one glorious after the other."

P. Peterson<sup>9</sup> is unique in that he leaves lines *cd* blank in his translation and says in a footnote that he prefers to mark an omis-

<sup>2</sup> *Rig-Veda Saṃhita*, London, 1866, p. 304.

<sup>3</sup> *Rig-Veda, übersetzt*, Leipzig, 1877, zweiter Teil, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> *Siebenzig Lieder des Rigveda*, Tübingen, 1875, p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> See his *Beiträgen zu Siebenzig Lieder* of Geldner-Kaegi, p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> *Der Rig-Veda, übersetzt*, Prag, 1876, erster Band, p. 142.

<sup>7</sup> *The Hymns of the Rig-Veda*, Benares, 3 ed., 1920, vol. 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Orient und Occident*, vol. 3, p. 151.

<sup>9</sup> *Hymns from the Rigveda*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, 4th ed., 1917, pp. 308, 83.

sion than give a translation which could only be conjectural. He gives a rather long discussion of the problem in his exegesis but comes to no conclusion.

K. Geldner<sup>10</sup> translates as follows, rendering lines *cd* obscurely; "Sūrya geht hinter der glänzenden Göttin Uṣas her wie der Jüngling hinter einer Maid, während die gottergebenen Männer die Joche auflegen, je ein glückbringendes zu glücklichem (Tun)." In his notes he explains lines *cd*: "An jedem Morgen beginnen die Frommen einen neuen Zeitabschnitt oder ein neues gutes Tagewerk."

Apparently following E. Windisch's article in *Festgrüß an Böhmlingk*, p. 118 ff., A. Hillebrandt,<sup>11</sup> H. Oldenberg,<sup>12</sup> A. A. Macdonell,<sup>13</sup> and E. J. Thomas<sup>14</sup> present translations that correctly construe *yatrā . . . vitanvate* as referring to the place where pious men begin the sacrifice, but they all are rather sparse in their presentation of proof and do not discuss sufficiently the significance of their translations. None of them, moreover, seems to understand the function of *prāti* or the meaning of *bhadrāya bhadrām*. Hillebrandt's version<sup>15</sup> may be taken as generally representative of this particular interpretation. It reads: "Sūrya folgt der göttlichen Uṣas, der strahlenden, nach, wie ein Mann der Frau sich ihr nähernd folgt; dorthin, wo fromme Männer die Joche auflegen (ihr Opferwerk beginnen), dem Heilbringenden entgegen zu unserm Heil."

Concerning stanza 4<sup>16</sup> there are two main schools of thought to be distinguished. The first and by far the largest group of scholars, disregarding the lead given by the fact that invocation is made to the rising sun and that stanzas 2 and 3 describe the action of a *rising* sun, overlooking other parallel passages in the Rig-Veda, and misconstruing the language of the passage in question, views the stanza as a reference to the *setting* sun. Although there are many differences in the various treatments of the passage, the interpretation of this group may be summed up generally, as follows: "The

<sup>10</sup> *Der Rig-Veda, übersetzt*, erster Teil, Göttingen, 1923, p. 138.

<sup>11</sup> *Lieder des Rigveda, übersetzt*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup> *Rigveda, Textkritische und exegetische Noten* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologische-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Band XI, Nro. 5) p. 107.

<sup>13</sup> *Hymns from the Rig-Veda*, London, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> *Vedic Hymns*, London, 1923, p. 41.

<sup>15</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>16</sup> For Sanskrit text see below.

godhead and power of Sūrya is this: In the midst of his operations he withdraws the daylight. When he has unyoked his steeds from the solar car, then Night spreads her garment over all" (or, even less happily, "then Night spreads out her garment for him"). The members of this school number such scholars as Wilson,<sup>17</sup> Griffith,<sup>17</sup> Grassmann,<sup>17</sup> Geldner-Kaegi,<sup>17</sup> Hillebrandt,<sup>17</sup> Macdonell,<sup>17</sup> Zimmer,<sup>18</sup> Benfey,<sup>19</sup> and Ludwig.<sup>20</sup>

The second group, represented chiefly by Geldner,<sup>21</sup> Peterson,<sup>22</sup> Thomas,<sup>23</sup> and M. Winternitz,<sup>24</sup> has the correct impression of a *rising* sun and a web of darkness that is rolled up at dawn, but either mistakenly understands that it is Night who rolls up the web or erroneously takes *simasmai* (in line *d*) as referring to Sūrya instead of Night, or as meaning "all."

In handling stanza 5 the majority of Vedicists, including Wilson,<sup>25</sup> Griffith,<sup>25</sup> Grassmann,<sup>25</sup> Geldner-Kaegi,<sup>25</sup> Benfey,<sup>25</sup> Thomas,<sup>25</sup> Peterson,<sup>26</sup> Oldenberg,<sup>27</sup> Bergaigne,<sup>28</sup> and Geldner,<sup>29</sup> misunderstand lines *cd*, and conceive of a sun that brings the light of day and also a sun that brings the darkness of night, i. e. a day-sun and a night-sun. The truth, as we shall see below, is that the lines in question partially repeat the description given in stanza 4 and speak of the rising sun as possessing everlasting light and having the power, by means of his steeds, to roll up the web of darkness. Both Hillebrandt<sup>30</sup> and Macdonell<sup>30</sup> have translations that very nearly suit the correct interpretation, but I am almost certain that neither of them had it in mind, for both interpret *stanza 4* as though it referred to a *setting* sun which rolled up the *daylight* at eventide. Therefore they could not have seen in this passage a *rising* sun

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<sup>17</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 363.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 142 and vol. 4, pp. 131-132.

<sup>21</sup> *Loc. cit.*, and *Vedische Studien*, vol. 2, p. 189.

<sup>22</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-87.

<sup>23</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>24</sup> "Ein Hymnus an Savitar," *Archiv Orientalni*, 25, p. 298.

<sup>25</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 88, 308.

<sup>27</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

<sup>28</sup> *La Religion Védique*, vol. 3, p. 119.

<sup>29</sup> *Der Rig-Veda*, p. 138, footnote to 5. *cd*.

<sup>30</sup> *Loc. cit.*

which rolled up the darkness at dawn. Furthermore, Hillebrandt, in his revised edition of *Vedische Mythologie*,<sup>31</sup> makes it apparent that in both stanzas 4 and 5 he sees a twofold sun that is the creator of light and darkness, bringing day at one time and night at another.

No scholar, then, appears to gain the picture which I should like to give in a freely paraphrased summary as my own impression of Rig-Veda 1. 115:

Sūrya, the eye of Mitra-Varuṇa, has risen and has filled the whole universe with his radiance. With the dawn he comes to the place of sacrifice where the priests prepare auspicious sacrifices for the fortunate sacrificer. His splendid steeds have mounted skywards encompassing the world in a day (that is, Sūrya has risen). His power is this: Upon rising he lifts the web of darkness from the world. When he yokes up his steeds in the morning, then Night covers herself with the web of darkness that she has woven and vanishes. Sūrya shines so that Mitra and Varuṇa may see. The everlasting daylight belongs to him. His steeds roll up the darkness and make it disappear. This early morn, deliver us, O Gods, at Sūrya's rising, from misfortune and evil.

There follow a translation and commentary which endeavor to present in detail a solution of the outstanding difficulties and problems encountered in the hymn.

1. citrāṃ devānām úd agād ānikāṃ  
cākṣur mitrāśya varuṇasyāgnēḥ  
āprā dyāvāprthivī antāriksaṃ  
sūrya ātmā jāgatas tasthūśaś ca

The brilliant countenance of the gods has risen, the eye of Mitra, Varuṇa and Agni. He has filled heaven and earth and atmosphere, Sūrya, soul of that which moves and that which is stationary.

a. Cf. *agner anikāṃ varuṇasya* in 7. 88. 2.

d. *jāgatas tasthūśaś ca*: "of that which moves and that which is stationary." This is a juxtaposition of frequent occurrence in the Rig-Veda and is usually made by combining some form of *sthā* or *sthātṛ* with some form of *jagat* or *caratha*. A precise definition of the combination appears difficult. Its appearance cannot be related to any particular god or gods. In 7. 60. 2 Sūrya is similarly

<sup>31</sup> Vol. 2 (1929), p. 354, footnote 3 and p. 107, footnote 2.

invoked as “lord of all that is stationary and that moves” (*viśvasya sthātūr jagataś ca gopā*). Two other solar deities are addressed in like manner. In 4. 53. 6 appeal is made to Savitar as “thou who art ruler of both that which moves and that which is stationary” (*jagataḥ sthātūr ubhayasya yo vaśī*), while in 1. 89. 5 Pūshan is called “lord who reigns over that which moves and that which is stationary” (*īśānaṃ jagatas tasthuṣas patim*). Almost the same mode of address is applied to that indefinite group of luminous deities, the Ādityas, in 2. 27. 4 where we read “Ādityas, upholding that which moves and that which is stationary” (*dhārayanta ādityāso jagat sthā*).

In 7. 101. 6, a stanza addressed to Parjanya, we meet the very same phrase that we have here in 1. 115. 1, and in 6. 49. 6 Parjanya and Vāta are asked to “procure (for the singer of the hymn) that which is stationary and that which moves,” i. e. perhaps “all kinds of property” (*sthātār jagad ā kṛṇudhvaṃ*<sup>32</sup>).

In several passages Agni is closely associated with “what is stationary and what moves.” In a description of him as the irresistible forest fire it is said that “that which is stationary, that which moves fears him in his flight,” i. e. possibly “all plant and animal life” (1. 58. 5: *sthātuś carathaṃ bhayate patatṛiṇaḥ*). He is said to have “uncovered that which is stationary, that which moves” as he attained to heaven (1. 68. 1: *sthātuś caratham aktūn vy ūrṇot*). He is called the “embryo of the waters, of the forests, of what is stationary and of what moves”—again, perhaps, “all plant and animal life” (1. 70. 3: *garbho yo apāṃ garbho vanānāṃ garbhaś ca sthātām*<sup>33</sup> *garbhaś carathām*). He, the god that is invested with cosmic law, is strengthened by many manifold nights and days, by that which is stationary, and that which moves (1. 70. 7: *vardhān yaṃ pūrvāḥ kṣapo virūpāḥ sthātuś caratham ṛtapravītaṃ*). He is invoked to “protect the cattle and those things that are stationary, and that which moves,” i. e. perhaps “every kind of property” (1. 72. 6: *paśūn ca sthātṛṇ caratham ca pāhi*). And finally he is named the creator of “that which travels by wings, that which is stationary and that which moves” (10. 88. 4: *sa patatṛitvaram sthā jagad yac chvātram agnir akr̥noj jātavedāḥ*).

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion (but not a satisfactory solution) of this passage, see Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 399-400.

<sup>33</sup> *sthātrām* is proposed by the St. Petersburg Lexikon s. v.

In several other passages this phrase seems to serve merely as a conventional mode of expression for "everything that exists" (as may be the case in some passages cited above). In 1.159.3 it is said that Heaven and Earth in accordance with the will of the sun watch over or preserve the true station of that which is stationary and that which moves (*sthātus ca satyaṃ jagataś ca dharmanī putrasya pāthah padam advayāvinaḥ*). In 6.50.7 the Waters are called "the creators of everything that is stationary and that moves" (*viśvasya sthātur jagato janitriḥ*). In 10.63.8 the All-gods are spoken of as "governors of all that is stationary and that moves" (*viśvasya sthātur jagataś ca mantavaḥ*). Finally, in 1.80.14 that which is stationary and that which moves trembles at Indra's thundering (*abhiṣṭane te adrivo yat sthā jagac ca rejate*).

In three other passages Indra is associated with the "moving" but not the "stationary." He is called "lord of all that moves and breathes" (1.101.5: *yo viśvasya jagataḥ prāṇatas patir*), "king of that which moves and of men"<sup>34</sup> (6.30.5: *rājābhavo jagataś carṣaṇinām*) and "eye of all that moves and sees" (10.102.12: *tvaṃ viśvasya jagataś cakṣur indrāsi cakṣuṣaḥ*).

On the basis of the evidence in the Rig-Veda then, the phrase under consideration is apparently, in many cases, a conventional formula with the meaning "all that exists."<sup>35</sup> In other cases it seems to have the more particular connotation of "every type of property." And in still other cases the meaning may very well be "all plant and animal life." At all events, I do not believe that we should use the translation "all that is animate and inanimate," for that distinction is not made in the Sanskrit. Everything that is stationary is not necessarily "inanimate."

In connection with the meaning "plant and animal kingdoms" it should be remarked that in AV. 8.5.11 *jagat* "domestic animal" is differentiated from *śvapaḥ* "wild animal" and that in AV. 1.31.4, though the cow is mentioned separately, the word *jagat* is used to designate the other domestic animals.<sup>36</sup> It is to be admitted, on the other hand, that there is no direct evidence to indicate that *sthā*

<sup>34</sup> There may be a distinction here between animals and humans.

<sup>35</sup> C. R. Lanman in *JAOS*, 10, p. 422, calls it "a loosely formulized expression for 'all beings.'"

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 150, and also Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, vol. 1, p. 268.

or *sthātr* possesses the specific meaning of “plant, plant world” in the Vedas. It is interesting to note, however, that in the Upanishads and also in later Sanskrit we meet the word *sthāvara*, one of whose meanings as an adjective is “vegetable, belonging to the vegetable world” and as a noun “any stationary object such as plant, mineral, etc.”<sup>37</sup> There is also the noun *sthāvaratā* “the state of a vegetable or mineral.”<sup>37</sup>

2. sūryo devīm uśāsam rōcamānām  
 māryo ná yōṣām abhy ēti paścāt  
 yātrā nāro devayānto yugāni  
 vitanvaté prāti bhadráya bhadráṃ

Coming later, Sūrya pursues the gleaming dawn-goddess, as the young bridegroom his bride, [to the place of sacrifice] where god-fearing men yoke (prepare) the sacrifice, where, for the fortunate [sacrificer] they yoke (prepare) a fortunate [sacrifice].

*b. māryo na yōṣām*: “as the young bridegroom his bride.” For the conception of the sun as a bridegroom and the dawn as his bride, see RV. 1. 123. 10, 11; 1. 124. 7; 10. 3. 3; 7. 10. 1, etc.

*paścāt*: “coming later.” The orb of the sun, as distinguished from its rays, rises *after* the break of dawn.

*c. yātrā* etc.: “where, etc.” Due to a misinterpretation of lines *c* and *d* many scholars, as we have noted above, have been vague as to the locality designated by *yātrā*. Understanding *yugāni* as “generations” they have made it refer to far-away land, something like Pindar’s “Islands of the Blest,” where godly men extend their generations and forever enjoy a blissful life. But we must not forget that these hymns were written for the sacrifice. It is *to the sacrifice* that Ushas and Sūrya come.

*cd. yugāni vitanvate*: “prepare the sacrifice.” For the identification of *yuga* with the sacrifice we have RV. 10. 101. 3*ab*, 4*ab* which read: *yunakta sīrā vi yugā tanudhvaṃ/kṛte yonau vapateha bījaṃ* “Yoke up the plows, spread the yokes [over the oxen,] sow the seed in the womb that has been prepared,” *sīrā yuñjanti kavayo/yugā vitanvate prthak* “The seers yoke up the plows, they spread the yokes severally [over the oxen].”

These lines, incorporated in a hymn that invokes the priest to the performance of the sacrifice, refer metaphorically to the prepa-

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<sup>37</sup> See Monier-Williams *s. v.* and the St. Petersburg Lexikon *s. v.*



ration for the sacrifice. The language and image are agricultural (See Ernst Windisch's article in *Festgrüss an Böhrlingk*, p. 118). Obviously the phrase-type *yugā tan + vi* has the figurative meaning of "prepare the sacrifice."

Here in 1. 115. 2 we have almost the same phrase, namely *yugāni vitanvate*, in the same figurative sense of preparing the sacrifice. The expression has nothing to do with man's extension of his generations or lives. Moreover, it should be remarked that *vi + tan* is a particularly appropriate combination for the meaning "begin" or "prepare" a sacrifice because of its frequent association with *yajña* in the sense of "make ready (prepare, proffer) the sacrifice." Such a combination is to be found in RV. 5. 13. 4, 5. 47. 6; AV. 2. 35. 5, 4. 14. 4, 9. 6. 28, 17. 1. 18, 18. 4. 13.

d. *prāti* is a preverb that qualifies *vitanvate*. Hillebrandt, in the vocabulary of his *Vedische Chrestomathie* under *tan + prati*, has proposed that we supply some form of *tan*, perhaps *tanute* or *tatam*. He makes this suggestion: "*prati vitanute bhadraṃ yugam yugāya* (breitet sich ein glückliches Geschlecht einem glücklichen entgegen)." I see no reason for that.

In speaking of the combination of two preverbs with a verb Delbrück<sup>38</sup> says: "Das Gewöhnliche ist, dass entweder die erste [Präposition] selbständig und betont bleibt, und die zweite unbetont sich dem Verbum anschliesst, oder dass beide unbetont mit dem Verbum verbunden werden." Since *prāti* is the second preverb and *does* bear an accent, it would seem that we must take it as a preverb modifying *vitanvate* with an intensifying force rather than modifying *tanvate* jointly with *vi*.<sup>39</sup>

*bhadrāya bhadraṃ*: "for the fortunate [sacrificer] a fortunate [sacrifice]." *Bhadrāya* may be taken as the dative singular of a masculine noun meaning "the fortunate one (i.e. sacrificer or patron)." <sup>40</sup> From *yugāni* a *yugam* is to be supplied for *bhadraṃ*. The sense of the whole stanza is this: Sūrya and Ushas, the one pursuing the other as the bridegroom his bride, come to the place of sacrifice where the priests prepare sacrifices, where, for their fortunate patron, they prepare a sacrifice that brings good fortune.

<sup>38</sup> *Altindische Syntax*, Halle, 1888, p. 48.

<sup>39</sup> For a similar suggestion see Oldenberg, *loc. cit.*, footnote 2.

<sup>40</sup> There is also the possibility that *bhadrāya* may refer to Sūrya.

3. bhadrá ásvā haritāḥ sūryasya  
 citrā étagvā anumādyāsaḥ  
 namasyānto divā ā prsthām asthuh  
 pári dyāvāprthivī yanti sadyāḥ

Sūrya's shining golden steeds, resplendent, gleaming, meet for jubilant greeting, bearing adoration, have ascended the summit of heaven; they encircle heaven and earth in a day.

a. The *haritāḥ* "steeds" are the sun's rays, for they precede the orb itself and are conceived as drawing it. So also in stanzas 4 and 5. Cf. 4. 13. 3 and 1. 50. 8, 9. See Nāigh. 1. 15 where the *haritāḥ* are defined as *haritavarṇā raśmayāḥ prātar ādityasya* and Yaska, Nirukta 4. 11, who calls them *ādityasya raśmayāḥ*.

b. *etagvā*: "gleaming." See W. Neisser, *Zum Wörterbuch des Rigveda*, pp. 194-5 for a discussion of this word. He accepts the usual meaning "buntgeartet." See also M. Bloomfield, *AJP*, 17, p. 422 ff., who translates (p. 427) *haritāḥ sūryasya etagvāḥ* "the steeds of the sun consisting of bright rays."

4. tát sūryasya devatvām tán mahitvām  
 madhyā kārtor vītatam sām jabhāra  
 yadéd áyukta haritāḥ sadhāsthād  
 ād rātrī vāsas tanute simāsmāi

This the divinity of Sūrya, this his might: In the midst of the work [of Night] he has rolled up what had been spread out (i. e. the darkness). As soon as he has yoked [his] golden steeds from out [their] stall, then Night spreads her mantle over herself.

*abcd*. This stanza clearly refers to the sun's rising. With his divine power Sūrya interrupts the work of Night and rolls up the web of darkness that she has stretched over the earth. When he yokes his steeds from out of their stalls,<sup>41</sup> that is, when he rises, then Night takes from Sūrya the web that he has rolled up and wraps herself up (*tanute simasmai*) in this mantle (*vāsas*) of darkness and retreats.<sup>42</sup> For similar, very illuminating passages that

<sup>41</sup> Cf. 7. 60. 3 *ayukta sapta haritāḥ sadhasthād yā im vāhanti sūryam ghr̥tācīḥ*.

<sup>42</sup> There is no contradiction here. In lines *ab* Sūrya's divinity and might are explained as his ability to suspend Night's activity by rolling up the web of darkness that she has spread over the world. In lines *cd* Night, with the rising of the sun, spreads this web of darkness over herself like a cloak and withdraws.

reveal the sun in his rôle of dispeller of darkness and sustain our interpretation we may compare 2. 38. 4*abc* *punaḥ sam avyad vitataṁ vayanti madhyā kartor ny adhāc chakma dhīraḥ/ut saṁhāyāsthād* etc. "The Weaver (i. e. Night) has rolled together again what was extended; in the midst of [her] work the Wise One (i. e. Savitar) suspended her activity. Coming up, he has risen etc."; 4. 13. 3 *yaṁ sīm akr̥nvan tamase vip̥rce* "whom (i. e. Sūrya) they made to cleave the darkness" and 4. 13. 4 *vahiṣṭhebhīr viharan yāsi tantum avavyayann asitaṁ deva vasma/davidhvato raśmayāḥ sūryasya carmevāvādhus tamo apsv antaḥ* "With thy swiftest steeds thou dost go along, dividing (ripping) the web [of darkness], removing, O God, the dark-hued garment (i. e. the darkness). Sūrya's rays, shaking off [the darkness], have dipped the darkness, like a skin, in the waters"; also 7. 63. 1 *ud v eti subhago viśvacakṣāḥ sād̥hāraṇaḥ sūryo mānuṣāṇām/cakṣur mitrasya varuṇasya devaś carmeva yaḥ samavivyak tamāṁsi* "Lovely, all-seeing, common to mankind, now does Sūrya rise, eye of Mitra and Varuṇa, the god who rolled up the darkness like a skin"; and finally 2. 17. 4*cd* where the reference is to an Indra endowed with solar attributes. Lines *c* and *d* read *ād rodasī jyotiṣā vahnir ātanot sīryan tamāṁsi dudhitā sam avyayat* "then the carrier (charioteer?) overspread heaven and earth with light; tying together the grim darkness, he rolled [it] up."

We have seen that this stanza has been difficult for almost every Vedicist. Geldner-Kaegi,<sup>43</sup> Hillebrandt,<sup>43</sup> Grassmann,<sup>43</sup> Ludwig,<sup>43</sup> Wilson,<sup>43</sup> *et al.* appear to have gone astray entirely. Peterson,<sup>43</sup> although correct in most details, has missed line *d*, rendering (p. 308), ". . . Night was spreading her garment over all." Oldenberg<sup>44</sup> is correct in his assumption that the subject of *saṁ jabhāra* can be no-one else than Sūrya, but his interpretation of the stanza as a whole is faulty. He translates (p. 95), "Das ist Sūrya's Göttlichkeit, das seine Grösse: mitten in Tun zog er sein ausgespanntes (Gewebe wieder) zusammen. Wenn er seine Rosse von ihrem Standort hinweg, angespannt hat—herrscht darum doch nicht ewiger Tag, sondern—die Nacht arbeitet ein Gewand für ihn." To this he appends the note "In *b* das *vitataṁ* des Lichts, in *d* das der Finsternis.—Der Satz von *cd* sagt in der Tat fast: wenn die Sonne aufgegangen ist, wird es Nacht. Vermutlich gewollte Bizartheit." I let my translation and the parallel passages presented above speak for themselves against this view.

<sup>43</sup> *Op. cit.*<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*

K. Geldner in his *Vedische Studien*<sup>45</sup> offers a good translation save that he makes Night the subject of *saṃ jabhāra*, putting too much stress upon 2. 38. 4a.<sup>46</sup> In his *Der Rig Veda*, p. 138, he changes his mind and makes Sūrya the subject in his translation of the stanza, but in a footnote suggests that it may be Night. Furthermore, in his commentary to the stanza, he vitiates the generally good impression that his translation makes by saying: "4. Die Nacht muss bei Ankunft des Sūrya ihre Arbeit am Webstuhl der Zeit einstellen und es wird jetzt das Tagesgewand für Sūrya selbst ausgepannt. . . . d. Wohl eine ähnliche Ungenauigkeit wie in 1. 108. 4b für: Sie lässt den Sūrya für ihn selbst das Gewand ausbreiten. Oder *rātri* tritt hier ganz allgemein für den Zeitbegriff ein." In my opinion, a "loom of time" or a "day-garb" for Sūrya is not necessary for an understanding of our stanza, nor do I see any reason why line *d* should be considered an "inaccuracy" (it seems clear enough!). *Rātri* as a general usage for a "time-concept" also appears questionable.

In his translation of the Rig-Veda that is to be published in the

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<sup>45</sup> Vol. 2, p. 189.

<sup>46</sup> It is true that in 2. 38. 4a it is not the sun but Night, the Weaver, who rolls up the web of darkness. However, if we glance at the last line of the preceding stanza (2. 38. 3d) which concerns the arrival of Night, we find *anu vrataṃ savitur moky āgāt* "In accordance with the will of Savitar, the Releaser (i. e. Night), has come." On the basis of this declaration I believe it to be implied in line *a* of 2. 38. 4 that it is *in accordance with the will of the sun* that Night rolls up the web of darkness. That is, the sun causes the web of darkness to be rolled up by Night. In 2. 38. 4a the poet naturally makes Night the immediate agent because of the association of 2. 38. 3d; but in the final analysis the causation is solar. In 1. 115, however, there has been no mention of Night in the first three stanzas. Therefore, if we make Night the subject of *saṃ jabhāra* in 1. 115. 4b we must look some distance below to *rātri* in line *d* of this stanza. It is more reasonable that *sūryasya* of line *a* should supply the subject. Moreover, if that be so, then line *b* is directly and closely linked with line *a*, for we can take it as describing the operation and might of the divinity mentioned in line *a*. Furthermore, returning to line *b* of 2. 38. 4, we see that *it is the sun* who interrupts Night in the midst of her work (*madhyā kartor*) just as here in 1. 115. 4b he interrupts her in the midst of her work (*madhyā kartor*) by rolling up the darkness that she has spread over the earth. Finally, in our other parallel passages *it is the sun* who removes the darkness (4. 13. 4), who rolls it up like a skin (7. 63. 1), who ties it together and rolls it up (2. 17. 4).

Harvard Oriental Series <sup>47</sup> Geldner errs even more with the following two notes: “4c. *ayukta sadhastāt* ‘er hat vom Platze geschirrt’ ist s. v. a. ‘er hat umgeschirrt’ (Sieg GGN. 1923 S. 5). Hier bezieht sich der Ausdruck auf das Umspannen am Abend, in 7. 60. 3 auf das am Morgen” and “4d. Die Nacht hüllt jetzt den Sūrya in ihr Gewand, d. h. in Dunkel; sie macht die Tages- zur Nachtsonne.” On the basis of 1. 115. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6 and 7. 60. 3a there can be no doubt that 1. 115. 4c refers to the sun’s activity at dawn. In his *Der Rig Veda*, loc. cit., Geldner says: “c kann nach 7. 60. 3 nur auf die Morgenzeit gehen.” I agree with *that* view. In addition, everyone of the parallel passages cited above indubitably speaks of a *rising* sun.<sup>48</sup>

d. For *sima* Geldner <sup>49</sup> establishes the meaning “self.” Oldenberg <sup>50</sup> concurs, in general, with Geldner’s view. Wackernagel <sup>51</sup> accepts this meaning. To explain its place here in 1. 115. 4d in the light of the fact that the form is masculine and that only masculine forms of it occur, Geldner, *Der Rig Veda*, loc. cit., says in a footnote: “Mask. Dekl. statt fem. wie bei *sva* in Bedeutung ‘selbst.’” Also, in his proof sheet containing the translation of this hymn, I find Geldner saying: “Will man *simasmai* auf die Nacht beziehen, so ist *sima* Subst. und wie *sva* oder *ātman* Mask., auch wenn es sich auf ein Fem. bezieht.” It is a reasonable explanation. One would be going out of one’s way to make the line difficult by taking *simasmai* with anything else than the subject *rātrī*. Finally, it should be remarked that *tanute* is 3rd sing. *middle*.

5. tán mitráśya váruṇasyābhicákṣe  
 sūryo rūpām kṛṇute dyór upásthe  
 anantām anyád rúśad asya pájaḥ  
 kṛṣṇám anyád dharítaḥ sám bharanti

So that Mitra and Varuṇa may see, Sūrya manifests this brilliant form in the midst of heaven. The imperishable one (i. e. day) [is] his bright light; his golden coursers roll up the other, the dark one (i. e. night).

<sup>47</sup> Professor C. R. Lanman very kindly loaned me some of the proof sheets.

<sup>48</sup> The original suggestion for this interpretation of the stanza was given to me by Professor H. H. Bender of Princeton.

<sup>49</sup> *Vedische Studien*, vol. 2, pp. 188 ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

<sup>51</sup> *Altindische Grammatik*, Göttingen, 1930, 3, 2. Teil, p. 578.

a. In stanza 1 of this hymn Sūrya is called "the eye of Mitra and Varuṇa" (as well as of Agni). He is similarly designated in 6. 51. 1, 7. 63. 1, and 10. 37. 1. In this passage he is described as manifesting himself so that Mitra and Varuṇa may see.

cd. We have already enumerated above the large number of scholars who seem to believe that the last two lines of this stanza concern the endless succession of bright daylight, at one time, and dark night, at another, brought by Sūrya's golden steeds. Ludwig<sup>52</sup> translates the verse thus: "dise des Mitra und des Varuṇa gestalt schafft Sūrya in des himels schosz, dasz man sie beschaue, unendlich ist die eine seine helle kraft, (und) die andere die dunkle; die falben schaffen es." Since the time of the *Siebenzig Lieder* Geldner has changed his mind about the translation and, in *Der Rigveda, loc. cit.*, has the following: "Zum Sehen für Mitra und Varuṇa nimmt Sūrya diese Form im Schosse des Himmels an. Seine eine (Form) ist endloses weisses Licht, die andere schwarze legen die Falbinnen zusammen." In the proof sheet, which has been mentioned above, he has changed the wording of the whole stanza and his conception of the first two lines in this way: "Diese Farbe des Mitra, des Varuṇa lässt Sūrya im Schosse des Himmels schauen. Endlos weiss ist seine eine Erscheinung; die andere, schwarze legen die falben Stuten zusammen." His footnote in the proof sheet does not alter but merely enlarges the footnote, regarding the last two lines of the passage, in *Der Rigveda, loc. cit.* His interpretation is very much like that of the other scholars. He deduces that Sūrya has a double form. On the one hand he is the bright day-sun, and, on the other, he is the dark night-sun. One of his forms belongs to Mitra, the "Tagesgott" and the other to Varuṇa, the "Nachtgott." Hillebrandt and Macdonell appear to come closest to the mark, but, as has been demonstrated above, neither has the right interpretation in mind. Hillebrandt's version<sup>53</sup> is: "Unvergänglich ist das eine, seine strahlende Helle; das andere, das Dunkel, falten die Rosse zusammen." Macdonell<sup>54</sup> translates:

"One glow of his appears unending, splendid;  
His bay steeds roll the other up, the black one."

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<sup>52</sup> *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 142.

<sup>53</sup> *Lieder des Rigveda, loc. cit.* See also *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1929, vol. 2, p. 99 where he says that *anantam* . . . *pājah* refers to Aditi.

<sup>54</sup> *Hymns from the Rig Veda, loc. cit.*

The contrast of light and dark expressed by *anyad ruśad . . . kṛṣṇam anyad* is evident. However, it does not seem to me that the reference is to a bright and dark aspect of the sun. I do not look upon *rūpaṃ* as the antecedent of *anyad . . . anyad*. An expressed antecedent appears not to be necessary. I suggest that *anyad . . . anyad* refers to day and night, light and darkness, and that this stanza, particularly these two lines, continues the theme of the preceding stanza. Sūrya's radiance is the bright daylight (cf. 6.49.3b); his steeds draw the darkness together. For the contrasting *anyad . . . anyad* "day . . . night" compare 10.37.3cd *prācinam anyad anu vartate raja ud anyena jyotiṣā yāsi sūrya* "In the east flees the one, the darkness; with the other, the radiant [day], thou dost rise, O Sūrya," i. e. as the sun appears in the east, the darkness disappears. We should note that the first line of the next stanza 10.37.4a is *yena sūrya jyotiṣā bādhasse tamo* "With this radiance, O Sūrya, thou dost banish the darkness." (The Vedic bard does not hesitate to repeat his theme.) There is also to be compared 1.123.7 *apānyad ety abhy anyad eti viṣurūpe ahanī saṃ carete/parikṣitos tamo anyā guhākar adyauḍ uṣāḥ śośucatā rathena* "One (i. e. darkness) goes away, the other (i. e. day) comes; with their different hues, day and night come together (i. e. meet). The one of the two encompassers (i. e. day and night) removed the darkness. With gleaming chariot Ushas shone." (Here *anyā*: "the one" may be Ushas or, more probably, may be "day" conceived of as one of the two daughters, 6.49.3a, or one of the two sisters, 3.55.11c.—With regard to *parakṣitos*: "of the two encompassers," despite 3.7.1 and 10.65.8 cited by Oldenberg, *Rigveda Noten*, p. 127, I do not believe that heaven and earth are meant. In my opinion the word designates the duality, day and night. Consider the immediately preceding dual *viṣurūpe ahanī*.)

It should be remarked that the neuter *anyad . . . anyad* is quite common, almost conventional, for "day . . . night." Such is the case in 1.123.7 cited above. In addition, while day and night are called "sisters" in 3.55.11c, in 11b we read *tayor anyad rocate kṛṣṇam anyat* "of these two, one [is] hidden, the other [is] manifest." In most of these passages that have been listed, it will be noticed that, expressed or implied, there is the conception of the darkness disappearing as the daylight appears. I propose that we bear this in mind in our consideration of 1.115.5cd as well as of

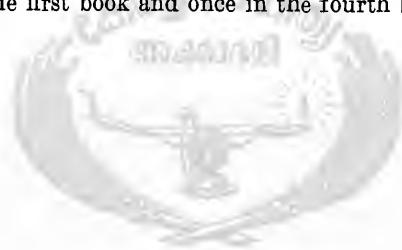
1.115.4. Finally, as negative evidence in support of my interpretation of this verse, there might be adduced the fact that nowhere else in the Rig-Veda does *anyad* . . . *anyad*, or any combination thereof, describe a dark and light form of the sun.

d. For the meaning of *saṃ bharanti* see *saṃ jabhāra* in the preceding stanza.

6. adyā devā úditā sūryasya  
nīr ānhasaḥ pipṛtā nīr avadyāt  
tān no mitró váruṇo māmahantām  
áditiḥ síndhuḥ pṛthiví utá dyaúḥ

This day, O Gods, at Sūrya's rising, deliver us from misfortune, from evil. Let Mitra, Varuṇa, Aditi, Sindhu, Earth and Heaven, grant us this prayer.

cd. These lines are a conventional entreaty appearing 17 times elsewhere in the first book and once in the fourth book.





## THE VICTORY OF HAN CONFUCIANISM

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IT WAS DURING the Former Han period that Confucianism developed from being the teaching of a few pedants in semi-retirement, at the end of the Chou period, to become the official philosophy of the government, which had to be adopted by anyone who hoped to enter public life. This victory set Confucianism on its way to become the dominating feature of Chinese culture and to affect profoundly a large portion of humanity. It is consequently interesting to determine just how and why this victory came about.

Professor Fung Yu-lan declares that this victory came about at the beginning of Emperor Wu's reign. In the "Memoir of Tung Chung-shu," the *History of the Former Han Dynasty* says, "When Emperor Wu had newly ascended [the throne], the Marquises of Wei-ch'i, [Tou Ying], and of Wu-an, [T'ien Fen], became his [Lieutenant] Chancellors, and Confucians flourished. When moreover [Tung] Chung-shu made [his famous] replies to the [examination] questions [set by Emperor Wu, he advocated] promoting and making known [the teachings of] Confucius and of repressing and degrading [the advocates of] other philosophies. The establishment of a government university and schools and the recommendation of [persons with] Abundant Talents and of Filially Pious and Incorrupt [persons to the imperial government] by the provinces and commanderies all arose from the proposals of [Tung] Chung-shu."<sup>1</sup> The Confucian victory can not however be fixed at any one particular date, nor did it occur in the reign of Emperor Wu. Rather it was a slow process of increasing completeness, which began with the Emperor Kao-tsu and was not complete until the time of the Emperor Yüan, more than a century and a half later. The *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, with its detailed reports concerning the intellectual and political life of the period, gives us a fairly complete account of the way this victory was achieved.

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<sup>1</sup> *Han-shu*, Chapter 51, folio 20 verso, 21 recto, in Wang Hsien-ch'ien's edition, the *Ch'ien-Han-shu Pu-chu*, abbreviated *HS* 51: 20b, 21a. D. Bodde, in his translation of Fung Yu-lan's *History of Chinese Philosophy*, p. 17, has failed to translate exactly this condensed passage.

I have previously given a report of Emperor Kao-tsu's attitude towards Confucianism.<sup>2</sup> He began with a violent prejudice against Confucians but with an intimate younger half-brother who had a thorough Confucian education. The Confucians had opposed and criticized the First Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, and the latter had repressed them violently, burning the *Book of Odes* and the *Book of History* and driving outstanding Confucians into flight or retirement. Because of the Ch'in dynasty's attitude, Confucians naturally assisted Kao-tsu. The Ch'in dynasty maintained seventy learned men at court, giving them the title of Erudit (*Po-shih*). One of them, Shu-sun T'ung, was captured and surrendered in turn to Hsiang Yü and to Kao-tsu. He later arranged Kao-tsu's court ceremonies. In his conflict with Hsiang Yü, Kao-tsu received valuable advice from Confucians, who pointed out to him the great advantage of employing the Confucian doctrine of Heaven's Mandate against the tyranny of the Ch'in ruler. Kao-tsu, at the instance of his Chancellor of State, Hsiao Ho, seems first to have asked his Administrators in the provinces to recommend persons with excellent reputations and manifest virtue to the imperial government for positions in the bureaucracy, which procedure initiated the examination system, so influential in promoting Confucianism.

Li Yi-chi and Lu Chia, two of Kao-tsu's paladins, were sincere Confucians. The latter wrote a thoroughly Confucian book at Kao-tsu's request, and was highly praised and rewarded for it. Thus Kao-tsu, beginning with an antipathy to Confucians, ended by giving them high position and favoring them.

Under the next two rulers, Kao-tsu's son and wife, Emperor Hui and the Empress Dowager née Lü, Confucianism suffered a set-back. Ts'ao Ts'an, the outstanding Lieutenant Chancellor (*Ch'eng-hsiang*, the highest minister) during this period, was a Taoist; the Confucians opposed the Empress Dowager's usurpation of the imperial power and went into retirement.

With the Empress Dowager's death and the accession of Emperor Wen, Confucians again became influential. Lu Chia was important in enthroning this Emperor. The new Emperor encouraged learning and continued many Confucian practices. But he felt that he must be impartial towards all the various philosophies

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<sup>2</sup> *JAOS* 57 (1937), 172-180.

current at the time; hence he established Erudits to be specialists upon these various philosophies, until he is said to have had seventy Erudits. Yet Emperor Wen was probably more influenced by Confucianism than by any other single teaching. Later Confucians have considered him a saint. Chia Yi, who was more a Confucian than a Taoist, influenced Emperor Wen greatly. Emperor Wen moreover extended the examination system by having the commanderies send capable persons to the imperial court, among whom the Emperor selected officials by setting examinations for them at the capital. In his questions, the Emperor invited the candidates to give him advice upon governmental policies. Thus Confucianism was merely one of the most influential of the many tendencies in Emperor Wen's government.

In the imperial examination of 165 B. C., Ch'ao Ts'o took the first place. He had been a favorite of the Heir-apparent, the future Emperor Ching, had become his Household Steward, and was known as the "bag of wisdom." In his youth he had studied the legalist philosophy and that of names and circumstances; when someone was needed to receive from the aged Master Fu the Confucian tradition concerning the *Book of History*, Ch'ao Ts'o was sent. Like Chia Yi, he was thus conversant with several philosophies, in this respect perhaps typical of the age. The future Emperor Ching favored Ch'ao Ts'o greatly, and when he came to the throne, gave Ch'ao Ts'o high office. As a whole, Emperor Ching, however, was not as favorable to Confucianism as his father had been.

In 141 B. C., the youthful Emperor Wu came to the throne. He was only in his sixteenth year, and had been given a good classical education, which had naturally included a study of Chinese literature, the Confucian classics. His Junior Tutor had been Wang Tsang, a disciple of Shen P'ei, the famous Confucian authority on the *Book of Odes*. The Emperor was greatly interested in learning, literature, and poetry; he himself later wrote some very creditable poetry. He was somewhat imperious and very ambitious. After having been given such an education, he was naturally much impressed by Confucianism, so much so that at first, at the suggestion of Tung Chung-shu, he seems to have wanted to make Confucianism the sole philosophy of the government. In this resolve, he was probably swayed very largely by his advisers,

especially by Wang Tsang, for in later years the Emperor altered his attitude to Confucianism greatly. The most serious obstacle to this plan was the fact that the Emperor's grandmother, the Grand Empress Dowager née Tou, was a devotee of Lao-tzu. Because of the current exaltation of filial piety, her influence at the court was quite as strong as that of the Emperor. The Confucian party hence compromised by attacking only the philosophy they considered most dangerous and most opposed to the Confucian tradition, namely the Legalist school, which had been that espoused by the Ch'in dynasty, from whose institutions the Han dynasty had taken its governmental organization. Hence they induced the aged and faithful but incompetent Lieutenant Chancellor Wei Wan to memorialize the throne that all those officials and candidates should be dismissed who had specialized in the lore of Shen Pu-hai, Shang Yang, Han Fei, Su Ch'in, and Chang Yi, all of whom were Legalists. Emperor Wu naturally ratified and enacted this proposal.<sup>3</sup> Pan Ku says plainly that the intention of this edict was to eliminate all non-Confucians from the government service.<sup>4</sup>

Half a year later, Emperor Wu dismissed Wei Wan for incompetence and appointed in his place Tou Ying, a son of a first cousin of the Grand Empress Dowager, who had distinguished himself by putting down a serious rebellion in the preceding reign, but had not previously been given high civil office because of his outspokenness and pride. The Emperor's maternal half-uncle, T'ien Fen, was made Grand Commandant (*T'ai-wei*), a position only inferior in power to that of the Lieutenant Chancellor. The Grand Empress Dowager was induced to suggest this arrangement.<sup>5</sup>

Tou Ying favored Confucianism highly; T'ien Fen had in his youth studied the works of a certain P'an Yü, an eclectic philosopher who combined the doctrines of the Confucians, the Mohists, legalists, and the school of names. The greatest ministers thus all favored Confucianism. They made a clean sweep of the previous officials, and selected for the third most influential court position, that of Grandee Secretary (*Yü-shih Ta-fu*), Chao Wan, another disciple of the Confucian authority Shen P'ei. Wang Tsang was Chief of the Gentlemen-at-the-Palace (*Lang-chung-ling*), a position that enabled him to come into intimate contact with Emperor Wu. Thus Confucians controlled the government.

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<sup>3</sup> HS 6: 1b.

<sup>4</sup> HS 6: 39a.

<sup>5</sup> HS 52: 4a.

They proceeded to introduce Confucian practises, and proposed the establishment of a *Ming-t'ang*, a ceremonial building said to have been used in Chou times for sacrifices and court receptions. Emperor Wu liked ceremonies and pomp; Confucianism emphasized such ceremonials. Chao Wan and Wang Tsang needed expert aid in this project, so they persuaded Emperor Wu to send for their teacher, Shen P'ei. A messenger was sent with presents of silk and jade circlets (*pi*), and with a comfortable chariot with seats, with its wheels bound with rushes, and a team of four horses, to invite the eighty-odd year old Confucian authority to court. His two outstanding disciples followed him in a one-horse chariot. When he arrived at court, Emperor Wu asked him to state the source of good and bad government. The old man replied, "The person who governs well should not speak much, and should merely pay attention and strive hard at what he does." The young emperor thought highly of his own literary ability, so that he was much displeased by the old man's reproof. The Emperor had however summoned Shen P'ei, so made him a Grand Palace Grandee (*T'ai-chung-ta-fu*), a high honorary position, and installed him in the hostel at the capital for the King of Lu. He then ordered the discussion of a *Ming-t'ang*.

Meanwhile the Confucian clique at the court had found itself hampered by the influence of the nobles at the capital. The Confucians accordingly revived a law enacted by Emperor Wen under Confucian influence to the effect that nobles, especially marquises, should reside at their estates in order to guide and care for their people. Most of the nobles had however established themselves at the center of civilization and luxury in the imperial capital, did not wish to leave it, and concerned themselves only with receiving the taxes from their estates. On account of the fear of rebellion, the administrators of noble estates were all appointed by the imperial government, so that the nobles could have had little influence upon their people. Emperor Ching had consequently rescinded Emperor Wen's law. Most of the marquises had moreover married imperial princesses, hence they took their cause to their relative, the Grand Empress Dowager née Tou, and slandered Tou Ying to her. Tou Ying also offended his own clan by discriminating among its members, erasing from the family record the names of those who were not upright.

In order to check the influence of the Grand Empress Dowager, the Confucians now asked for the enactment of a law to the effect that government affairs should not be brought to the attention of an Empress Dowager, i. e., that female influence should be excluded from the government. Thus the issue was joined. Tou Ying and his party were trying to exalt Confucianism and suppress Taoism as well as legalism; the Grand Empress Dowager was an ardent Taoist. When the Grand Empress Dowager heard of the Confucians' request, she was furious; Emperor Wu, who had probably become somewhat tired of the Confucians, sent Wang Tsang and Chao Wan to jail, where they were compelled to commit suicide; Tou Ying and T'ien Fen were dismissed. The Confucians could not withstand the Emperor's grandmother.<sup>6</sup>

She died in 136 B. C., four years later, a few months after which Emperor Wu, possibly at the suggestion of T'ien Fen, who had again become influential, established Erudits who specialized in each of the five Confucian classics. The next year T'ien Fen became Lieutenant Chancellor. He appointed several hundred Confucians to office and degraded Taoists.<sup>7</sup> Yet there continued to be Taoists in the court, for there had been no ban put upon them—Chi Yen had been an outrider to Emperor Wu when the latter had been Heir-apparent and continued by his frank criticism to inspire the Emperor with respect and even with fear. Szu-ma T'an and his son, the historian Szu-ma Ch'ien, were both Taoists and kept their posts as Grand Astrologer (*T'ai-shih*). The Mohist school seems to have exercised little influence, if it still existed, which is doubtful, for no adherent of this school is mentioned among the Emperor Wu's officials, although it is mentioned by Szu-ma T'an in his survey and comparison of the six philosophical schools.<sup>8</sup>

Through his liking for scholarship and literary men, Emperor Wu next came into touch with the Confucian Kung-sun Hung. The latter was a poor boy who had studied the various commentaries on the *Spring and Autumn*, and was recommended to the imperial court by his home state. His examination was placed in the lowest class by the Grand Master of Ceremonies (*T'ai-ch'ang*); when Emperor Wu reread the replies, he was much

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<sup>6</sup> *HS* 52: 1a-4b.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *HS* 88: 3b.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Shih-chi*, abbreviated *SC*, ch. 130; *HS* 62: 6a-7a.

struck by the literary quality of Kung-sun Hung's reply, promoted it to the first reply of the first class, and summoned him to an audience. He proved to be a Confucian who knew how to clothe displeasing speech in tactful language, and thereby secured the Emperor Wu's favor. Tung Chung-shu called him a flatterer. He was gradually advanced until Emperor Wu made him a marquis and the Lieutenant Chancellor.

Tung Chung-shu had previously suggested to Emperor Wu the establishment of a government university; sometime during the time that Kung-sun Hung was Lieutenant Chancellor in 124-121 B. C., the latter renewed the suggestion and drafted the memorial which was approved by the Emperor and became the charter of the Imperial University (*T'ai-hsüeh*). It was located seven li northwest of the capital. The masters were the Erudits; they or their Disciples did the teaching.\* The Grand Master of Ceremonies was ordered to select fifty persons who were in their 18th year or over, in good health and upright in character. They were entitled the Disciples of the Erudits (*Po-shih Ti-tzu*) and were exempted from taxes and service. The Administrators of Commanderies (*Chün T'ai-shou*) and Chancellors of Kingdoms (*Kuo Hsiang*) were ordered to select suitable students who showed a love of learning and good character and to send them to the Grand Master of Ceremonies at the imperial capital with the persons who brought the yearly accounts to the capital; these students were to study at the Imperial University for one year like the Disciples, whereupon they were to be examined. Those who showed themselves expert in one classic or more were entitled Literary Scholars (*Wen-hsüeh*) or Authorities upon Ancient Matters (*Chang-ku*). Those who did not attain such a high rank might be made Gentlemen-of-the-Palace (*Lang-chung*), who were imperial attendants and might be selected for office. The name of a person who showed abundant talent to an extraordinary degree (*Hsiu-ts'ai yi-teng*) might be reported to the throne for a substantial office. Those

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\* It is quite likely that there were only five Erudits at this time, namely those for the five Confucian classics. It was customary for a great scholar to do most of his teaching through his more advanced disciples; Tung Chung-shu is said to have shut himself up to study and to have helped only his more advanced disciples; his more recent disciples could only get help from the more advanced ones, so that some of his disciples did not even see his face. Cf. *HS* 56: 1a.

who had not applied themselves to studying or had shown themselves of such small ability that they could not even become expert in one Classic were immediately dismissed. Literary Scholars or Authorities upon Ancient Matters might be given minor positions in the official bureaucracy.<sup>10</sup>

There was thus established in the capital an institution for the training of officials, capable graduates of which automatically entered the government service. The curriculum and teachers of this institution were all Confucian, so that, as Szu-ma Ch'ien says, "From this time on, most of the minor officials in the offices of the ministers and officials at the capital were Literary Scholars." Confucian learning thus became the means whereby most of the lower positions in the bureaucracy were filled, and so in time permeated the government.

Yet Emperor Wu was far from being a thorough-going Confucian. Indeed, in many respects he acted contrary to Confucian ideals. His widespread military expeditions were un-Confucian. His heavy taxes and legal oppression of the people were un-Confucian. His establishment of the salt and iron government monopolies, the monopoly on fermented liquors, and the Bureau of Equalization and Standards, whereby the government speculated in goods, were specifically Legalist measures. His cultivation of magicians, his seeking for supernatural beings, his erection of buildings for magical purposes, such as the Fei-lien Lodge, the Yi-yen-shou Lodge, and the T'ung-t'ien T'ai (the Terrace that Communicates with Heaven) and his indulgence in superstitious sacrifices were Taoist measures.<sup>11</sup> His elaborate development of laws was a measure stressed by the school of names and circumstances (a Legalist school). In many ways, in his conquests, in his tours of the empire, in his ascent of Mt. T'ai, and in his severe government, he seems deliberately to have imitated the First Em-

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<sup>10</sup> Cf. *HS* 88: 3b-6a.

<sup>11</sup> Taoism in the time of Emperor Wu was far from being merely the atheistic philosophy of Lao-tzu. Szu-ma Tan, one of Emperor Wu's officials, in his "Discussion of the Six Schools," states the following as the essential Taoist doctrine, "The spirits [and gods] are the fundamental factor in life. . . . How could [anyone] be successful [in government] who fails first to determine [who] are its spirits [and gods, and treat them properly], and yet says, 'I have the means whereby to govern the empire well!'" *SC* ch. 130; *HS* 62: 8a.



peror of the Ch'in dynasty, who was a Legalist. In 110 B. C., when the fifty-odd Confucians he had summoned could not agree on what should be the ceremonies and utensils for the sacrifices *feng* and *shan*, chiefly because these Confucians restrained themselves by historical principles and were unwilling to go beyond what ancient texts declared, Emperor Wu dismissed them all and himself fixed the rites for these sacrifices.<sup>12</sup> Thus Emperor Wu was in reality influenced by all the current doctrines, and did not hesitate to depart from Confucian principles. While his reign marks the beginning of strong Confucian influence in the government, that influence was far from being victorious at this time.

The next step towards the Confucian victory occurred in the reign of Emperor Hsüan, who came to the throne almost by accident in 74 B. C., thirteen years after Emperor Wu died. This boy had been disinherited because of his grandfather's rebellion against Emperor Wu, and had been brought up by some faithful officials. He had been given a good education, which naturally included a study of Chinese literature, so that he had studied the *Analects*, the *Classic of Filial Piety*, and the *Book of Odes*. Thus he had been indoctrinated with Confucianism, because Confucians had taken to themselves the exposition of the best Chinese literary treasures and had made those treasures into Confucian books. After he began to rule, he chose Confucians for his officials and advisers. Each of his Lieutenant Chancellors had made a special study of some Classic, although they were not primarily scholars. When calamities, such as earthquakes, occurred, he did the typically Confucian thing of sending for those Confucians who professed to be able to interpret such visitations as indicating the will of Heaven. Because his grandfather had been interested in the *Ku-liang Commentary* on the *Spring and Autumn*, the Emperor Hsüan revived its study and summoned its teachers to the Imperial Palace, where he ordered ten of his gentlemen to study it, which they did consecutively for more than ten years. Comparison of it with the then authoritative *Kung-yang Commentary* (the *Tso-chuan* had not yet become popular or studied by important scholars), led to a realization of the discrepancies be-

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<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Memoires historiques* (abbreviated *Mh.*) III, 498; *HS* 25 A: 35b; 58: 12a, b, 13a.

tween different interpretations of the various classics. Emperor Hsüan accordingly summoned to the capital all the outstanding authorities upon the Confucian classics to discuss the meaning of these classics in the imperial presence. The discussions began in the Palace Hall and were transferred to the Shih-ch'ü Pavilion, under the presidency of the Grand Tutor to the Heir Apparent (*T'ai-tzu T'ai-fu*), Hsiao Wang-chih, who was famous for his scholarship in all five classics. The discussions lasted two years; twenty-two persons are mentioned in various places as having participated as authorities in this famous discussion. In cases of otherwise irreconcilable disputes, Emperor Hsüan seems himself to have decided upon the correct interpretation. The decisions of this Confucian council were memorialized to the Emperor and were ratified by him in 53 B. C. They are listed among the books in the Private Imperial Library. In this way an official interpretation for the classics was reached. Other interpretations were not proscribed, but the official interpretation was doubtless taught in the Imperial University and learned by all candidates for official position, for use in the examination. Consequently it monopolized men's minds in the same way that Chu Hsi's interpretation became dominant at a later period. At the same time, the number of Erudits and Disciples, i. e. the teachers in the Imperial University, was doubled and Erudits were established for special interpretations of certain classics.<sup>18</sup>

Thus at the end of Emperor Hsüan's reign, the occupants of the high government posts had all had a Confucian training, the Imperial University was continuing to fill the bureaucracy with Confucian scholars, and a Confucian council had fixed the official interpretation of the Classics, which became authoritative for the government. Yet Emperor Hsüan was not a thoroughgoing Confucian and did not wholeheartedly approve of this doctrine. He was primarily a practical man who had lived among the common people before he came to the throne, and knew the danger of idealistic impracticality inherent in Confucian teaching. Hence he took as his own ideal of government, not merely Confucian principles, but also the conduct of the very un-Confucian practical statesmen during *Spring and Autumn* times. He was in-

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. *HS* 8: 23a; 88: 23b, 24a; 38: 7a; 36: 7a; 73: 8a; 30: 7a, 12b, 17a, 20a, 21b.

terested in the penological terminology discussed by the legalist school of names and circumstances, and most of his high officials used these legalist principles as well as Confucian principles in their government. Pan Ku represents him as telling his Heir-apparent that the institutes and laws of the Han dynasty had been taken from both non-Confucian and Confucian teachings and that the Confucian principle of using merely moral suasion to bring about conformity to right principles was utterly impractical; the Confucian love of the ancient and disapproval of the present results in confusion.<sup>14</sup> This drastic criticism of Confucianism, found today in the writings of a Confucian historian, indicates well the attitude practical men then took towards Confucianism.

Yet Emperor Hsüan had so well prepared the way for the victory of Confucianism that this victory could not be delayed. He had given his son and Heir Confucian tutors. This Emperor Yüan was brought up in the Palace and had had little contact with the outer world, so that Confucianism did not appear impractical to him. When he came to the throne, he proposed immediately to make Confucian reforms. The influence of the Emperor's material relatives, who were in control of the army, and of the Emperor's favorite eunuch, was able to check the Confucian influence for a time. Emperor Yüan knew little of government, depending upon this eunuch to decide government matters, and spent most of his time enjoying himself in the imperial harem. This eunuch was even able to trick the Emperor into sending the outstanding Confucian, Hsiao Wang-chih, to his death. The criticism that resulted, however led this eunuch to favor other famous Confucians, and so, during most of the Emperor Yüan's reign, Confucian influence was allowed to make important reforms in the government. In this period it became the practise for the Superintendent of the Imperial Household (*Kuang-lu-hsün*) yearly to rank the various members of the imperial retinue according to the standards of a group of four Confucian virtues. Since the commonest way of entering government service was by spending a period as a member of the large imperial retinue, in order that the emperor might have a personal acquaintance with his officials, it was natural, when the bureaucracy and consequently the imperial retinue became so large that an emperor could not know individually all the

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. *HS* 9: 1b.

prospective candidates (it included as many as a thousand persons) that a second and moral test should have been added after the first and literary examination.<sup>15</sup> In the next reign, that of the Emperor Ch'eng, Confucian influence was equally important. His cousin Wang Mang, who sought to usurp the throne, found it advisable to adopt all sorts of Confucian practises. He indeed endeavored to secure public approval by being more Confucian than even the Han emperors had been, and kept reforming the imperial administration to give it more and more Confucian features. His outstanding reforms were merely Confucian ideals translated into governmental practises. In thus attracting the approval of educated men, Wang Mang was so successful that the leaders of the Later Han dynasty largely followed his example. The rulers of that dynasty were even more Confucian than the last emperors of the Former Han dynasty and Confucian influence dominated the whole Later Han period.

Thus the victory of Confucianism was a gradual process. It began when Kao-tsu found Confucians assisting him in overthrowing the anti-Confucian Ch'in dynasty. The early Han emperors encouraged all the various philosophies of the time. Emperor Wu had a Confucian education, and, in a fit of youthful enthusiasm, endeavored to make Confucianism the philosophy of the government. This attempt was frustrated by the Emperor's grandmother, while the Emperor himself lost his first enthusiasm for Confucianism and became influenced by various other doctrines. His love for literature and literary men, however, continued to attract him to Confucians, and Kung-sun Hung induced the Emperor to establish a Confucian Imperial University, which gradually distributed Confucian literati among the minor offices in the government. Emperor Hsüan likewise had had a Confucian education; he favored Confucianism highly, enlarged the Imperial University, and fixed upon an official interpretation to the Confucian Classics. But he considered Confucian principles impractical for government, and so checked their influence by legalist principles. The final victory of Confucianism did not come until the reign of his son, Emperor Yüan. Thereafter Confucian doctrines became the sole guide for princes. The usurper Wang Mang and the revived Later Han dynasty both honored these doctrines,

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. *HS* 9: 7a & n. 7. 5; also 5: n. 9. 9.

and they continued to dominate the government until the end of that dynasty.

We can now see the causes that brought about the victory of Confucianism. In the first place, Confucianism was admirably adopted to be the official philosophy of an imperial government. Confucius was himself a government official and his pupils were young men whose future lay mostly in official life. Consequently he stressed and taught ideals of good government. His ethics was aristocratic, that of the ruler who should be kind (*jen*) to his people, and of the subject who should be filial (*hsiao*), loyal (*chung*), and decorous (*li*) to his ruler. In the second place, Confucius, as a good teacher, was himself a learned man, and those of his disciples who did not enter political life became the teachers of China. Confucius taught the literature of his people; the Confucians made themselves the scholarly authorities and teachers of that literature. Thus ancient Chinese literature, especially the best of it, became the literature of Confucianism, and was interpreted to teach Confucian lessons. Hence anyone who became interested in literature or scholarship naturally gravitated to the Confucians, for they possessed the scholarly traditions of the country, and anyone who acquired a scholarly education was inevitably given a Confucian indoctrination. In times of warfare, such as that towards the end of the period of Contending States, scholarship was unimportant, and Confucianism declined; but when peace was restored, so that scholarship became useful, Confucianism revived. Because Confucians inevitably became the tutors of the Heirs to the throne, rulers became indoctrinated in Confucian ideals. Even though a particular ruler might not be altogether Confucian, his son, who was affected by both his father's example and the influence of his Confucian tutor, was likely to be more Confucian, until the dynasty became Confucian.

In the third place, certain governmental institutions put a premium upon Confucianism. In the time of Emperor Wen, it became the practise for the Emperor periodically to invite the provinces to send to him able persons; he selected among them by requiring them to write essays on various subjects connected with government. The examination system, even in this early form, thus put a high premium upon literary ability, and hence upon a Confucian training. It was thus natural that the government

should have been led to establish schools, in particular the Imperial University, graduates from which filled the bureaucracy with learned Confucians. Since Confucians were learned men, they naturally graded the examinations, and kept non-Confucians out of the bureaucracy, not by any proscription, but by the simple device of ploughing non-Confucians.

In the fourth place, after the advantages of Confucianism had been recognized, the advantage of unifying the country intellectually by making one system of thought current among all educated men led to the elevation of Confucianism. Shortly after Emperor Wu ascended the throne, in 141 B. C., Tung Chung-shu, in his reply to the imperial examination, presented his famous memorials concerning statecraft. One of the principles he advocated was that there should be an intellectual unification of the country by destroying all the non-Confucian philosophies.<sup>16</sup> These memorials seem to have made a deep impression upon Emperor Wu, for he immediately acted upon them, proscribing Legalism and elevating Confucians to be his highest officials. An intellectual unification had been previously attempted by Li Szu, the famous minister of the First Emperor, when in 213 B. C. he recommended the burning of the books and the punishment of any one who criticized the Ch'in régime. The Confucians had roundly condemned this procedure. Emperor Wu was ambitious to equal the First Emperor in greatness; he was probably not loathe similarly to unify the thought of his own time. While Emperor Wu later became lukewarm towards Confucianism, Emperor Hsüan was undoubtedly reminded of Tung Chung-shu's proposal and certainly recognized the advantages of this policy.

These four factors first demonstrated their effectiveness in Former Han times. They have undoubtedly continued to operate throughout Chinese history. At the end of the Later Han period, there seems to have been a collapse of Confucianism because sincere and long-continued attempts to put it into practise had failed to prevent the collapse of the dynasty; the ensuing long period of disorder naturally also brought about the decay of Confucianism. When peace was restored in the T'ang period, these four factors again brought Confucianism to the front, although the dynasty's

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<sup>16</sup> Cf. Feng Yu-lan, *History of Chinese Philosophy*, trans. D. Bodde, p. 16 f.; W. Seufert in *Mitteil. d. Seminar f. Orient. Sprache*, 1922, pp. 1-50.

supposed descent from Lao-tzu kept it from becoming Confucian. In the next great dynasty, the Sung, there was naturally another peak of Confucian influence. That ascendancy continued as long as peace enabled scholarship to be prized. Only in the modern period, when literature and learning have ceased to be synonymous with Confucian teaching and China has ceased to be an empire, has there been a marked break in the influence of Confucianism. In China, as in Europe, not until the advent of modern science put into man's hands another tool for reaching truth, has the power of the ancient authoritarian world-view been broken.



## NOTES ON PRE-HURRIAN TEXTS FROM NUZI<sup>1</sup>

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FOLLOWING the excavation of considerable parts of the ancient Hurrian city of Nuzi by the joint expedition of the Harvard Semitic Museum, the Fogg Art Museum, and the American School of Oriental Research in Baghdad, Professor Pfeiffer, Director of the expedition during the season of 1928, proceeded to make soundings below the Hurrian level, the excavation of which had proved so successful. These soundings yielded but a few cuneiform tablets; their content, however, was so different from that of the usual Nuzi texts that a careful investigation of the lower strata down to virgin soil was indicated. It was carried out during the season of 1930-31 by Mr. Richard F. S. Starr of the Fogg Museum, as director, and Professor Meek as epigrapher. The epigraphic results fill this new volume of the Harvard Semitic Series, and Professor Meek will be heartily congratulated by all Assyriologists for its prompt presentation. His task as editor was difficult, since the content of the new inscriptions raises many new questions, which he approached with remarkable courage and success. If we disagree in comparatively many cases, and sometimes suggest different conclusions, we wish to say at the outset that we are greatly indebted to the stimulating remarks of the editor of these perplexing inscriptions.

With the exception of the last text (no. 231) all inscriptions are business records or letters dating from the third millennium B. C. By far the largest part (nos. 1-222) belongs indeed to the Old Akkadian period. Judging from the external features of the editor's very elegant copies—they "are naturally clearer than the originals" (p. ix)—one might assume at first sight that these records are not so old, and attribute them (with Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung* VII. 135) to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. In his valuable general introduction (pp. vii-xxvi) and in more detailed notes on the contents of the tablets (pp. xliv-lxiii),

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<sup>1</sup> *Excavations at Nuzi*. Conducted by the Semitic Museum and the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University, with the Coöperation of the American School of Oriental Research at Baghdad. Volume III: *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi*. By THEOPHILE JAMES MECK. (*Harvard Semitic Series*, Vol. X.) Pp. lxx with xciv plates. Cambridge, U. S. A.: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1935. \$6.00.



Professor Meek proves, however, that his first remarks concerning the age and the character of the texts (*BASOR* 42. 7 ff., 48. 2 ff.) were correct: The few month-names appearing in one or the other of the business notes recur, at least in part, in Old Akkadian texts from Babylonia. Some (in part fragmentary) letters (nos. 5-12), most of them from a certain *Da-da* to one *Ni-ni* (Meek prefers the reading *Î-lî*), show the unmistakable characteristics of the Old Akkadian epoch.

The content of the various commercial, or rather administrative, notes and lists is rather uniform, since most of them record the receipt or the disbursement of barley, emmer, wheat, malt, and other products to workers in public service. Their historical value is nevertheless considerable, because they contain a great number of proper names. We note especially the repeated references to Aššur (nos 160 IV 5; 169, 15) and Aḫu-ṭāb of Aššur (*A-ḫu-ṭāb A-šûr<sup>ki</sup>*; see particularly no. 153 X 1 f.). These references are of interest not only as the oldest occurrences of the name of that important city, but also because the name *Aḫu-ṭāb* points to the presence of Semites in Aššur in centuries from which historical inscriptions from Aššur are still lacking. This corroborates the view of those who hold that Aššur was never a Sumerian city and that the Assyrian dialect and the other characteristics by which the Assyrians of the second and first millennia are distinguished from their Babylonian neighbors result from an early separation of the Assyrians from the Akkadians of northern Babylonia. Another city name, *Ga-sûr<sup>ki</sup>* (*Ga-SAG + GUNU<sup>ki</sup>*, once written *Ga-SAG<sup>ki</sup>*) occurs so frequently that Meek considers it as the pre-Hurrian name of Nuzi. He also noticed at once (p. x) that the same name recurs as *Ga-SAG<sup>ki</sup>* in the oldest so-called historical inscription from Aššur, the alabaster tablet of Ititi. This important observation, to which we shall return below (p. 460), has recently (*Revue d'Assyriologie* 34, 65) been supplemented by his statement that *Ga-sûr<sup>ki</sup>* appears also in an old tablet from Tello, published as early as 1903 by Thureau-Dangin, where, as Gelb has seen, a ruler of this city is mentioned.

Most of the personal names are Semitic, thus showing that Yalghan Tepe (Nuzi) had been Semitic or Semitized from early times. If Meek is inclined, as appears from p. xiv, to see therein the achievement of Sargon of Akkad who transformed Lugal-zaggisi's mighty empire "almost over night from a Sumerian to a

Semitic realm," he overlooks the fact that Lugalzaggisi, too, has left Akkadian inscriptions, a fact that points, of course, to an early Semitization of large parts of Mesopotamia even before the triumph of the great Sargon. (Cf. ZA 38. 260 ff.) It is therefore quite possible that the Semitic element in the Gasur district goes back to pre-Sargonic times. On the interesting question as to whether Western Semites (Amorites) made up any considerable part of the population, Meek inclines towards a negative answer (p. XIV). Such characteristic West Semitic names as *Sá-lim-be-lí* (no. 153 IV 9 and elsewhere) point, however, in the opposite direction. His new interpretation of the names *I-da-be-lí* and *I-da-ilí* (AN), in the first compound of which he sees an Old Akkadian form \**idā* (as the equivalent of later *īdī*), is not convincing, since it does not account for the later names in which the compound *i-da* occurs either as *a-da* or as *ed-da* and *e-da*.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the close relations between the Old Akkadian names in the Obelisk of Maništusu and the new onomastic material from Nuzi are not as conclusive in this respect as is assumed by the author; for many of the names in question recur in the Old Assyrian tablets among the writers of which there was doubtless an Assyrianized, but demonstrably Amorite element.<sup>3</sup> To be sure, the strength of the Amorites in the Eastern provinces of the Akkadian empire during the time of the Akkad and the Ur III Dynasties has not been determined by any

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. ZA 38. 253 ff. Incidentally it may be noted that Meek contradicts himself when he assumes, on the one hand, the occurrence of a perfect (or present?) from *idū* in Old Akkadian names, but denies, on the other hand, in his above-quoted more recent "Notes on the Early Texts from Nuzi" the possibility that the element *i-dī* of Old Assyrian and Old Akkadian names may come from *wadūm* (*idū*) "to know," mainly because he misses an Old Assyrian equivalent of such later names as *Iddin-Aššur*. Without insisting on the correctness of our explanation of the various Old Assyrian and Old Akkadian names composed of *i-dī* + divine name, or divine name + *i-dī*, attention may be called to the fact that *Iddin-Aššur* has an unmistakable Old Assyrian correspondence in *E-dī-in-A-šur* and *Id-na-A-šur*, see *MVAeG* 33. 229 note b.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX (1934) pp. 39 ff. We should like to submit, at this occasion, that the remarks of Meek (p. xv) on "the use of prefixed surname elements" like DAM "wife of" must be corrected in so far as the Old Assyrian tablets are concerned. We refer, e.g., to *KTHahn* 35, 1 ff. where one reads "out of the 9 sacks (and) 1 jar of barley(?) ... they gave 2 jars to the wife of Buzazu [i.e., so to speak, "Mrs. Buzazu"], 1 jar to the wife of Ikū(n)-pi-Aššur ...".

conclusive investigation of the respective groups of names, but to deny a priori that these eastern districts, too, were always exposed to the infiltration of Amorites would be inadmissible.

Of equal importance is the question as to whether some of the personal names of Gasur are related to the Hurrian names of the middle of the second millennium as revealed by the much-discussed archives of Teḫiptilla. Professor Meek is certainly right when he denies any outstanding similarities in the two onomastic groups and concludes that the immigration of the Hurrians who rebuilt the city as Nuzi "occurred not earlier than the beginning of the second millennium." For reasons to be discussed in another connection we are, however, convinced that certain place names, e. g., Arrapha (which occurs in the text no. 224)<sup>4</sup> are to be attributed to a cognate population which had been settled in this district as well as in the neighboring countries since pre-Sargonic times. It is quite possible that remnants of these early Hurrians survived the Sargonid and Old Babylonian periods until the settlement, probably toward the end of the 16th century, of those Hurrians whose life is reflected in the Teḫiptilla archives.

Before leaving the Old Akkadian texts from Gasur, a few words may be said about tablet no. 1. It is the so-called map known from previous communications by the editor in *BASOR* 42 and 48 and in Vol. XIII of the *AASOR*. In accordance with one of the short inscriptions in the center, viz. "180 + 180 — 6 iku of cultivated field," Meek now assumes correctly (p. xvii) that "it was prepared to indicate the location of some estate." For the next signs which are separated from this first central inscription by a small circle, he proposes a reading *ša-at A-za-la* "belonging to Azala." This is, however, out of the question because it is grammatically impossible for the so-called genitive particle *ša* to be replaced by *šāt*. The photographs (pl. xciii and in Meek's previous communications) show indeed that the supposed second sign is not *at* but A.ŠĀ, i. e., *eqlum* "field." The photographs leave also no doubt that Meek's tentative reading [*Gu-zi*]-*ad* on the fragmentary inscription in the left hand corner of the east side of the sketch must be abandoned in favor of A.ŠĀ, as suggested by Weidner, loc. cit., soon after Meek's first publication of this interesting tablet.

Tablets 223-227, which the editor describes as Cappadocian texts

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Albright apud Meek, loc. cit. 65 f.

from Nuzi, come from a level 1.27 meters below the first Hurrian stratum, i. e., 2.86 meters above the topmost stratum in which the tablets of the Old Akkadian period began to appear. These stratigraphic facts bespeak the outstanding value of these few tablets and fragments at the end of the volume. A more detailed analysis and discussion of nos. 224 and 223 than is given by Meek (p. xxiv-xxvi) will help to illustrate their significance and to stress the questions with which we are confronted by this important discovery at Gasur-Nuzi.

Although a complete restoration of the damaged passages is not possible, the subject of no. 224 is fairly clear. Like nos. 225-227, the tablet records minor transactions of traveling merchants, as shown particularly by the occurrence of *ša ellitim*<sup>tim</sup> "of the caravan" (ll. 9 and 15; cf. no. 225, 3: *a-na ellitim*<sup>tim</sup>), similarly also no. 227 rev. 16 and fragment E l. 2). The beginning of the obverse(?) mentions transactions carried out in Arrapha: <sup>x+1</sup>[i]-na A-ra-á[p]-hi-[im] <sup>x+2</sup>a-na Ti-íš.....<sup>5</sup> <sup>x+3</sup>MAN-A-šùr i-dí-[i]n [..... šamnam(?)] <sup>x+4</sup>ri-íš-tám(!) [ù x karpātim<sup>im</sup> <sup>6</sup>] <sup>x+5</sup>da-me e-ri-[ni] áp-q[i(!)-da-šum(?)].....<sup>x+7</sup>[x] mi-at..... i-na A-ra(!)-áp-hi-im-[ma] <sup>x+8</sup>a-na Sí-in-rabi [MAN<sup>7</sup>]-A-šùr i-dí-in " [.....] <sup>x+8</sup>gave (= sold) Puzur-Aššur <sup>x+2</sup>to Tiš..... <sup>x+1</sup>[a]t Arra[p]hu[m]. <sup>x+8</sup>[...] <sup>x+4</sup>first class <sup>x+3</sup>[oil(?)] <sup>x+4</sup>[and x jars of] <sup>x+5</sup>ceda[r] blood I ha[nded over to him(?)] ..... <sup>x+7</sup>[x] hundred ..... <sup>x+8</sup>gave [Puzur]-Aššur <sup>x+7</sup>[also]at Arraphum, <sup>x+8</sup>to Sin-rabi." At the end of the reverse(?) the text deals with the following items: <sup>y+9</sup>10 šiqli ša-na-tim 64 k[arpātim<sup>im</sup>] <sup>y+10</sup>a-la-ni 64 karpātim<sup>im</sup> bu-r[a-ši]<sup>8</sup> <sup>y+11</sup>64 karpātim<sup>im</sup> da-mi [e-ri-ni<sup>9</sup>] <sup>y+12</sup>[MAN-A-šùr] i-na ..... " <sup>y+9</sup>10 shekels of denticles <sup>10</sup> 64

<sup>5</sup> Is the first compound of this proper name Tišpak?

<sup>6</sup> So according to l. y + 11; cf. also no. 227 rev. 11 and fragment D.

<sup>7</sup> So according to l. x + 3.

<sup>8</sup> So according to the Old Babylonian letter BM no. 80685 (= VAB VI no. 226) ll. 11 and 24; cf. below p. 455 note 11.

<sup>9</sup> So according to l. x + 5.

<sup>10</sup> A plural *šannātum* occurs sometimes in the Kültepe tablets. We refer particularly to the following passage of the unpublished letter VAT 9236: 'dš-pu-ra-ku-nu-ti 1 biltam annakam <sup>5</sup>dí-na-ma ša-na-tim <sup>6</sup>ša-ma-nim šu-ma <sup>7</sup>ša-na-tim ta-dš-a-ma-nim <sup>8</sup>puḫātibi kà-lá-šu-nu ú ša-na-tim <sup>9</sup>a-na I-lí-we-da-ku <sup>10</sup>pi-iq-da-ma <sup>11</sup>ha-ra-an Dur.ḫu-mi-id <sup>12</sup>li-is-ri-dam <sup>13</sup>annakum bit Pu-šu-ki-in <sup>14</sup>li-ni-dí ú šu-ma <sup>15</sup>ša-na-tim lá ta-dš-a-ma <sup>16</sup>annakum ku-lu-šu-ma bit Pu-šu-ki-in <sup>17</sup>li-ni-dí "I sent you (a message to this effect)

j[ars] <sup>v+10</sup>(of rosin from) terebinths,<sup>11</sup> 64 jars (of rosin from)

"give away (= spend) '1 talent of lead and 'buy me 'šannātum.' 'In case 'you bought me šannātum, then 'hand over 'to III-wēdāku 'all the cloth and the šannātum, 'and (then) 'let him drive (the pack-asses) here '11 (on) the Durḫumid-road, 'let '12 (the remainder of the) lead 'be stored '13 (in) the house of Pūšu-kēn. '14 But in case '15 you did not buy the šannātum, then '17 let '16 all the lead 'be stored '18 (in) the house of Pūšu-kēn." While the texts TuM I 17a (= MVAeG 33 no. 152) and Oxford 425 (Driver, *Analecta Orientalia* VI pl. IV f. no. 15) tell us only of the prices paid for a single šannum, the recently published letter TC III 97 (ll. 3 ff.) makes it clear that a šannum was made of copper. The same text (l. 13) and a passage of OCT II 29 (ll. 28 f.) mention the "pulling" (šāṭum and šadāddum respectively) of a šannum. On the other hand, we read in l. 6 of the Old Babylonian letter VS XVI 114 (discussed by Kraus MVAeG 36, 1 pp. 34 f. and recently by Landsberger, *Die Serie ana ittišu*, p. 162 f.) of the "riding of the šinnum (over the fields)," i.e., the cutting of the soil with "the tooth" of the ploughshare. If, then, Old Assyrian šannum is to be considered the equivalent of Old Babylonian šinnum "tooth," "ploughshare" (as for the different vowel, cf. Ethiopic *san*), it is easy to see that the šannātum of VAT 9236 as well as of our text from Gasur-Nuzi were not real ploughshares but small imitations of metal shaped like the teeth of a ploughshare. In other words, the šannātum were "teeth" or "denticles" and served the same purposes as the well-known small sickles (*niggallū*), axes (*pāšū*), hammers (singular: *naqqupum*) and small spears (*šiparātum*) mentioned so frequently in the Kültepe texts. Cf. MVAeG 33. 69 note b, 238 note a and MVAeG 35, 3, 187 note 1.

<sup>11</sup> The plural *a-lā-ni* recurs in the Old Assyrian texts from Kültepe rather frequently. There, too, *karpātum* "jars" are sometimes the (probably standardized) containers in which the *a-lā-nu* were preserved. See particularly TC II 62, 8: 1 *karpāt a-lā-nu*; BIN IV 160, 45: [...] 2 *karpātīm a-lā-ni*; TC II 209, 24 ff.: 3 *karpātum a-lā-nu ša Puzur-A-šur a-ḫa-ma 1 karpāt a-lā-nu a-na Aḫ-ša-lim* "3 jars of *allānū* of Puzur-Aššur, in addition 1 jar of *allānū* (are) for Aḫ-šalim." A clue to the meaning of the word is contained in TC 97, 3 f., where the accusative *a-lā-ni* is followed by the adjective *ar-šu(!)-tim* (so according to a collation of the original in the Louvre Museum); accordingly, *allānū* designates here a fragrant substance. Since it was not unusual to denote the fragrant product of a tree by the same word as the tree itself (cf. particularly the Old Babylonian letter BM 80685 = VAB VI no. 226), our word is obviously nothing else than the name of the tree which, according to the list K 4415 (II R 51 no. 1), was characteristic of Mt. Bibbu (cf. Delitzsch, *Paradies* p. 101 f.; Meissner, MVAeG 15, 5. 5). This is further confirmed by a remarkable correspondence between this list and our text from Gasur which is hardly accidental: as K 4415 enumerates—a few lines after *šad e-ri-ni*—the various *šad al-la-nu* as well as the various *šad burāši*, so in our fragment the item 64 *karpātīm a-lā-ni* is followed by the item 64 *karpātīm bur[ā-ši]*. A further corroboration of this explanation of Old Assyrian *a-lā-nu* as a fra-

cypresses,<sup>12</sup> <sup>y+11</sup>64 jars of [cedar] blood <sup>y+12</sup>[Puzur-Aššur] [gave] at ..... [to .....].”

The better preserved text no. 223 runs as follows: [a-]na Wa-ar-di-li-šu <sup>2</sup>[qí]-bi-ma um-ma Ū-tu-li-[m]a <sup>3</sup>[a-n]a a-i-tim <sup>4</sup>a-na a-ḥa-im ú me-er-e-im <sup>5</sup>[á]š <sup>13</sup>-e-kà i-ir-da-kà <sup>6</sup>[ḥ]a <sup>14</sup>-ru-uš-ma <sup>7</sup>[a] ma-lá na-áš-pá-ar-ti-a <sup>8</sup>[ú] me-eḥ-ri-im ša ṭup-pí-šu-nu <sup>9</sup>i ša-ḥa-at A-du-ta-a <sup>10</sup>[i-z]i-iz-ma <sup>11</sup>[gi-mi]-lam <sup>15</sup>i šé-er <sup>12</sup>[bīt]i<sup>12</sup> bi-li-a <sup>13</sup>[šu-ku]-un (!)<sup>16</sup> šu-ma (four lines for the most part destroyed <sup>17</sup>) <sup>18</sup>[x ma]nē kaspam áš-qúl <sup>19</sup>[sá] <sup>18</sup>-sí-nu-um qá-ta-tum <sup>20</sup>[1] <sup>19</sup>emāram šé'am<sup>am</sup> <sup>21</sup>a-na i-a-ti <sup>22</sup>A-du-ta-a i-dí-[nam] <sup>23</sup>[ù] ša-ni-a-am <sup>24</sup>[ú-l]á <sup>20</sup>al-qí <sup>25</sup>[a]-na iš-ra <sup>26</sup>[še'am<sup>am</sup>] <sup>21</sup>i-na bīti-kà <sup>27</sup>i-ma-

grant product of the *allānu* tree is to be found, of course, in the last item of our text, inasmuch as here the tree-name *e-ri-ni* is preceded by *da-mi* “blood, juice,” which leaves no doubt that our passage deals with the aromatic products of different trees. For the same reason, *allānum* should not be rendered as “oak,” but as “terebinth.” For it is the terebinth whose semi-liquid rosin, the *terebinthine* or *turpentine*, was known to and appreciated by the ancient peoples of the Near East and the Mediterranean area. —The recent explanation of *allānum* by Gelb, *Inscriptions from Alishar and Vicinity* pp. 25-27 is based upon two insufficiently edited passages (*TC* 97, 3 f. and Gelb no. 6, 5 f.; cf. above and *JAOS* 57. 437 respectively) and neglects the invaluable indications of *K* 4415 which make it evident that *allānum* designates a tree growing on mountains, and not a small plant found around human settlements.

<sup>12</sup> So with Zimmern, *Fremdwörter* 53. Since the cypress and the spruce produce rosin, it seems impossible to decide whether or not Ungnad's rendering of *burāšū* by “Fichtenharz” (*VAB* VI 189) is to be rejected.

<sup>13</sup> So according to the photograph on pl. xciv.

<sup>14</sup> According to the photograph this reading seems possible.

<sup>15</sup> So according to such Old Assyrian passages as *OCT* IV 5b, 11 f. (*i šé-er A-šūr-ma-lik gi-mi-lam ta-dš-ku-u[n]*) and *BIN* IV 14, 16 f. = *TC* 51, 36 f. (*gi-mi-lam i šé-ri-a šu-ku-un*).

<sup>16</sup> So according to the photograph. See also the preceding note.

<sup>17</sup> Whether the ends of ll. 16 f. contain the adjective *pá-ni-im*—or rather the well-known Old Assyrian expression [*i*] *pá-ni-im-[ma]*—and a form of *alākum*, is not certain; [*i*]-li-ik, as Meek proposes, does not fit into the context.

<sup>18</sup> The *sá* remains, of course, conjectural. The dimension of the gap at the beginning of the line and the vertical wedge before *st* recommend, however, this restoration. At any rate, either a professional name or a proper name is required by the context.

<sup>19</sup> Space and context (see l. 23) exclude any other numeral.

<sup>20</sup> According to the photograph, *lá* is rather probable; whether it was preceded by *ú* is less certain.

<sup>21</sup> The signs before *i-na* are not clear on the photograph, but the context favors this restoration.

da-da-am "[T]o War(a)d-ilišu <sup>2</sup>[s]peak: Thus (said) Utulli: <sup>3</sup>[F]or what (purpose) <sup>5</sup>[h]ave I chosen you <sup>4</sup>to (be for me) brother and son? <sup>22</sup> <sup>5</sup>Your servant <sup>23</sup> <sup>6</sup>has been [re]tained.<sup>24</sup> Thus, <sup>7</sup>[in] accordance with my message, <sup>8</sup>[and] the copy of their tablet, <sup>10</sup>be [pr]esent <sup>9</sup>at the action of Adutāa <sup>25</sup> and (in this way) <sup>13</sup>do <sup>11</sup>a favor to <sup>12</sup>[the hou]se of my lord.<sup>26</sup> <sup>13</sup>In case . . . . . (four lines destroyed) <sup>18</sup>I paid [x mi]nas of silver. <sup>19</sup>The [je]weller <sup>27</sup> (is) the guarantor. <sup>20</sup>[I] homer of grain <sup>21</sup>to me <sup>22</sup>Adutāa gave {[me]}.<sup>23</sup> <sup>23</sup>[But] the second (homer) <sup>24</sup>I did [not] take. <sup>25</sup>[Wi]thin twenty (days) <sup>27</sup>he will measure for me <sup>26</sup>[the grain] in your house."

There cannot be much doubt about the circumstances under which this letter was written: Utulli expected, within 20 days, (l. 25), the delivery (l. 27) of grain by a certain Adutāa (ll. 9 and 22), with whom he had made a contract (cf. l. 8: "their tablet").<sup>29</sup> He foresaw that he would be prevented (l. 5 f.) from being personally present at the delivery of the grain. So he asked Warad-ilišu to supervise the fulfillment of the contract (ll. 10-12). Warad-ilišu, evidently a close friend, neighbor, or business asso-

<sup>22</sup> This is a rhetorical question made in order to remind Warad-ilišu of his cordial relations with, and his moral obligations to Utulli. For the form *a-ḥa-im* see below p. 459; for Old Assyrian *merum* "son" cf. *Archives de l'Histoire du Droit Orientale* Vol. II p. 137.

<sup>23</sup> For Old Assyrian *irdum* "servant" see Thureau-Dangin, *Archiv Orientalni* I 271; for the auxiliary *a*-vowel before the possessive suffix see Lewy *ZDMG* 84. \*71\*. The humble "your servant" refers to Utulli.

<sup>24</sup> Literally "has been made retained." For *ḥarruṣum* (= Babylonian *ḥurruṣum*) "to retain, to delay" see Jensen *KB* VI 1 p. 495.

<sup>25</sup> This means "watch Adutāa during his action." Cf. particularly ll. 3 ff. of the Kültepe tablet *Contenau* 12: *a-na-kam i-na ṣa-ḥa-at ṣu-ḥa-ri-kā a-zi-iz-ma a-ḥi-id-ma ki-ma ku-a-ti ṣup-pá-am ṣa ṣt-bi, da-nu-tim al-qí-a-kum* "Here I was present at the action of your boys and was attentive and took out for you, in place of you, a tablet of 'firm' witnesses."

<sup>26</sup> Literally "put a favor upon the back of the house of my lord," i. e., "be kind enough to act on behalf of my principal's people."

<sup>27</sup> Uncertain; cf. above note 18.

<sup>28</sup> The expression of the dative "me" by both the suffixed form of the verb (*iddi[nam]*) and the independent pronoun *iāti* is not unparalleled. Cf. such emphatic passages of the Kültepe tablets as *TC* 82 (= *MVAEG* 33 no. 250) ll. 19-23.

<sup>29</sup> The plural of the possessive pronoun is used because the contract was made not only with Adutāa but also with a guarantor (l. 19). Cf. the next note.

ciate of Utulli (cf. ll. 3 f.) and the latter's "lord" (l. 12), was in a position to comply with this request without difficulty; for an earlier relevant message from Utulli (l. 7) and a copy (l. 8) of Utulli's contract with Adutāa were in his hands.<sup>30</sup>

It is obvious that this letter cannot have been sent from Cappadocia, as believed by Meek. The purchase and delivery of grain was a local matter, the sellers of grain being, of course, peasants who lived in the neighborhood of their customers. The assumption that Utulli, while travelling in Cappadocia, was anxious to secure a supply of grain for the time of his return to Gasur<sup>31</sup> is out of the question. We know from many Old Assyrian letters exchanged between Aššur and Kaniš that it was customary to instruct a member of the family or a proxy at home to take care of the necessary arrangements with the purveyors. In our case it is, however, evident that Utulli was present first when the contract with Adutāa was made and then when a part of the grain was delivered, and that he had expected to be at home again in time for the delivery of the second instalment.

On the other hand, it cannot be doubted that the writers of the texts 223-227 were quite as much Old Assyrian merchants as those whose correspondence and documents have been found at Kültepe and other mounds of Cappadocia. As has been shown in the notes to our restorations and translations of nos. 224 and 223, many characteristic expressions and such un-Babylonian forms as *šannātum* "teeth" and *merum* "son" are unmistakable features common to both groups of texts. It may be added at once that there appear in the Kültepe texts one or two merchants who were from Gasur.

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<sup>30</sup> Since it follows from l. 18 that the grain had been paid in advance, we will not be wrong in assuming that the contract mentioned in l. 8 was an abstract promissory note of the same, or a similar, type as the well-known Old Assyrian promissory notes found at Kültepe. In other words, the contract appears to have stated that Adutāa owed to Utulli a certain amount of silver and that he would pay his debt at a fixed term, or rather two successive terms. For ll. 20 ff. indicate that one homer had been given by Adutāa to Utulli personally, and that only the delivery of a second homer was still due during Utulli's absence. L. 19 shows that the contract contained the usual guarantee clause *NN qá-ta-tum* "NN is guarantor."

<sup>31</sup> We imply here that no. 223 is the original of Utulli's letter. It is, of course, not impossible that it is his copy of a letter sent by him from Yalghan Tepe-Gasur to another, not too distant place (as, for instance, Arrapha or "the City" [Aššur] which, as Meek has noted, is mentioned in no. 227). This possibility is, however, irrelevant in this connection.



We refer to the passages *TC* III 173, 6 f. (*iš-ti me-er-e ī-lī-āš-ra-ni Ga-sú-ri-[i]m*) and *TC* III 262 B, 4 f. (*ša Šu-Be-lim m[ēr] Ga-sú-r[i-im]*).<sup>32</sup> In a letter sent from Aššur to Kaniš (*CCT* IV 2\*, 32) a *subātum Ga-sú-ri-um* is mentioned, an indication that cloth manufactured at Gasur may have been among the many textiles which, apart from lead, were the most important export goods of the Assyrians in their commerce with Eastern Anatolia.<sup>33</sup>

Nevertheless, the expression *Cappadocian texts from Nuzi* should have been avoided by the editor. Not only because this name is misleading—it has often been emphasized that many of the letters found at Kültepe were written in Aššur—but also because nos. 223-227 date from a period earlier than the Kültepe tablets. While the scribes of the Kültepe tablets were so much emancipated from the Sumero-Babylonian sexagesimal system that, with one dubious exception among thousands of texts,<sup>34</sup> the vertical wedge never denotes the figure 60, the scribe of our text 244 still used it repeatedly in writing the numeral 64. Whereas in the Kültepe tablets the genitive of *aḫum* "brother" is always *a-ḫi-im*, we find in Utulli's letter (l. 4) the older form *a-ḫa-im*.<sup>35</sup>

The chronological conclusions suggested by such linguistic and

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<sup>32</sup> Since it was common that grandchildren were named after their grandfathers and since *BIN* IV 103, 39 mentions a certain *Ilī-ašranni mēr Šu-Bēlim*, it is not impossible that "Ilī-ašranni, the Gasurian" is the same person as "the Gasurian" who appears in *TC* III 262 B as the father of a certain *Šu-Bēlum*.

<sup>33</sup> Since the "Gasurian cloth" appears in a context which deals with *ikribū ša A-šūr ū dIštar* (cf. *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* CX [1934]. 42 note 25), and since the presence of Old Assyrian merchants so far in the north of Asia Minor cannot be proved, *Ga-sú-ri-um* can hardly be the nisbe-form to Gaziura on the Iris, the later residence of the Pontian kings, or to Hittite *Gaz-zi-ú-ra-aš* (*KBo* III 6 obv. I 73). Besides this, we cannot assume that Gaziura would appear as Gazura as early as the 20th century B. C.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *MVAeG* 33. 36 note c. The correctness of Golénischeff's autography is all the more questionable since so large a number of *ḫamšātum* as 70 is not found in other promissory notes nor in similar passages of the letters.

<sup>35</sup> Although evidently older than *a-ḫi-im*, the form *a-ḫa-im* is not quite as strange as is assumed by Meek, p. xxiv f. It corresponds to such forms from *abum* "father" as *a-ba-ú-šu-nu*, *a-ba-e-šu-nu*, etc. which are still current in the Kültepe texts; see *ZA* 38. 247. Cf. also the frequent *a-ḫa-ma* "together, in addition" and particularly *a-ḫa-iš* "together" which occurs even later in the Middle and Late Assyrian periods.

graphic peculiarities of the Old Assyrian texts from Gasur-Nuzi<sup>36</sup> are in full accordance with the dates which can be gathered from the Kültepe texts on the one hand and the royal inscriptions from Aššur on the other. Since the dated Kültepe tablets belong to the rule of Šarrum-kēn, and since the Kültepe tablets embrace only three generations, the Assyrian expansion into Cappadocia cannot be placed before the reign of Šarrum-kēn's great-grandfather Ilušumma, whose great successes, as reflected by the well-known Babylonian chronicle and his own building inscriptions, explain the subsequent enormous extension of the Assyrian sphere of influence into Asia Minor.<sup>37</sup> But the terminus post quem for Assyrian trading and settling at Gasur is to be fixed in an earlier period. For the passage in *sa-la-ti GA.SAG*<sup>ki</sup> "out of the booty of Gasur" in the above-quoted Ititi tablet from Aššur points to an Assyrian victory over Gasur which is separated from Ilušumma by a minimum of three generations, possibly by a much longer interval.<sup>38</sup> To a certain extent at least, this political development is reflected even in our business documents. In the administrative records of the Old Akkadian period, the city of Aššur is quoted, like Akkad (no. 168, 15) and other places, under its name (nos. 160 IV 5; 169, 15; see above p. 451). In the later texts, the external features and the dialect of which are so typically Assyrian, it appears as the city par excellence, as later on in the Kültepe texts (no. 227; see above p. 458 note 31).

<sup>36</sup> Another peculiarity of the new texts, the measuring of grain by homers (no. 223, 20) has been noticed by the editor (p. xxvi). Also the spelling *Si-in-rabi* (no. 224, x + 8) is very interesting, since this spelling of the name of the moon-god appears in the Kültepe texts only twice in the rare name *Si-in-iš-me-a-ni* (Oxford no. 249, 5 and *TO* III 124, 1). Thus the spelling *ZU<sup>in</sup>* or *ZU<sup>en</sup>*, formerly so much discussed, which is characteristic of the Kültepe texts, seems to be an innovation. Incidentally, it may be mentioned that the recently published text *TO* III 31, when compared with *TO* 17, proves anew that *ZU<sup>in</sup>* equals *EN.ZU*.

<sup>37</sup> For the details see *OLZ* 29 (1926). 758 ff. and *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, fasc. 17 (1934), 2 o. Cf. also below.

<sup>38</sup> The fact that the oldest reference to Gasur in Assyrian sources involves a military success of an Assyrian ruler, supports, of course, the view of those who hold that the penetration of Cappadocia by Assyrian merchants was due to the military strength of Assyria. It should not be forgotten that in ancient days, as in modern times, defeated rulers were compelled to grant concessions and privileges to the merchants of their victorious adversaries, as is illustrated also by such biblical passages as I Ki. 20, 34.

The last text of the volume, apparently the fragment of a stone tablet, is a votive inscription of a king of Arrapha. The name of its author which ended in *Teššup*,<sup>39</sup> and its Middle Assyrian monumental script and style leave no doubt that it comes from the better-known period when Gasur had become the *Ḫurrian* city of Nuzi.




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<sup>39</sup> Meek restores it, on the base of an unpublished seal inscription, to *[It-ḫi-T]e-eš-šu-up [mār Ki-bi-T]e-eš-šu-up*.

## NUZI NAMES \*

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THE MATERIAL employed by Mr. Gustavs for his series of lists of personal names<sup>1</sup> is drawn from N I and H I. On this basis the author distinguishes some of the ethnic groups in the Nuzi region during the Hurrian period. As his lists show, the preponderant group comprises the Hurrians or, as Mr. Gustavs would call them, the Mitannians. A list of Kassite<sup>2</sup> names attests the presence of the people who dominated Babylonia during the second millennium. There is also a list of certain names,<sup>3</sup> designated by Mr. Gustavs as Old Akkadian, which are also to be found in the so-called Gasur tablets from the pre-Hurrian levels at Nuzi. There are, finally, names of uncertain ethnic origin which Mr. Gustavs suspects to be Hittite, and others for which he suggests an Indo-European origin.<sup>4</sup>

The main emphasis of this work is placed on the overwhelming

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\* *Namenreihen aus den Kerkuk-Tafeln, eine Studie zum Bau der Mitanninamen.* By ARNOLD GUSTAVS. Leipzig, MITTEILUNGEN DER ALTORIENTALISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT, vol. X, part 3, 1937.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> To be abbreviated *NKT*. Other abbreviations: G = C. J. Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk*; H I = E. Chiera, *Excavations at Nuzi I, Harvard Semitic Series V*, Cambridge, 1929; H II = R. H. Pfeiffer, *Excavations at Nuzi II, Harvard Semitic Series IX*, Cambridge, 1932; *MVAG* = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft*; N = E. Chiera, *Joint Expedition with the Iraq Museum at Nuzi*, I-III, Paris, 1927-31; IV-V, Philadelphia, 1934; *NDA* = M. Berkooz, *The Nuzi Dialect of Akkadian, Orthography and Phonology*, Language Dissertations, published by the Linguistic Society of America, No. 23, Philadelphia, 1937; Nu = unpublished documents from Nuzi now stored at the Oriental Institute of Chicago; *RHA* = *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*. In the genealogies which will be used to sustain some of the reviewer's interpretations, b. = "brother of," s. = "son of," f. = "father of."

<sup>2</sup> *NKT* 47, where it is designated as Series C. Cf. also p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> *NKT* 65 ff. Cf. also pp. 62 f. where reference is made to Meek's list of the so-called Gasur names in *Harvard Semitic Series X*, p. xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> *NKT* 63. On p. 61 attention is drawn to what may be "East Canaanite names." On p. 6 there are listed some of the rare occurrences of names beginning with r. One of these *ru-ur-til-la*, N 17: 26, was found by Dr. Gelb to be a miscopy for what the tablet showed to be *u-ur-til-la*. Another difficulty noticed by Gustavs, *NKT* 14, note 1, is that provided by *ha-iš-šip-šarri*, N 94: 11, which is a miscopy for *ha-ip-šarri*.

number of Hurrian names, the aim being to single out their elements for the purpose of analyzing their structure and the various grammatical implications. These elements are divided into two categories, e. g., so-called formative elements and "stems." Thus names having a given formative element in common are grouped in a list called a "Querschnitt." Names having a given stem in common are grouped in a list called a "Langschnitt." Twenty-one Querschnitte comprise Series A and thirteen Langschnitte Series B.<sup>5</sup>

In some of the interpretations of the meanings and grammatical characteristics of these formative elements and stems thus deduced, Gustavs proposes views which find their support mainly in the limited material in N I and H I. The reviewer, who is now preparing for publication a more comprehensive list of Nuzi names,<sup>6</sup> has at his disposal the personal names from all the published documents and the unpublished documents temporarily kept at the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. The purpose of this review is to examine Gustavs' conclusions in the light provided by this extensive material.

In the names written *ar-ta-še(en)-ni*, *ar-ti-ir-wi*, *a-ki-ti-ir-wi* and in names ending in *-te* and *-te(y)a*, Gustavs sees the presence of a verbal element with a so-called future formative *-t*. The first of these examples is read *arta-še(n)ni*, with the first element taken as a derivative of *\*ar-et-a* "he will give." However, as Gustavs himself observes,<sup>7</sup> the Nuzi texts present a place-name *taše(n)ni*<sup>8</sup> and this consideration provides the possible reading *ar-taše(n)ni* which finds a good parallel in *ar-nam/war*, A 4: 2-5.

Two factors enter into *a-ki-ti-ir-wi* and *ar-ti-ir-wi*; one concerns

<sup>5</sup> References to the Querschnitte will be preceded by the symbol A; those referring to the Langschnitte will be preceded by the symbol B.

<sup>6</sup> *NKT* 1; *BASOR* 63. 34; *AASOR* 16, p. 6. The publication consists of a list from the published material as well as the unpublished material compiled by the late Dr. Chiera and his associates at the Oriental Institute. Another list was compiled by the students working in Dr. Speiser's Nuzi seminar at the University of Pennsylvania. The reviewer, who worked in this seminar, is using both lists as a basis for this publication.

<sup>7</sup> *NKT* 66.

<sup>8</sup> [Perhaps preserved in modern *Tis'in*, 2 miles north of Kirkuk, a small mound with Hurrian surface remains. Popular etymologizing ("Ninety") is obvious in this case. E. A. S.]

the Hurrian deity Tirwi who was worshipped at Nuzi,<sup>9</sup> and the other involves the probability that the east Hurrian word for "king" was *erwi* rather than *irwi*.

Such names as *qar-ti-be-er*<sup>10</sup>-*wi* (for *kartip-erwi*), *AASOR* 16 51:32; 57:12, 32, *zi-li-be-er-wi* (for *zilip-erwi*), *H II* 152:9 and *zu-lu-ge*<sup>11</sup>-*er-wi* (for *zuluk-erwi*), *A 7*:28 provide a basis for reading -*erwi*. Furthermore, *ir-wi-a-ri*, *N 10*:16 is to be read *er-wa/i*<sup>12</sup>-*a-ri* on the basis of *e-er*!<sup>13</sup> [-*wa/i-a-ri*], *N 86*:17, since both names stand in corresponding order in two witness-lists in which the names follow each other in practically the same sequence.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> On the deity Tirwi, cf. *AASOR* 16.47.7; 50:8 and also pp. 99, 101. The correction vocalization *e/i* is supplied by *hu-ut-tir-me*, Clay, *Personal Names of the Cassite Period* 81, quoted by Oppenheim, *AfO* 12.31, note 5.

<sup>10</sup> *IR* has the value *er*, cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Syllabaire accadien*, 23, 58. Attention is drawn to the absence of any other sign in Kerkuk writing to express this value.

<sup>11</sup> On the use of GI in Nuzi writing for a sound consisting of a palatal stop plus *e*, cf. *NDA* 10 f. To escape diacritical confusion GI will be transcribed *ge*, although it is understood that it can represent *ke* and *qe* equally well. It is probable that among some of the scribes who wrote during the generation of Puḫi-šenni and Winnirki, the parents of Tehip-tilla, GI had the values *gi*, *ki* and *qi*. This is a problem that the reviewer hopes to treat more fully at some later time.

<sup>12</sup> Probably pronounced *erw-ari*. Similarly, the puzzling name *ithapiḫe/i* may have once been *ithi-abiḫe/i*, with the final element referring to Mount Ebih. In making the normalization *ith-apiḫe/i*, the reviewer retracts *ithapiḫe/i*, *AASOR* 16, p. 154. Oppenheim, *AfO* 12.36, arrives at a different conclusion and sees in it a derivative of *\*itha-puḫe/i*. In view of *ith(i)-apu* and *ith(i)-amurri*, a form *itha-* is anomalous. The Pennsylvania and Chicago lists do not reveal any form *ithap-*.

Oppenheim, *RHA* 26.58, 66-68, draws attention to the possible reading of -*a-tal* for names ending in -*a-ri*. In our article the reading -*a-ri* is made with the full knowledge that future findings may justify -*a-tal*. Oppenheim's reading *ir-wa-a-tal* on the basis of what he reads as *ir-wa-tal-ma* seems improbable, for the former seems to be *erw(i)-ari/atal*, while the latter seems to be *erwi-talma*; cf. the name *da-al-mu*, *H I* 63:12.

<sup>13</sup> The copy shows *e-ni*[-.....] for this name. Collation of the tablet reveals *e-er*[-.....].

<sup>14</sup> Although a stroke of good fortune enabled the reviewer to discover these identical witness sequences and the others which will be discussed further on, he should like to state that the late Professor Chiera's publication of the same discovery, made some years before, was prevented by his lamented death.

Thus a verb in *-t* plus the word for "king" as a final element, which, in all probability, is *erwi*<sup>15</sup> would be confirmed by spellings something like *ar-te-er-wi*, *a-ki-te-er-wi* or *a-ki-it-(e)-er-wi*, which would permit *art-erwi* and *akit-erwi* respectively. So far no such spellings have appeared. The Pennsylvania and Chicago lists only show *ar-di/ti-ir-wi*, *a-ki-(it-)ti-ir-wi* and *a-ge/gi-ti-ir-wi*, which present, as the most obvious interpretations, *ar-tirwi* and *aki-tirwi*, names consisting of a verbal root, without a *t-* formative, plus a well-attested theophoric element.

In the ending *-te(y)a*, Gustavs sees the presence of the verbal formative *-t* plus a third personal singular ending inherent in the writing *-ia*. The lists of personal names at Chicago show that *-te(y)a* follows the same roots that *-tešup* does. Some of those roots are *akku-*, *ar-*, *aštar(i)-*, *eḫel/eḫli-*, *kel-*, *mat-*, *muš-*, *nai-*, *pai-*, *pal-*,<sup>16</sup> *šar-*, *šur-*, *un-*, and *zīl-*. This leads one to suspect that *-te(y)a* is a hypocoristic variant of *tešup*. That such is the case is shown by *aštar-tešup* which varies with *aštar-teya* in the same text.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore the names *muš-tešup* and *muš-teya* with the same paternity (*ar-šeni*) occur in witness lists in which the names follow more or less the same sequence.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, there are certain

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<sup>15</sup> In JAOS 55. 437 f., Speiser reached the conclusion that the west Hurrian for "king" was *ewri/eyri*, instead of what up to then was taken as *ip/wri*. The findings in this article tend to show that the only difference between the west Hurrian and the Nuzi or east Hurrian word is the change in position of *r* and *w/u*, while the initial *e* in the Nuzi variant apparently remains unchanged.

A name *ḫu-i-[ip]-er-bi*, N 265: 3 varies with *ḫu-(i)-ip-er-wi*; cf. Berkooz, NDA 49, who also quotes *er-bi-šarri* alongside of *er-wi-šarri*. In view of this the reviewer retracts the doubts about vocalization implied by transcriptions in *-er-wA* and normalizations in *-erwA* in his list of personal names in AASOR 16.

<sup>16</sup> In view of the variation of *b/pal-te-ia* and the *bal-ta-a-a*, and the lack of genealogical confirmation for *pal-teya* as a variant of *pal-tešup*, the use of *pal* as an illustration for what is to follow is to be regarded with due caution.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *aš-tar-te-ia*, AASOR 16. 63: 19 and *aš-tar-te-šup*, seal line 32.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. *mu-te-šu[p]* s. *ar-še-ni*, N 58: 20 and *muš-te-ia* s. *ar-še-ni*, N 44: 18; 51: 19; 70: 21. The two variants occupy a corresponding rank in identical witness sequences. Cf. also *muš-te-ia* s. *ar-še-ni*, N 5: 20; 71: 24; 94: 23; 96: 21; 202: 24; 418: 21, which is the fifth name in identical witness sequences, while the variant *mu[š]-te-šup* s. *ar-še-ni*, Nu 590: 29, is the seventh name in a witness list in which the same names follow the same sequence

genealogies indicating that some others of these roots in combination with *-tešup* take *-te(y)a* as well.<sup>19</sup>

Gustavs, furthermore, suggests that *bal-te-e*, *ḥa-aš-te-e* and *ša-ar-te-e* embody the *-t* formative;<sup>20</sup> and yet, later on he expresses some doubt and proposes *bal-te-e*, *ki-il-te*, *ḥa-aš-te-e*, *mu-uš-te-e* and *ša-ar-te-e* as probable shortened forms of names in *-tešup*.<sup>21</sup> An examination of the Chicago and Pennsylvania lists shows that *-te* occurs after some of the roots which take *-te(y)a* and *-tešup*. They are *ar-*, *aštar-*, *eḥli-*, *muš-*, *nai-*, *nan-*, *pai-*, *pal-*, *šar-*, *šahul/šahlu-*, and *zil-*. Thus the second alternative of Gustavs seems to be favored. More conclusive support is provided for this view by the instances in which *-te(y)a* varies with *-te* in the same document when in combination with some of the initial elements listed above.<sup>22</sup>

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with the exception of this two-line shift which also involves *šum-mi-ia* s. *a-ri-qa-na-ri*, the name immediately preceding it.

<sup>19</sup> *ar-te-ia* s. *te-eš-šu-ia*, G 42: 18, and seal, and *ar-te-šup* s. *te-eš-šu-ia*, N 69: 21. *ar-te-ia* f. *pu-ḥi-še-ni*, N 33: 26 and *ar-te-šup* f. *pu-ḥi-še-en-ni*, N 91: 2, 8; Nu 963: 33. *ar-te-ia* f. *ta-a-a*, G 39: 26; *ar-te-e-a* f. *ta-a-a*, AASOR XVI 68: 3 and *ar-te-šup* f. *ta-a-a*, N 263: 20; 382: 2; 392: 2; 530: 1, 22. *ge-el-te-ia* s. *ar-zi-iz-za*, H I 21: 14, 23; Nu 531: 96 and *ge-el-te-šup* s. *a-ar-zi-iz-za*; H I 77: 1; *ša-ar-te-e-(a)* s. *še-ḥé-el-te-šup*. G 47: 2, 11 and *ša-ar-te-šup* s. *še-ḥé-el-te-šup*, TCL 9.19: 19, 23.

<sup>20</sup> NKT 59.

<sup>21</sup> NKT 61.

<sup>22</sup> Thus *ar-te-e-a*, N 207: 2, 5, but *ar-te-e* in line 7; *mu-uš-te-e-a*, Nu 848: 2, but *mu-uš-te-e* in lines 8, 9, 37, 43; *pal-te-e-a*, N 542: 2, but *pal-te-e*, lines 8, 17; *ša-ar-te-e*, G 47: 2, but *ša-ar-te-e-a*, line 11. The father of *šar-te(a)*, in this reference, is *šeḥel-tešup*. Cf. also *šar-tešup* s. *šeḥel-tešup*, TC 19: 19, 23.

For other genealogies note *na-an-te-e* s. *ḥu-di-ya*, Nu 916: 31 and *na-an-te-e-a* s. *ḥu-ti-ya*, G. 66: 8. Collation of the original in the British Museum shows the latter reading to be quite clear. Cf. also *ša-aḥ-lu-te* s. *mu-še-e*, N 292: 34; [*ša*]-*aḥ-lu-te-e* s. *mu-še-[e]-a*, Nu 799: 8 and *ša-ḥu-ul-te-šup* s. *mu-še-ia*, N 300: 35. In the N publication this last example was miscopied *a-ḥu-ul-te-šup* and utilized as such by Oppenheim, *AfO* 12. 38, along with *a-ḥu-pu-tuḥ-bi*, N 514: 9 to exemplify a formative in *-l*. Again N 514: 9 is a miscopy for what the reviewer prefers to read *a-ri-pu-um-bi*. (Cf. *a-r[i]-ip-um-bi*, N 243: 8 beside *a-ri-pu-um-bi*, lines 13, 15 in the same document. There is also a divinity *du-um-pu* from Boghaz-köi, cf. *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi* 25.46, rev. iii: 15.) Among other examples used by Oppenheim, loc. cit., are *e-te-el-te-šup*, a miscopy for *e-ḥi-el-te-šup* and *a-kal-še-en-ni-ia* which seems more convincing if read *a-rip-še-en-ni-ia*. In view of this comedy of errors, the proposed formative in *-l* finds itself seriously impaired.



A minor difficulty arises from *ḥa-aš-te-e*, H I 81:6, which Gustavs presents as one of his illustrations. There is no genealogy to provide us with a clue to its connections. It may be a variant of *ḥaš-teya*. Since a form *ḥaš-tešup* has not come up so far, one is moved to consider that the *ḥa-aš-te-e* and *ḥaš-teya* like *ḥaiš-te*, TCL 9.41:2, could be variants of *ḥaiš-tešup*. As the matter stands, it will remain a moot problem until additional information can shed some light on it.

The form *ki-il-te*, another illustration presented by Gustavs, may be a variant of *ki-il-te-ya*. That both these forms may be read *kil-te* and *kil-teya* respectively and be considered as variants of an underlying *kel-tešup* is indicated by a genealogy suggesting *kil-tešup* as a variant of *kel-tešup*.<sup>23</sup>

To sum up, it is quite apparent that the *t*-formative proposed by Gustavs has many obstacles to overcome before it can be accepted without question. All the illustrations presented by him as evidence for its existence are opposed by considerations which, while some are not so conclusive as others, go together in casting a shadow of doubt on the whole speculation.

Another theory of Gustavs which encounters difficulties is the one concerning the ending *-ya*. That he is inclined to interpret it as a potential stem for verbal roots is shown by the following query and the way he answers it. "Ist nun diese Endung (*-ia/-ya*), weil sie nur an kürzeren Gebilden vorkommt, lediglich ein hypokoristisches Suffix, das zu dem vorangehenden Komplex in keinem näheren grammatischen Verhältnis steht?"<sup>24</sup> His answer shows that he is not inclined to believe so, "da dies *-ia* fast ausnahmslos nur an Verben sich anfügt. . . ."<sup>25</sup> A survey of the Pennsylvania and Chicago lists reveals its occurrence with a considerable number of roots having no apparent verbal characteristics. Some of them are *alki- alpu-*, *tup/kki-*, *ete-*, *ḥišme-*, *ḥurpi-*, *kip(i)-*, *milki-*, *milku-*, *nihri-*, *puḥi-*, *šehli-*, *šelwi-*, *šwi-*, *šummi-*, *teššu-*, *tirwi-*, *tulpi-*, *urḥi-* and *wahri-*.<sup>26</sup> Among these there is *tirwi-* which, as we have seen, appears to be definitely substantival. There are also *urḥi* and *wahri-* which, in the light of the present knowledge, are probably

<sup>23</sup> *ki-il-te-šup* s. *it-ḥa-pu*, H I 71:49; *ge-el-te-šup* s. *it-ḥa-pu*, N 20:24, 32.

<sup>24</sup> *NKT* 57.

<sup>25</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> This element is transcribed as *wi-iḥ-ri* by Gustavs, A 9:109-111. But see *NDA* 64 and A 9:108.

adjectives. The element *tup/kki* occurs in the final position after verbal forms as *-tukki/e* and therefore assumes the guise of an adjectival or substantival form.

In addition to the roots listed above there are others, like *eḫel/ehli-* and *tarmi-*, which, while they have variants in *-p*, nevertheless may possibly be adjectival or substantival forms that can be made verbal by the affixing of the appropriate formatives. This latitude of possibility makes Gustavs' view seem somewhat premature.

Later on<sup>27</sup> Gustavs states that a hypocoristic ending can only be one which does not permit of a satisfactory grammatical interpretation. Thus, in his opinion, names of the *a-ri-ia* type cannot be considered as hypocoristica, for *a-ri-ia* is too much like *ar* (verbal root) plus *i* (potential stem) plus *a* (third person singular ending), "he may give." On the other hand, he says, the ending written *-a-a* must be hypocoristic, and hence a diminutive, for it has no resemblance to any grammatical form. Furthermore, he believes that this writing expresses an underlying *â* or *ai*. As illustrations of the occurrence of such a form, he proposes *ki-ba-a-a*, *ši-il-wa-a-a*, *ú-na-a-a* and *zi-ra-a-a*.

How do these views stand in the light of the information which can be gathered from the rest of the Kerkuk material? To begin with, there is *-ia/-ya* to consider. It occurs in the name *tarmiya*, written *tar-mi-ia*. Now there is a form *tarmip-taše(n)ni*, A 9:90, which, according to an accepted view, shows that the root *tarmi-* may possibly have verbal affinities. Thus *tarmiya* would seem to fall into Mr. Gustav's *a-ri-ia* category. But a differing interpretation is indicated by at least four genealogies suggesting *tarmiya* as a variant of *tarmi-tešup*. In one of them the names *tarmiya* and *tarmi-tešup* are written over the same seal-impression.<sup>28</sup> The inescapable conclusion, postulated by genealogy and glyptic, is that *tarmiya* and *tarmi-tešup* are names of one and the same person.

In addition to this there are genealogies which, although unfortunately lacking the glyptic evidence to sustain or refute them, present the possibilities of interpreting *akiya* as a hypocoristicon

<sup>27</sup> NKT 60.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. *tar-mi-te-šup* s. *eb-li-te-šup*, N 104:21 and *tar-mi-ia* s. *eb-li-te-šup*, N 148:18. The names are written over identical seal impressions in both cases. *tar-mi-te-šup* s. *e-ḫi-el-te-šup*, N 109:16 is written over the same seal impression.

not only for *akip-šenni*, but also *akip-tilla*.<sup>29</sup> There are many instances of this sort, e. g., *puhiya* for *puhi-še(n)ni*<sup>30</sup> and so on down the list, which the limited scope of this article prevents the reviewer from quoting.

This leaves for investigation the writings in *-a-a*. It is to be noted that in the examples cited by Gustavs, and also in any number of other examples, this writing occurs after signs ending in *a*. Thus we have the written combination *a-a-a* which is universally read *aya*. That Kerkuk writing is no exception to this convention is attested in an interesting manner. A conclusive genealogy shows clearly that the writing *a-ri-iq-qa-a-a* expresses the hypocoristic form of *ari-kamari* (written *a-ri-qa-ma-ri*).<sup>31</sup> A pair of identical witness lists shows that *a-ri-iq-qa-a-a*, Nu 759: 22, with the paternity *ariya* occurs in a position corresponding to *a-ri-ge-ia*, N 58: 23 which has also the same paternity. This identity shows that *ari-ke/iya* may be used as an additional illustration of the variation between *a* and *e/i* discussed by Berkooz.<sup>32</sup> What is more, *ari-ke/iya*, under these conditions, implies an underlying *ari(k)-kaya* for the writing *a-ri-iq-qa-a-a*. The name *arikkaya* when compared with *ari-kamari* assumes the rôle of a hypocoristicon formed by the addition of *-ya* to a name cut down to *arikka*. A striking illustration of this process is provided by the variation of *šekaya* and *šekar-tilla* in the same text.<sup>33</sup> Circumstantial evidence of such hypocoristic formation

<sup>29</sup> *a-ki-ia* f. *šuk-ri-te-šup*, H I 59: 29 and *a-kip-še-en-ni* f. *šuk-ri-te-šup*, H II 15: 12; G 43: 23. Cf. also *a-ki-ia* s. *tu-ra-ri*, N 487: 24 and *a-kip-til-la* s. *du-ra-ri*, N 4: 21, 27 and passim. The reader is warned that Akiya's seal does not resemble that of Akip-tilla. The texts at present at the Oriental Institute show instances where the same person uses two different seals. The reviewer presents genealogical evidence of this sort as nothing more definite than suggestions.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *pu-ši-ia* f. *še-qa-ru(m)*, N 1: 23 with *pu-ši-še-ni* f. *še-qa-ru*, H I 65: 11 and *pu-ši-se-en-ni* f. *še-qa-ru*, H II 116: 16.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *a-ri-iq-qa-a-a*, b. *ni-nu-a-ri* and s. *ša-ma-ḫul*, N 368: 4, 9, 16, 25; N 376: 2, 11, 13, and *a-ri-qa-ma-ri* with the same brother and the same father, N 97: 2, 11. All three documents refer to land in the same locality and there is a probability that N 368 is a lawsuit concerning the land transferred to Tēhip-tilla in the *mārātu*, N 97.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. NDA 26 f. Of particular interest in this connection is the variation *a-ri-iq-qa-na-ri/a-ri-iq-ge-na-ri* (transcribed *a-ri-iq-gi-na-ri* by Berkooz, NDA 27).

<sup>33</sup> *še-qa-a-a*, TCL 9. 41: 16, 28 and *še-qa-ar-til-la*, lines 7, 39.

is also provided by genealogies suggesting *akaya* as a hypocoristic formation of *akap-še(n)ni*<sup>34</sup> and *ipšaya* for *ip-šaḫalu*.<sup>35</sup> Again the limited space does not permit a list of remaining possibilities inferred by genealogies.

This interpretation of names in (-)a-a-a makes it evident that there is a hypocoristic formation in Hurrian consisting of the addition of *-ya* to a name cut down to one of its vowels. The findings presented here do not preclude the possibility that *-(y)a* may have other functions.<sup>36</sup> However, a conclusive demonstration of its possibilities as a potential stem promises to be a delicate and exacting task.

The translation "lady, mistress," proposed for the element *tilla* is based on the early misreading *NINNI-ki-til-la*, CT 2 21: 2, 8, 18, which led to an interpretation *šauški<sup>34</sup>-til-la*, the name actually being *šur-ki-til-la*. The confusion arises from a variant writing of ŠUR in which four wedges surmount the "Winkelhaken" instead of three. It has recently been shown that *Tilla* is both the name of a deity and also of a city.<sup>37</sup> However, the sex of this divine being still remains to be determined.

The list A 15 contains names having in common an element which Gustavs reads *-u-si* and normalizes as *-usi*. Such a reading was made during the time when no one was in the position to know that GUR was written in some instances like SI. Other signs like IP and UR, as Gustavs observes,<sup>38</sup> are written ambiguously. A 15: 8 contains two names both with the sign in question. One of them *ú-gur-a-ri* is read correctly while the other, owing to the ambiguous writing of the last sign, is misread *wa-an-ti-nu-si* instead of the correct *wa-an-ti-nu-gur*. However, out of the eleven examples presented as illustration, eight have perfectly good GUR-signs, while the three ambiguous writings include only one that definitely looks

<sup>34</sup> *a-ga-a-a s. šuk-ri-ia*, N 190: 19, 21 and *a-kap-še-en-ni*, scribe, s. *šuk-ri-ia*, N 470: 38.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *ip-ša-a-a s. ar-te-ia*, N 283: 20 and *ip-ša-ḫa-lu s. ar-te-ia*, N 69: 18.

<sup>36</sup> The reviewer should like to acknowledge his debt to Professor Speiser at whose suggestion he has undertaken the study of the hypocoristic nature of *-(y)a*. Ungnad from the very beginning saw *-ya* as a hypocoristic formative, *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* VI/5, p. 10. Oppenheim, *WZKM* 44. 194, sees in it a "Zugehörigkeitssuffix" when following an element which is a divine name.

<sup>37</sup> *AASOR* 16. 49: 3 and pp. 99, 101. For the city *Tilla*, cf. *op. cit.*, 47: 23; 48: 34; 50: 26.

<sup>38</sup> *NKT* 9, n. 1; 16, n. 3; 38, n. 2.

like SI.<sup>39</sup> That the element in question is *-ugur* and refers to a well-known deity is attested by the name written *it-hi-ip-du-gur*<sup>40</sup> which has been noticed both by Berkooz and Oppenheim.

Among other minor features worthy of consideration, is the probable fragmentary nature of *a-ri-ig-ge*, which makes its rôle as an illustration of a verbal form in *kk* rather dubious.<sup>41</sup> It may also be mentioned that while Mr. Gustavs has rightly pointed out that the sign, formerly read *tuk*, really has the value *háb/p*, examination of the additional material would have revealed that it also has the value *túl*.<sup>42</sup>

There are many other problems raised in Gustavs' work which have a relatively minor importance and there are also some which, in view of today's insufficient knowledge of Hurrian linguistics, promise to remain moot questions. Such points are left undiscussed in this attempt to elucidate, in so far as the available evidence permits, some of the important views presented by Gustavs in his latest work. An explanation of the more obscure features of the formation and structure of Hurrian names awaits the clues which future investigations in the very extensive Kerkuk material may provide. In conclusion, the hope is expressed that such research will be established on a basis firm enough to bring about ultimately a more precise knowledge of the Hurrian language.

<sup>39</sup> The good writings of GUR are N 28: 38; 51: 21; 58: 22; 67: 32; 87: 36; H I 36: 23; 38: 12; 84: 27. The ambiguous writings are N 12: 3; 28: 30, but cf. the perfectly good writing on line 38. The one bad writing is H I 15: 64. That *ugur* is generally accepted is shown by Berkooz, *NDA* 16 and Oppenheim, *Afo* 12. 33.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. *NDA* 16 and *Afo* 12. 30, where both comment on the absence of the god-determinative elsewhere before theophoric elements in Hurrian names. There are two exceptions which are interesting since they occur in what is probably an earlier Nuzi text. They are *ar-te-šup*, N 414: 2, 8, 12 and *míl-ki-te-šup*, line 23 of the same document.

<sup>41</sup> *a-ri-ig-ge* [...] f. *ku-uz-zu*, N 61: 34 and *a-ri-ig-ge-el-be* f. *ku-uz-zu*, H II 19: 41.

<sup>42</sup> Thus *túl-bi-ia* instead of *hab-bi-ia* in A 6: 64. Cf. also the various writings of *Tulpu-naya*, *AASOR* 16, p. 164 f.

A hitherto unknown sign value in Nuzi writing is that of *mat* for MUD. This sign occurs in the name *a-ri-mat*(MUD)-*qa*, N 42: 16 and transcribed *a-ri-gi?-iz*, A 4: 17. This new value finds its support in *a-ri-im-ma-at-qa* s. *ili-[a]hi*, Nu 269: 12 and *a-ri-im-mat*(MUD)-*q[a]*, seal, line 23. The seal impression is the same as that of *a-ri-im-ma-at-qa* s. *ili-a]hi*, N 439: 25. Line 22 of Nu 1023, published by Lacheman, *JAOS* 55, pl. I after p. 431 is to be read [...] *mâr a-ri-mat*(MUD)-*qa*.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

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### Dravidian "bone"

TAMIL has the words *elumpu* and *enpu* (bone) : these are derived from \**elnap* thru \**elamp* and \**ennap*. Kanara has the forms *elu*, *elabu*, *elubu*, *eluvu* : *elu* is a reduction of *eluvu*, and the longer forms correspond to Tamil *elumpu*, having lost the nasal in accord with *eraḍu* = Tamil *iraṇṭu* (two). Telugu has the forms *emike*, *emuka*, *emmu*, *bomike*, *bōke*, and the plural *makkelu*. Evidently *emmu* corresponds to Tamil *enpu* : cp. *pāmu* = Tamil *pāmpu* (snake). Old plurals are represented by *emike* and *emuka* from \**embikkol*; cp. the Tamil plural-ending *-kal*. The form *bōke* is a reduction of \**bōmke* = *bomike*, the nasal being lost after a long vowel as in *mādu* = Tamil *mūnRu* (three). The form *bomike* is an old plural like *emike*. The radical portion *bom-* comes from a reduplicated \**embemb* thru \**embomb* and \**bomb*; cp. *pamp-* (send) from reduplicated \**amppampp*, corresponding to Tamil *anupp-* (send). The plural *makkelu* is a reduction of a plural resembling the form \**embikkol*. As Telugu regularly has *e* for *i* before *a*, we may assume *makkelu* < \**mekkal* < \**mikkol* < \**embikkol*, with displacement of vowels as in *reṇḍu* < \**areṇḍu* < \**eraṇḍu* < \**iraṇḍu* = Tamil *iraṇṭu*.

Gōndi has the form *panēkā*; Kui has *prēnu*, pl. *prēka*. Evidently the Gōndi form is a plural used for the singular; we may assume *panē-* < \**prnē* < \**prēn*. Kui *prēnu* can be explained as representing \**prēn* < \**pern* < \**pernap* < \**napernap* < \**napernapel* < \**napelnapel*, a reduplicated \**napel*, corresponding to basic \**elnap* with the order of the elements reverst. Thus it appears that \**elnap* is a compound of two synonyms, \**el* and \**nap*. In Gōndi-Kui they were compounded in the order \**napel*.

The element \**el* is perhaps represented by *-ol* in Kurukh *xōtšol* (bone).

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*Addenda to the Bibliography of A. V. Williams Jackson*

At the time of final revision of the bibliography of Dr. Jackson (*JAOS* 58. 241-257) I was unaware that two articles by him were to be printed posthumously in the *Journal*. To make the bibliography rigorously complete, therefore, the following two entries should be added after the fourth entry on page 252.

The doctrine of the Bolos in Manichaean eschatology. *JAOS* 58. 225-234 (June, 1938). [Posthumous.]

The personality of Māni, the founder of Manichaeism. *JAOS* 58. 235-240 (June, 1938). [Posthumous.]

It should also be noted that the article "On the date of Zoroaster," *JAOS* 17. 1-22 (Nov. 1896), was reprinted, with a few additions and corrections, in Dr. Jackson's *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, as Appendix II, pages 150-178, with the pagination of the original article indicated to facilitate reference.

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*Note on the review of A Propos des Voyages aventureux de  
Fernand Mendez Pinto*

I admit that I turned Pinto's vindication into a vindication of Charignon. When I saw that Pinto offered me no opportunity to speak of Java, I did not hesitate to add an Introduction, the subject being familiar to me.

Charignon having died in 1930, he could not have known of N. J. Krom's *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, which was published in 1931. I myself live in comparative isolation. Therefore I am grateful for the information concerning this book, and also that concerning the two Javanese historical works, the *Nāgara-Kṛ tāgama*, and the *Pararaton*.

Charignon wrote:<sup>1</sup> "We do not deny that most of the toponyms found by preceding writers in modern Javanese names are derived from the names given in the *Yüan-shih*; for example, Majpahit

<sup>1</sup> "La Grande Java de Marco Polo en Cochinchine," *Bull. de la Société des Etudes Indochinoises*, n. s., Tome IV, No. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1929.

. . . But this does not justify us in concluding that these names are given to the same localities today as in the time of the Mongols. . . . We believe that these names are due to migrations from Cochin-China, of which we know little, although they must have been by way of the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra, where certain of these toponyms can still be found.<sup>2</sup> These migrations cannot have occurred earlier than the T'ang period, for the references in the T'ang histories to countries of the South Sea, and more particularly to Ho-ling and She-po, apply only to Indo-China. When authors of the Ming period apply to localities in Indonesia names which, by authors of the T'ang and Sung periods, are given to places in Indo-China, they often transfer to them details given in earlier histories, although such details may not be suitable to the new location. For this reason we have relied, as far as possible, upon material earlier than the Yüan period." (pp. 216-17.)

"If Marco Polo referred to Java, why did he use the term *major* in mentioning an island much smaller than Sumatra, which he called *minor*?" (p. 195.) Marco Polo said that the islands of Sandur and Candur were south of Java Major. No one will deny that they were south of Cochin-China, but not south of the modern Java. Charignon confirms this by a reference to Ibn Batuta, (p. 198), and concludes (p. 345) that the Great Java of Marco Polo was Cochin-China.<sup>3</sup>

The *Nagara-Kṛtāgama* and the *Pararaton* can prove only that the Javanese of today are descended from inhabitants of Cochin-China. I personally am convinced that some day Pinto will be rehabilitated.

M. MEDARD

Peking

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. Djiring, in the basin of the Donnai river; Jering, on the Malay peninsula east of Patani; the names Djambra and Jambi in Cochin-China; and Korintji in Sumatra.

<sup>3</sup> A Mongol expedition was sent against Chao-wa in 1293. Charignon holds that Chao-wa was the She-po in Cochin-China; one of the three Chan-po. The other two were Lin-yi in Annam, the present Kuang Nam, mentioned by Hsüan Tsang (T. Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 188); and P'iao or T'u-lo-chu She-po, in Burma, the present Ava.



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*La Religione degli Hittiti.* By GIUSEPPE FURLANI. Bologna: NICOLA ZANICHELLI, 1936. Pp. xx + 431. L. 20.

It is gratifying that Furlani presents in this book a counterpart to his study on the religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians published in the same series several years ago. He collects for a larger public the facts of Hittite religion that have been regained by the decipherment of the clay tablets from Boğazköy through the labors of a generation of scholars.

The subject is fascinating. Every student of Near Eastern cultures will be eager to learn about the religion of a nation which, for most of the second millennium B. C., played a part at least as significant as that of the Egyptians and the Akkadians.

Furlani deals with his subject in 25 chapters. On the whole he proves to be well informed. It is the author's merit to have collected for his readers' convenience whatever has been said before in various (and sometimes hidden) places. Particularly extensive use has been made of the pertinent chapter in my *Kleinasien* which was the first attempt to outline Hittite religion by an evaluation of the primary sources. The author has apparently refrained from utilizing the large body of religious texts which are available only in cuneiform. The great danger of all compilations, to bring mutually exclusive interpretations of the same facts, has not been entirely avoided. As a whole, the book is more retrospective than prospective.

The Hittite civilization is the product of an extensive mixture of different races. This fact is of particularly important consequence as far as religion is concerned. The situation makes an interpretation of the material difficult and forces the historian to make sharp discriminations, a principle not always sufficiently observed by the present author. The picture he draws is therefore in some respects incoherent. Above all, one gets the erroneous impression that there is really not very much difference between the religious attitude of the Akkadians on the one hand and that of the Hittites on the other.

I have noted a number of details which need correction. I do

not want to dwell on them unduly, and therefore limit myself to a very small number: After Ehelolf's article in ZA NF 9 170 ff. (quoted p. XII), the author should not have stated (p. 27) that *karimmiš* and *šiwanniš* are the Hittite terms for "god"; the Hittite word is *šiu-*, *šiu-na/i-*. It may very well have an Indo-European etymology (cf. Götze-Pedersen, *Mursilis Sprachlähmung* 72 f.).—The epic of Kumarpi cannot be "la vera epopea degli Hittiti" (p. 82), since Kumarpi is a Hurrian god.—The complex written  $\text{HU} . \text{HAR} . \text{RI}$  is interpreted correctly as  $\text{MUŠEN } \text{HUR} . \text{RI}$  "uccello della caverna" on p. 160, but a few pages later (166) read  $\text{HU} . \text{HAR} . \text{RI}$  and understood to be "qualche specie di sorteggio." The sections on p. 186 commented upon by notes 24 and 25 respectively refer to one and the same text; Bo 2062 is published as KUB VII 53.

In spite of such shortcomings Furlani's book, I trust, will increase the interest in Hittite religion. I feel certain that not only the historian of culture but also the comparative student of religions will find the information which he can obtain from the Hittite sources of great significance. And most of these sources still wait for an interpreter. Here lies open a wide field for scholarly activity!

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*Altbabylonische Personenmiete und Erntearbeiterverträge.* By JULIUS GEORG LAUTNER. *Studia et documenta ad iura orientis antiqui pertinentia*, volumen I. Leiden: E. J. BRILL, 1936. xx + 262 pp.

In the interpretation of the source material for the study of ancient Babylonian culture, the work of scholars trained in the science of deciphering and translating the cuneiform tablets must often be supplemented by the efforts of specialists trained in other fields. As cuneiform studies have benefited in the past by the work of mathematicians, astronomers, and lawyers, so now we have in the present volume another fine contribution to the study of Babylonian legal practices of about 2000 B. C. by a scholar particularly well trained for such a task.

We now have enough examples of Old Babylonian business docu-

ments to know that they fall into certain well established groups. Just as modern business documents may be grouped according to their forms, so Babylonian documents had their definite stereotyped phraseology. The problem of this book centers around one such well defined group of documents, known as the "harvest-worker contracts." While it was this special type of contract which started the author's investigation along these lines, he found it advisable to discuss also all related types of contracts dealing with the hiring of human labor.

His major results may be briefly summarized as follows. Classified according to their key words, there are four principal types of contracts dealing with the hiring of labor: (1) the *agārum* ("to hire") contracts, (2) the *šubanti* ("he received") contracts, (3) the *išū* ("to hold") contracts (*Verpflichtungsschein*), and (4) the mixed forms. The *agārum* formula is the regular one used for all contracts of hire, whether of the hiring of persons, or the renting of movable property in general. The leasing of immovable property is expressed by the formula *šūšū* ("to cause to go out"). The *agārum* contract is drawn up by the employer of the laborer, and is held by the owner of the slave who is hired out, or, in case of self-hiring, by the hired person himself. The legal nature of the *agārum* contract is that of a real contract (against Boyer), because the actual delivery of the hireling for service takes place at the same time as the drawing of the contract. The persons hired out may be slaves, family dependents, free-born persons temporarily under the authority of a creditor to whom they are indebted, or free persons who hire themselves out. Contrary to the views of Boyer, the wages were not paid to the hireling (unless he had hired out himself), but to his owner or controller. The employer had to clothe and feed the hireling. Often part or all of the wages was paid in advance. Failure of the hireling to complete the contract because of conditions for which the employer was not responsible brought a penalty on the owner of the hireling of the forfeiture of all the wages. Contracts were drawn for definite periods of time, usually a month, the extremes being 10 days, and 2 years. Against the opinion of a number of scholars, there was no such thing as hiring for an indefinite time with the privilege of ending the contract by giving notice.

The harvest worker contracts with the *šubanti* formula are not

contracts for the hiring of specific individuals, but contracts for furnishing labor in the abstract. The arrangement embodied in the contracts is that the prospective employer makes an advance payment to the contractor, who in turn agrees to furnish a certain number of laborers at harvest time. The contractor may appear for work himself, or he may send a substitute; and, in case a number of workers are required, the rest go unnamed. These contracts are the reverse of the *agārum* contracts in that they are drawn up by the contractor and not by the employer of the laborers. There are two groups of such *šubanti* contracts, according to whether the number of laborers is one or many. They are not contracts made with employment agents, who had a large clientele from which to select their workers, but contracts made with individuals, or foremen of small gangs of workers. The contracts are made effective by the *šimdāt šarrim* clause. Contrary to the view of a number of scholars, this clause does not give the employer the power to force the laborers to work, but rather provides for a money payment to the employer by the contractor as a penalty for the nonappearance of the laborers.

There are a few harvest worker contracts in the form of promissory notes (*išū* contracts). They do not show that the person obligated had borrowed workers who were to be returned, but that he was indebted to the creditor for some other reason, and thus agreed to meet his debt by furnishing labor for the harvest. These contracts are also for labor in the abstract, and not for individual hirelings.

There were certain conditions which did not fit the form of any of the types of hiring contracts, as for example, the case in which a specific person is to be hired for future work, but is not to begin at once. In such cases the scribes met the situation by combining elements from different types to form the "mixed forms." The case just mentioned calls for a *šimdāt šarrim* clause in an *agārum* contract.

In the main the above stated theses of the author are likely to stand, but we may expect that in details they will later be modified. In many cases this is probable because of the limited number of documents on which he was forced to build his case. The volume is a silent call for the publication of more Old Babylonian contracts, for although the number of such published texts is already

quite large, when our author attempts to study certain specific types of contracts he often finds the number inadequate for assured results. A list of Sumerian and Akkadian words and phrases discussed would have added to the usefulness of the book. A number of such words appear in the "Sachregister," but there are many more discussed in the book which do not appear in the "Sachregister."

The following comments and criticisms on detailed points may be considered by the reader.

p. 11. The personal name (m) AN . UD-a-a-tum is read (m) (il) Šama-a-a-tum. Such a reading is doubtless based on the common occurrence of the phonetically spelled name Ša-ma-a-a-tum. If the final consonant of the name of the god Šamaš is indeed to be dropped in this personal name, a note would have been in order to explain its justification.

p. 13, note 39. The proposed interpretation of YBT V, 253: 6 is possibly correct, but it assumes a scribal error in the sign GA<sub>6</sub>. A collation of the original tablet shows that the final upright stroke of this sign, missing in the copy, is also missing on the tablet. The only improvement that could be made in the copy would be to place the BUR a little nearer the preceding wedges.

p. 42 ff. Leo Oppenheim's *Untersuchungen zum babylonischen Mietrecht*, apparently was not available to the author when he wrote, for he takes no account of Oppenheim's discussion of *kišrum* and *idum*. Lautner argues that the exchange of the two words in GCD p. 15 is due to a careless scribe, because of other inconsistencies which he points out. But, following Oppenheim, the difference in meaning of the two words may have justified the way in which both are used in this document. The penalty for breach of contract may have been intentionally named as loss of daily wages rather than the whole year's compensation. The same may be true for VAT 967 (HG 538). On the other hand, contrary to Oppenheim's views, *idum* is used for yearly income, and seems really to be interchanged with *kišrum* in CT VIII, 15 (91-5-9, 1016). Lautner's conjecture that *idum* is a later term for wages than *kišrum* does not harmonize with the fact, pointed out by Oppenheim, that *Á* = *idum* was the only word for wages in the III-Ur Dynasty.

p. 49. The name read in transliteration *Warad-sà* might perhaps better be read *Waraz-za*, since *Warad-sà* does not show the assimilation.

lated consonant. The same name is spelled out phonetically *Wa-ra-az-za* in *TCL* I, 160: 22. On the sibilant see now Goetze, "The Sibilant in Old Babylonian *naṣārūm*," *Orientalia* N. S. VI, 12 ff.

p. 74. The error of omitting a hyphen from the word *na-ar-a-ma-ti-šu* is apparently repeated from *MDP* XXIII, p. 102.

p. 82. The Sumerian expression read *šag!-bi-ta* here and elsewhere, where the same tablet is quoted, is the same expression as that read *ša-bi-ta* on p. 117. The latter reading is correct; see Poebel *GSG* sec. 39.

p. 103. The interpretation of *CT* IV, 47a is very doubtful. The difficulty hinges on the translation of lines 11-13, *a-na šu-ri-nim ša "Šamaš da-ia-nu B ù C a-na A id-di-nu-šu-ma*. Lautner would translate: "(nachdem) die Richter den B und den C gegen A dem Wahrzeichen des Šamaš übergeben haben. . . ." He understands that B and C were required to take oath to establish the guilt of A. To justify his translation he assumes a scribal error in omitting a syllable from *\*iddinūšunūma*. For such a translation one must really assume the omission of two syllables, for the correct form of the accusative third person plural suffix in Old Babylonian is *-šunūti*, not *-šunū*. Moreover, a translation along the lines proposed by Schorr *UZZP* 305 is possible without emendation: "The judges, B, and C, with regard to A, delivered him over to the emblem of Shamash." The use of *ana* in this sentence is strange in Old Babylonian; one might perhaps point out the very similar uses in the Middle Assyrian law code (*KAV* 1, III: 12; V: 13). Lautner objects to Schorr's interpretation of this text on the ground that if A, the defendant in this case, had had a chance to take the oath, he would have been glad to do so, instead of avoiding it by making a settlement for 16 shekels before they came to the *šurinnūm*. Since an oath was a sort of ordeal, we can easily understand why the defendant would shrink from it. His only ground for fighting the case, as Lautner says, would have been that the plaintiff's property had been lost for reasons which he could not control. The defendant may have been willing to claim such an excuse, but unwilling to take the consequences of swearing to such a claim, when it may not have been fully true. In any case the document is an evidence for *Verschuldenshaftung*, whichever interpretation is adopted; hence it is not necessary to resort to Lautner's forced interpretation to gain the point he desires.

p. 117. Objection may be raised to the interpretation given for *CT* IV, 42b, on the ground that šà-bi-ta (line 3) is not correctly rendered. The phrase means literally, "from its midst." It is regularly used in the sense of, "out of the aforesaid amount." It does not mean, "out of the following amount." The phrase is found in *VS* XIII, 92, and is correctly rendered by Lautner on p. 82. He, along with previous translators of *CT* IV, 42b, is forced to take it in the opposite sense, because the first mentioned amount of grain appears to be smaller than the second. The numeral in line 1 has been read: 1 + 2(PI) + 3(ban) še-gur; but the wedges designating the number of PI should be written as vertical strokes, while these are written horizontally. We may not, therefore, read: 3 + 3(ban) še-gur, for in this case the wedges for the number of gur would be written in one continuous line. The amount as it stands is probably to be read: 62 + 3(ban) še-gur. The 8 gur mentioned after šà-bi-ta is part of the amount mentioned first. This allows šà-bi-ta its proper meaning, but makes a revision necessary in the interpretation of the text. It is simply a receipt for a large amount of grain, of which 8 gur was considered as the recipient's wages for the year.

p. 162. There is confusion in the manner of writing the singular and plural Semitic forms of the word for "harvest worker." The word *awēl* should appear as a determinative, in the same form, whether its noun is singular or plural.

p. 188. On the phrase, "hellfarbige Sklaven" see Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins*, pp. 102 ff., where it is argued convincingly that the word "hellfarbige" should be given up in such passages for something like "sound," or "healthy."

p. 214. In *F* 12 (*HG* V 1374), line 11, the true reading is probably nam-10 rather than GĪR-10. In the same text, line 20, the title may better be read nar (see Deimel *SL* II, 355, 11) instead of lul. Pohl reads now, for this sign, šattam (see *Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection*. . . N. F. I/II, p. 28).

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*A Social and Religious History of the Jews.* By SALO WITTMAYER BARON, Vol. I, pp. xiii-377; Vol. II, pp. ix-462; Vol. III, pp. xi-405; COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1937.

Professor Baron's three volumes are a notable achievement in scholarship and historical imagination. Of the three volumes the last is the one for which scholars will be particularly grateful. It consists of the footnotes to the text of the other two volumes, along with the references to the authorities upon whom the statements in the text are based, and of a bibliography which mentions practically every book and article bearing upon Jewish History down to the date of publication. It is not a criticism of Baron's selective powers to say that he included books and articles whose scientific value is not particularly great. His aim was completeness, and anyone using his bibliography will know how to discriminate. An index brings the third volume to a close.

The space allotted in the first two volumes to the various periods of Jewish History is as follows: 245 to the formative period, the so-called First and Second Commonwealths; the rest of volume I, about 130 pages, is devoted to the Jews in the East under Persia and Islam; the mediaeval period in Europe gets only 86 pages; the Ghetto period about the same number; the period of Emancipation, from the middle of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth centuries, 100 pages; and Nationalism, that is the last fifty years, as many more; finally, another 100 pages are devoted to a survey of the current situation in Jewish life and the author's views as to how this situation may be ameliorated. Thus, fully a third of the text deals with modern and contemporary events. The last section suffers from the inevitable mixture of the author's personal views with legitimate descriptive material, and it would have been better and have strengthened the entire work if this section had been published as a separate book.

From beginning to end Professor Baron defends the thesis of a struggle in civilization between Nature and History, that is between the territorial group which is primarily earth-bound and the ideological group which has freed itself from the need of physical boundaries. No clear-cut distinctions are possible and Professor Baron would no doubt be the last to deny that there are few territorial groups without ideological elements, just as he claims that in the Jewish group there has always been a need for and a pull



toward a territorial basis. Professor Baron's theory is not merely a restatement of the old antithesis between body and soul, physical and spiritual, in the life of nations. He goes beyond this distinction and identifies the antithesis as one between those peoples who accept Nature and Nature's claims, and those who would rise above Nature and therefore fight against it. It is pagan to accept Nature and to deify it; it is Jewish to see in the flow of human history a challenge to Nature and a rising above it. The Jews have therefore been a historical people in a special sense. Their religious traditions embody historical memories and their hopes are centered in a Messianic Age in which Nature will finally be overcome. This conquest cannot come, however, through the unaided efforts of Nature-bound man; it will have to come through the direct intervention of God. Thus religion and Jewish History are inseparable.

The modern counterpart of this struggle is between jingo-nationalism and spiritual nationalism. Professor Baron traces through the Jewish institutions of the Middle Ages that type of nationalism which in recent years has expressed itself in cultural Zionism. When, however, he attempts to explain here, as he did in articles elsewhere, that the expulsions of the Jews during the Middle Ages were due to nationalism in European lands, Professor Baron is not on equally safe ground. A growing sense of kinship within certain geographical areas existed during the Middle Ages, but this of itself was hardly responsible for the expulsions. Local economic forces, allied with the ambitions of rulers to unite their provinces, had far more to do with it than the still underdeveloped sense of national loyalty. At this point and elsewhere in Baron's condensation of a long history, the generalization does not cover every possibility. Professor Baron has written a philosophical survey of Jewish History, and under the circumstances cannot be blamed if occasionally he gives too brief a presentation of a subject which to the mind of the reviewer or the reader deserves a longer treatment, for example Jewish Literature in its sociological aspect. It is likewise inevitable that in such a work one will find details with which one is in disagreement. One example of this is the early relations between Jews and Christians. There is no doubt, however, that everyone will read Professor Baron's book with interest and profit, and will find the third volume immensely useful.

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*The Wall-Paintings of India, Central Asia, and Ceylon.* A comparative study by BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR. With an introductory essay on The Nature of Buddhist Art by ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY, a foreword by A. TOWNSHEND JOHNSON, and color plates by F. BAILEY VANDERHOEF, JR. Boston: THE MERRYMOUNT PRESS, 1938. Pp. xiv + 94, with 30 plates in full color. \$45.

This portfolio of Indian and Indian colonial wall paintings truly deserves the characterization of magnificent, and commands the attention of Indianists and students of art alike. Without actually comparing on the spot a wall painting and its printed reproduction no one can assess exactly the accuracy of the copy; but to one who has seen a number of the originals of the works illustrated in this volume these plates are convincing representations of their famous and inaccessible originals. Every praise is due the authors of the color-photography project and the financial sponsors who made the photography and the publication possible.

The paintings chosen for the book lie at Mirān (1), Bāmiyān (2-14), Ajaṇṭā (15-19), Bāgh (20-23), Sīgiriya (24-27), Polonnaruva (28), Ming-Öi in Khotan (29), and Bezāklīk in Turfān (30). Their time is from the 3rd to about the 14th century A. D. It would have been easy to mention other sites from which examples would have been welcome, such as Sittanavasal, but the authors are not to be reproached for failing to be complete: the work as it stands represents a great expense of time and money. It seems to have been a bit ungenerous, if not actually unsympathetic to science, for the Hyderabad State government to deny the free use of material in the Ajaṇṭā and Elūrā caves (p. xii), which until recently were for many decades open without restriction to all visitors.

The discussion in Mr. Rowlands' text is in its largest part given to aesthetic criticism, and that is its most important and successful part. In interpretation of the subject matter he adds little to the conclusions of previous authors; in dating he makes contributions from a good use of pigment analysis. Mr. Rowlands means his discussion to constitute notes on the illustrations rather than an historical exposition. There is an unfortunate eclecticism and considerable minor inexactitude in the application of diacritics on

oriental words and Sanskrit form (Śakti, p. 66; Rudrāyāṇa, p. 68; *apsaras* as a plural, pp. 64, 84, 85). It is not clear why (p. 54) the jars as bases of some columns at Bāmiyān should be of Sasanian origin rather than Indian. It might have been noted (p. 78) that hybrid animals are known in India from the time of the Harappa culture in the 3rd millennium B.C. The kind of inaccuracies I have mentioned are entirely minor and no serious detractor from his work.

In a lengthy introduction Dr. Coomaraswamy, writing on the nature of Buddhist art, again states that to understand Indian art it is necessary to understand the ideas which it is used to symbolize, and that since these ideas are all mystical the understanding of the art is beyond the competence of the rationalist. "Aesthetic appreciation" is not enough. As the motif of the art was religious, its study must be religious also, if not actually a religious exercise.

The plates being the finest reproductions ever made of Indian wall paintings, every user of the book is bound to be delighted with them.

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*The History of the Former Han Dynasty: Translation, Vol. I.*

Translated by HOMER H. DUBS. Baltimore: WAVERLY PRESS, for the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES, 1938. 339 pages, one map.

This is the first fruit of the greatest task yet undertaken by American sinology, the translation of the second of the Chinese dynastic histories. Even though it is only a beginning, the translator and the Council's Committee on Far-Eastern Studies are to be congratulated upon an excellent piece of work. When Professor Pelliot suggested to the committee the translation of the histories, he had in mind only a rough piece of work. The committee wisely decided to undertake the task thoroughly, and was fortunate in the selection of Professor Dubs, who has been able to devote three years to the work. The undertaking was made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Two companion volumes are now being prepared for the printer, a prolegomena, and an onomasticon. There

will also be two other volumes of translation, which will complete the translation of the Imperial Annals, the first section of the history.

It is unlikely that the members of the committee realized the enormous task they were undertaking. The Chinese dynastic histories are really encyclopedias dealing with definite periods. The Imperial Annals form little more than the chronological background of the period, and in the case of the *Ch'ien Han shu* make up only a twentieth of the whole text. Some of the later sections will be much more difficult to translate, and the material of the present volume parallels sections of the *Shih chi* translated by Chavannes. Professor Dubs has begun at the beginning, which happens also to be the easiest place to begin. But it would be unfair to him, or to whomever completes the work, not to point out that only a beginning has been made, even when the first five volumes have been published, and that a tremendous effort must yet be made, involving the collaboration of experts in special fields, before the whole task can be completed. Such a completion will not come for a long time.

The work of Professor Dubs is careful and critical. While the translation does not always conform to the Chinese syntax, and is inconsistent at times, the reviewer has not noticed mistakes that need weaken the confidence of scholars without a knowledge of Chinese in the general reliability of the translation. Variations from the *Shih chi* are noticed, while the notes give various readings and the opinions of commentators. Of these commentators, Yen Shih-ku is given the most weight, and his interpretations are usually followed. The American Council of Learned Societies is to be congratulated upon its generosity in printing the Chinese text in parallel columns with the translation, and it is to be hoped that this method will be continued in future volumes, for it makes the book much more valuable to the sinologist, who is enabled immediately to check the translation with the original. Professor Dubs has had Chinese assistants, and the advice of Professor Duyvendak. He has also been aided in his chronological work by Dr. J. K. Fotheringham, of Oxford. But such a task is necessarily a collaboration to some extent, and the major portion of credit should go to the indefatigable translator.

The Imperial Annals are not a history in our sense of the word,

but only a framework for history. The details are furnished by other sections of the work, and particularly by the memoirs. Until these are translated, we will not have a full picture of the period. For example, the close of the struggle at the beginning of the dynasty is described in these terse sentences.

"In the twelfth month they surrounded Yü and Kai-hsia. At night Yü heard the army of Han on all sides singing the songs of Ch'ü. He knew that [Han] had gotten all the land of Ch'ü. Yü left with several hundred horsemen; therefore [his] troops were greatly defeated. Kuan Ying pursued and beheaded Yü at Tung-ch'eng." (This translation is slightly different from that of Professor Dubs, and illustrates his relatively unimportant departures from a strict reading of the text.)

These few words—forty syllables in Chinese—summarize one of the most romantic and heroic incidents in all history. A western reader unfamiliar with the details—which are known to every Chinese schoolboy—would miss the devilish cleverness of Liu Pang and his advisors, the pathetic homesickness of the army of Ch'ü which destroyed their morale, the deception of Hsiang Yü, the relentless pursuit, and the last stand and death of a great hero. Professor Dubs has endeavored to supply a little of this by changing "know" to "thought," and "left" to "fled." But a real knowledge of this incident cannot be obtained until the various memoirs are translated.

Unfortunately the memoirs appear late in the history, and will not be translated for an indefinite period. This is also true of the *Shih chi*, which was left unfinished by Chavannes, with the greater number of memoirs untranslated until this day. This defect in the two translations is not due to either Chavannes or Dubs, but it should make us remember that we will not have a history of the two periods until the translations are finished. The *Han shu* also contains important, but exceedingly difficult, monographs upon various general subjects, and these also must remain unknown for a long time. Knowing this, Professor Dubs has provided introductory chapters which summarize material given in the memoirs, but although these are admirable, they are not a substitute for the memoirs themselves. Every effort should be made to permit the work of translation to continue.

In these introductions Professor Dubs is obliged not merely to

summarize, but to make judgments. Such judgments are generally sound and in accord with common-sense. But when he asys (p. 18), in arguing for a considerable Confucian influence at the beginning of the period, "This conception of imperial rule as limited by consultation with the high ministers . . . was specifically Confucian," he is proving a little too much. The conception was not merely Confucian; it was common to all Chinese schools. The *Po shih* of Ch'in Shih-Huang advised him in much the same way as the ministers of Han Kao-Tsu, and when he decided on the burning of the books, the initial suggestion came from Li Ssu. No one would maintain that this showed a Confucian influence at the court of the First Emperor. Nevertheless Professor Dubs appears correct in emphasizing that there was a stronger Confucian influence at the beginning of the Han period than has generally been supposed.

An excellent map is provided, on which one may follow the course of the campaigns between Han and Ch'u, and it is interesting that the field of battle is roughly that of the recent Japanese campaign in Central China along the Lung-hai railroad. The Japanese high-command doubtless recalls with some discomfort that the ancient struggle was decided in favor of the army from inaccessible western strongholds, which was able to exhaust and cut off the supplies of its opponent, although that opponent was invariably successful in the field.

In general, it may be said that western historians owe a great debt to Professor Dubs, the American Council of Learned Societies, and to all who have contributed to this fine volume.

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*A History of Chinese Philosophy.* By FUNG YU-LAN, translated by DERK BODDE. Peiping: VETCH, 1937. 454 pages.

*China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as seen in the Life of Li Ssü.* By DERK BODDE. Leiden: BRILL, 1938. 270 pages.

*A History of Chinese Philosophy* is a translation of the first volume of a two volume work. The first volume was originally published as a separate work in 1931. In 1934, it was reissued, together with Vol. II. The first volume traces Chinese thought to about 100 B. C., while Vol. II continues the history until the present day. The author, Fung Yu-lan, is generally considered in China

as the leading contemporary student of philosophy, although in America he is not so well-known as Hu Shih and Liang Ch'í-ch'iao. He is a doctor of philosophy of Columbia University, and at the time this translation appeared, was professor of philosophy at the National Tsing Hua University, Peiping.

It may be said at once that Dr. Bodde is to be thanked for giving us the best work on the history of Chinese thought that has yet appeared in English. That in itself is not such high praise, since there has been so little serious material published, but both the original and the translation are achievements of a high order. The reviewer has at hand the text issued in 1931, which was probably revised before it was reissued in 1934. Judging by the 1931 edition, Dr. Bodde has taken considerable liberty with the text, and indeed he acknowledges this, occasionally mentioning it in notes, as well as in the preface. But as the translation has been read and approved by Professor Fung, there can be little objection. There are also translations from ancient sources which may be questioned, while phrases and sentences have been omitted without any indication that this has been done. For example, in the quotation from the life of Hsün Tzu, from the *Shih chi* (p. 279), the clause explaining why Hsün Tzu lost his position has been deleted without remark. The reviewer has not noticed anything of this sort which would seriously affect our confidence in the translation, and here again Dr. Bodde is protected by the approval of Professor Fung.

The book is typically Chinese. After a general sentence or two follows quotation after quotation, until it is difficult at times to remember what thesis the quotations are illustrating. Occasionally one wishes that there was more of Professor Fung, and less of the classics. But on the other hand, the richness of the quotations is often a great asset, especially the quotations from untranslated authors like Han Fei and Shen Tzu. Dr. Bodde is mistaken in listing the *Chia yü* as an untranslated source, for most if not all of it was translated by A. B. Hutchinson in early numbers of the *Chinese Recorder* (Vols. IX and X).

While there is little that will be startling to sinologists, scholars who deal with Chinese culture at second-hand in courses in history, religion, and philosophy may be surprised to find what the opinions of modern critical Chinese scholarship are: that Confucius was the

first real philosopher in China, and did not compose the *Spring and Autumn Annals*; that the *Tao teh ching* probably dates from the fourth century B. C., etc. The author assumes a knowledge of Chinese critical scholarship which westerners do not possess, and Dr. Bodde has wisely added explanatory paragraphs from time to time. It should be remembered also that Professor Fung's opinion is not necessarily final. For example, his view that the trigrams of the *Book of Changes* were not in existence during the Shang period (p. 379) is questionable, and the supporting argument that the Shang used only the tortoise-shell in divination is weak.

An American student of philosophy would probably find Forke's *Geschichte der alten chinesischen Philosophie*, which ought to have been mentioned in the bibliography, more convenient to use, but Professor Fung's work is more inclusive, more accurate, and more critical. One is especially thankful for the sections dealing with the legalists, with the "Hundred Schools," with the dialecticians, and with the writings and compilations of the Han period.

The use of the word philosophy in the title may be somewhat misleading to technical philosophers in the west. Much of the material consists of judgments on politics, moral questions, and even ritual and music. Filial piety and the feudal system of government would hardly be considered technical philosophy in the west. Hu Shih has attempted to show the underlying philosophic basis for these things more thoroughly than Fung Yu-lan, and to correlate and compare them with western categories. He compares the "Rectification of Names" with Plato's theory of ideas, and brackets Kung-sun Lung with Zeno. Professor Fung has largely abandoned this method, and as a result might be more difficult for a western scholar unacquainted with Chinese culture to handle. But there is compensation in the fact that he gives us a purely Chinese approach. This is the way an eminent Chinese scholar, with modern training, looks upon the history of the thought of his nation, and Dr. Bodde has performed a great service in offering it to the English-speaking world.

*China's First Unifier* is a critical historical study of an important but neglected period, that of the brief Ch'in dynasty, in which the Chinese states were first molded into an empire, and foundation laid for all future dynasties. The volume does not pretend to give a complete picture of this period, but views it primarily through the medium of the life of its greatest statesman,



Li Ssu. As a result, while all the material dealing with Li Ssu is carefully considered, there is naturally other material, particularly that to be found in untranslated biographies of the *Shih chi*, which might affect the final judgment upon the Ch'in dynasty, and either has not been used, or has been used only to sketch in the background. However, this is in no sense a criticism of the study, but merely indicates its necessary limitations. And although more work remains to be done before we can be even approximately satisfied with our knowledge of the Ch'in, Dr. Bodde has given us a survey which is far superior to anying previously existing in western languages, and particularly the exhaustive study of a man whose life would have been significant in any civilization.

The greatest defect of the book is a natural result of the emphasis upon its hero. Li Ssu was a minister of Ch'in Shih-huang. In this volume he completely overshadows his emperor, who is described as "impetuous, easily swayed in his emotions, and grossly superstitious, a temperament often characteristic of the powerful but uncultured conqueror." This sweeping characterization is unfair to a man who may have been cruel, vicious, and immoral, but was certainly great. The relation between the emperor and his minister was not that between Louis XIII and Richelieu, but rather that between Napoleon and Talleyrand. The able minister offered advice, but it was the emperor whose judgment accepted or rejected that advice, and who must take the responsibility. In the Burning of the Books, for example, the policy opposed by Li Ssu was ably presented to the emperor, but rejected. The sources for the period were written by men who hated both Ch'in Shih-huang and Li Ssu, even though they tried to be fair, and a true picture of the emperor must be inferred from the facts, rather than from the judgments of the historians. Li Ssu succeeded because he was supported by a great ruler, and he fell when that ruler was succeeded by a weakling. Li Ssu made a mistake in putting that weakling on the throne. Ch'in Shih-huang made no mistakes in applying his principles politically, and surrounded himself with many able men whose capacities were a tribute to his own greatness. And it is not altogether fair to emphasize the stories of "superstition," for the adepts whom the emperor patronized were the scientists of their day, even though history has proved them to have been wrong. There is no evidence for the emperor being un-

cultured, as there is for Liu Pang, and we may assume, on the contrary, that he was an educated man. This appears to be the only serious defect of a fine piece of work, but one slight error may be noticed. On page 7, Dr. Bodde says that Ch'in probably introduced cavalry into China, and cites Maspero as his authority. The generally accepted opinion is that this was done by the state of Chao, in which Hunnic influences were particularly strong (Hirth, *Ancient History of China*, p. 273).

As a whole, the book is a valuable study, and Dr. Bodde has shown himself to be a capable and a critical scholar.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

Philadelphia.

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*The Chinese Kinship System.* By HAN YI FENG. (Reprint from *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, Vol 2.) Philadelphia: 1937. 129 pp.

This is the first systematic treatment of Chinese kinship terminology. It is a comprehensive presentation of the terminology (found in literary sources) through the long history of Chinese civilization, and can be used by those interested in the Chinese family along lines of their own interests.

Feng, in his dissertation, has done a piece of research which is commendable from many aspects. The volume contains material which is usable. It is presented clearly and concisely. Unfortunately, he has combined the theoretical aspects of the study with a presentation of the data. They should have been kept distinct.

He has fallen into the trap so many have before him, of treating China as a single culture, when in reality the periphery, if not the center, has many variations. Feng mentions this factor but fails to see its significance (p. 159): "alternative terms are those that can be used synonymously with the prevalent forms. The adoption of the one or the other depends entirely upon local customs and individual proclivities."

Instead of explaining the systematic working of kinship over time—and China is the best place we can ever hope to find so full a source material to test the dynamics of culture—he has taken the traditional working found in the stereotyped sources and explained

away the variants (p. 179): "The specifications of these grades have fluctuated much from period to period; certain grades have been dropped or added in conformity with the eccentricities of particular periods. Although the specifications may thus have changed, the fundamental principles which underlie these specifications have remained constant." It is in this manner that Feng has made his mistakes. It is just these fluctuations and "eccentricities" which, when analysed, will give us the key to the solutions. The correlations, wherever possible, between the fluctuations and the changing institutionalizations are the important things once the "constants" have been established. But he throws out the fluctuations and adheres to the central theme without seeing that the central theme is basic and exists through time, and that the fluctuations are due to changing conditions.

He presents some outstanding correlations with the marriage practices through time in a superficial manner (p. 195): "The various connotations of the term *chiu* in Period 1 are perfectly intelligible from the point of view of cross-cousin marriage, as discussed above. In such marriage, the mother's brother and husband's father is the same person, so also the mother's brother and the wife's father. In period II the cross-cousin marriage was dropped, and consequently the meaning of *chiu* became confined to mother's brother." If he had pushed this part of the investigation further, he would have achieved some additional correlations; but every time he establishes some correlation between the forms of marriage and the kinship terminology, he endeavors to show that marriage had no place in the Chinese Kinship system. This is due to his thinking of marriage as a causal factor in kinship systems, along the lines set down by Lewis H. Morgan instead of as biological relationship, as it is thought of today.

His discussion of marriage historically in relation to the kinship terminology is full of contradictions. He omits the functional correlations at specific times. He states that marriage between individuals who are related brings about conflict in the usages of the terms. This means that there is a conflict between a past marriage (the terms resulting from the biological relationships) and this present marriage (the terms resulting from the new relationship). On p. 183 he states: "Cross-cousin marriage is permitted, but not encouraged, in modern China. On the other hand, how-

ever, it is desirable, because it increases the number of relationships and knits the bonds more closely." Here Feng is stating that biological relationship, sexual mating, marriage, or whatever one calls it, is the means of denoting relationships. He says that on the basis of the marriage the relatives will be closely bound by relationship ties. Again on p. 190: ". . . a feudal lord was not allowed to marry the noble women of his own estate, because, theoretically, everyone within his feudal estate was his subject, and if the lord were married to any women in his own state, her parents would automatically be a generation higher than he and thus could no longer be his subjects." This is an example of how marriage is a causal factor in kinship.

He cites the practice of the marriage of a man to his wife's brother's daughter, sororate, levirate, cross-cousin and other forms of marriage with the correlating terminology and social usages. He states that all social theorists acknowledge the importance of affinal terminology for analysis. Then he fails to see the importance and to make use of these advances in kinship work. In other ways also he shows an acquaintance but not a familiarity with the kinship theorists.

On p. 189, he calls the marriage of a man to his wife's sister or wife's brother's daughter "legalized incest" when in reality there is no blood relationship between a man and the members of his affinal family (unless the relationship existed before the marriage). If such a union were incestuous, it would also be incestuous to marry your wife. She is just as distant a relative as her sister or brother's daughter.

After definitely establishing many cases of correlations of marriage with the kinship terminology through history, he finally gets to the discussion of teknonymy. In order to make a strong case for teknonymy as a cause of the Chinese kinship system, the other aspects of the subject are neglected, warped, or scanted. Granted that teknonymy is important in the Chinese kinship system, which terms are used for wife's brother, wife's sister, husband's brother, and so on, before they are married and especially before they have any children? How did these terms come about? Teknonymy is based upon the recognition of biological relationships, and without sexual mating there would be no biological relationships. His emphasis upon teknonymy per se is unwarranted.

One of the best sources for information about China is the district gazeteers. Feng failed to cite from any of these. If a gazeteer had been used, and only one, and the practices through the ages had been correlated with the social usages such as marriage, inheritance, teknonymy, etc., it is possible that a continuous picture portraying the functioning of the culture and the interrelational causes for the changes could be presented.

In his historical work and the bringing together of the terms, he has shown real ability; in his interpretations there is a lack of understanding of the many theoretical views of today and a failure to apply the latest insights to his study.

It is hoped that Feng will proceed further with work on the structure of Chinese society. He has done a real job and with this beginning, it is hoped he will present additional data, with the variants. His interpretations should then have more far-reaching results.

BERNARD W. AGINSKY.

Columbia University.

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*Monumenta Nipponica: Studies on Japanese Culture, Past and Present.* Semi-annual periodical, edited by Dr. J. B. KRAUS. Tokyo: SOPHIA UNIVERSITY. Vol. I, no. 1; January, 1938. Plates, illus. Annual subscription Yen 10.00.

In the "Aims and objectives," the editor states: "Primarily the Journal hopes to lay open to a wide circle, chiefly composed of American and European readers, the typical values of the Japanese tradition. At the same time it desires to unite those scholars, who may be interested in the many aspects of Far Eastern culture." The Journal is to be of a purely scientific character, and all contributions and papers must somehow bear reference to the Far Eastern cultural problem, preferably in so far as it pertains to the Japanese. In addition to original research, much space will be given to the translation of valuable source material. A special feature of the *Monumenta Nipponica* is to be the most careful consideration of the history of the century A. D. 1550-1650 in Japan.

The first issue of the Journal more than fulfills the editor's aims and objectives. Dr. Karl Florenz's translation of a *No* play en-

titled *Manjû* or *Nakamitsu* by Seami Motokiyo (1363-1444) brings out pathos and sufferings of a soul torn between the loyalty to his lord and his own paternal love, which the previous translators failed in handling. It is most appropriate that Dr. Florenz's work should head the list of distinguished scholars in Japanese studies. In 1889 he was invited to the Tokyo Imperial University as lecturer in German literature, and at once his personality and scholarship attracted a group of young Japanese about him who became strong exponents of German literature. Japanese culture, however, converted this youthful German scholar into the most ardent student of Japanese, and for almost half a century Dr. Florenz has devoted his energy to introducing the Japanese classics to the West. English readers have been fortunate in having Basil Hall Chamberlain as an interpreter of Japan, and Germans as well as Japanese are greatly indebted to Dr. Karl Florenz.

Georges Bonneau's "*Le Problème de la poésie Japonaise: technique et tradition*" touches upon such interesting topics as alliteration, assonance, and various patterns of poetic forms. Alfons Kleiser's "*P. Alexander Valignanis Gesandtschaftsreise nach Japan zum Quambacudono Toyotomi Hideyoshi, 1588-1591*" and Henri Bernard's "*Les Débuts des relations diplomatiques entre le Japon et les Espagnols des îles Philippines (1571-1594)*" are of utmost importance to students of Japanese history and culture. Sir George B. Sansom raises in his article some fundamental problems in the study of Japanese history. He maintains, and justly so, that Western approach and methods must be different from those of Japanese scholars. The mere physical difficulties of palaeography and epigraphical studies are enough to discourage a foreign student who wishes to do original work in those branches. The same is true of textual criticism. Accepting the results of Japanese research, Western scholars with their different habits of thoughts and minds, can delve into the Oriental culture deeper than otherwise. Every student of Japanese should read the present article by this eminent scholar.

The Journal is divided into Articles, Translations, Brief Notes, and Reviews of Books and Periodicals. The list of addresses of the collaborators in the issue on the inside of the back cover is very useful.

SHIO SAKANISHI.

*Complete Course of Japanese Conversation-Grammar: A New and Practical Method of Learning the Japanese Language.* By ORESTE VACCARI and ENKO ELISA VACCARI. Tôkyô: The AUTHORS, 1937. Pp. xxx + 508.

A textbook is ordinarily reviewed before it has been tried out in the classroom and consequently it is apt to be over- rather than underestimated. This review is based on a semester's use of the book in the beginning Japanese class for Occidentals of the Oriental Institute, University of Hawaii.

Hitherto most Japanese grammars have used *Rômazi* or *Rôhazi* and *kana* during the early stages of the language. All too often the student is led to believe that he has the elements of Japanese when he has acquired a minimal vocabulary and can write it in *Rômazi* and the two Japanese syllabaries. The other common approach is almost equally bad, that is, when the Japanese primary-school readers are used as the basic texts. It lies in the nature of things that the reading matter is infantile in the earlier volumes. Later after a fair reading knowledge of Japanese has been obtained from the Vaccari grammar, every student should go back and read through the *tokuhon* for background, for historical and nursery allusions will often be lost on the foreigner who has not done this. The authors of this grammar have met the first criticism by never introducing a Japanese word without its *kana*, *kanzi*, and *Rômazi* forms. This applies not only to the vocabularies but also to the exercises and the grammatical explanations. One who does not care to learn the characters may complete the course without learning a one, but a reading knowledge of a few thousand may be obtained by a serious student with a minimum of effort. They are taught naturally, as words or parts of words, and not as things-in-themselves with such strings of English equivalents after them as must surprise any student who learns characters as characters: 經 "warp, meridian, larger blood vessels, menses, nerve, rule of conduct, rule, law, classical book, canon, sûtra, prayer; regulate, follow a path, pass along, pass; past, already."

The vocabulary is ultra-modern. A student completing this book will be better equipped to understand current conversation and literature than users of any earlier work. The authors have not hesitated to use *kango* in greater numbers than in any Japanese

textbook to date. During the first twenty lessons characters and *katakana* are used; during the remaining forty lessons characters and *hiragana*. Each exercise consists of three parts: The same sentences are given in *Rômazi* in the first part, in *kana-maziribun* in the second, and in English translation in the third.

There are five major defects in the book in addition to too little care in the proofreading. The Romanization adopted is the so-called Hepburn system most in use. The differences between it and the *Nipponsiki* (Japanese) and the *Kokutei* (Official) should have been explained. The reviewer feels that the *Kokutei* (officially approved by the Ministry of Education in June, 1936, after six years' study) should have been adopted outright, since it has the main advantages of both the other systems. It agrees with the Hepburn (English) system in being based on the Tôkyô dialect and with the *Nipponsiki* in being based on a Japanese rather than a bastard English-Italian analysis of the phonemic system.

One of the worst features pedagogically is the inconsistent *kana* spelling. Some of the confusion no doubt has been brought about by the tendency in Japan in recent years to experiment with a phonetic *kana* orthography. The change was so drastic that the opposition forced a compromise and the nation is now thoroughly confused. The authors should have kept the traditional *kana* spelling until these matters have been settled in Japan, since a page of explanation and tables is all that is required to convert the *Rômazi* into phonetic *kana* spelling. There are numerous inexcusable cases of inconsistency such as 云ウ and 云ヒ side by side on page 51. A new edition of this grammar should by all means employ a consistent orthography.

The Japanese grammatical system is analyzed from without rather than from within. The various Japanese means of translating *one* ("indefinite pronoun") are all classified as indefinite pronouns. Similarly, *wa* and *ga* (pp. 1 and 141 ff.) are both said to "indicate the nominative case" since, when translated into English, the nominative of pronouns and the quasi-nominative of nouns usually correspond to *wa* or *ga*. If the word "case" must be used here, there should be a terminology based on the forms of Japanese, in other words, a *ga*-case (subjective?) and a *wa*-case (absolutive?). The *ga* and *wa* "cases" are just as distinct as the *no*, *de*, *ni*, (*wo*) and other cases are from each other and from *wa*. The verbs



require a complete reanalysis and reinterpretation. The authors have done better, however, within the conventional alien bounds than most of their predecessors.

No rules are given for the writing of characters or for the counting of strokes for the purpose of dictionary consultation.

Except as illustrations in the grammatical section of each lesson, isolated sentences should give way to connected reading very early in the course and not wait till the sixtieth lesson has been reached.

More emphasis has been laid on the book's defects than on its virtues in the hope that a second edition will have the improvements mentioned. If one wishes to acquire a reading knowledge of Japanese by himself, this book is easily the best available. It can be finished in one year in college, three hours a week, two devoted to the lessons proper and one to writing, dictionary practice, and theoretical problems.

DENZEL CARR.

Oriental Institute,  
University of Hawaii.

*China and the World War.* By THOMAS EDWARD LAFARGUE.  
Hoover War Library Publications, No. 12. STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1937. x + 278 pp., map.

The story of China's relation to the World War of 1914-1918 is worth telling. As all the world knows, the developments in China were among the most important of that tragic and stirring era and led directly to the Washington Conference and contributed to the subsequent crisis in the Far East. The story had repeatedly been told. Indeed, another book exists, by W. R. Wheeler, with precisely the same title. However, none of these accounts is definitive. Mr. Wheeler's book was completed a few weeks before the armistice and so could not include the Paris Conference or the Treaty of Versailles or take account of many important pertinent documents not then accessible. Other accounts are mere summaries or are detailed studies of particular phases. A real need exists for a sober, critical inclusive work which is based upon all the documentary evidence now available.

It is this study which Dr. LaFargue has given us. His book is comprehensive. It begins with the outbreak of the war and ends,

as is proper, with the settlement reached at Paris. It is primarily a history of the diplomatic side of the story. To military operations it devotes only a minor part of its space and it tells only enough domestic politics to place the diplomatic developments in their setting. It has practically nothing to say of the striking new intellectual and literary movements which were appearing in the China of that day. This concentration, however, is commendable, for the story as Dr. LaFargue has set himself to narrate it belongs together and can easily and properly be segregated in the fashion in which he has told it. Moreover, this is what the title very properly leads us to expect.

Dr. LaFargue has based his account squarely upon original documents. Among these he has included material in Japanese as well as that in Western languages. Naturally some documents are not yet available to scholars. The author has, however, been diligent in examining whatever can now be opened to him.

Dr. LaFargue writes objectively. He has no particular thesis which he wishes to prove. He presents no revolutionary interpretations. He sees the Japanese position and presents it fairly, but he does not argue for it. His judgments are temperate and conservative. The choice of documents for the appendices is judicious and the bibliography and index excellent. Only one minor mistake has caught the reviewer's eye. On p. 181 C. T. Wang should have been put down as graduating from Yale in 1910 and not in 1911. Dr. LaFargue is to be congratulated on a monograph which is not only useful in itself, but which also gives promise of a fruitful scholarly career. Here is one more evidence of the rising tide of American Far Eastern scholarship.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

Yale University.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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Since the last meeting of the Society the following have been elected to corporate membership in it:

Mr. Paul H. Gebhard.  
Mr. H. L. Goodhart.  
Mr. Wayne A. Kalenich.  
Rev. W. A. Mather.  
Prof. Edward D. Myers.

Mr. Mayer Newman.  
Mrs. Jean Reischauer.  
Mr. Frank G. Williston.  
Dr. Karl A. Wittfogel.

Not all of those elected have as yet qualified for membership.

Dr. Truman Michelson died in Washington July 26, 1938.

The Society will be represented at the Twentieth International Congress of Orientalists at Brussels in September by Professors W. F. Albright, J. J. Obermann, Henry Field, and Nathaniel Reich.

The Society will be represented at the meeting of the Society for Old Testament Study, Oxford, September 20-23, by Professor W. F. Albright.

By action of the Executive Committee Mr. Bernhard Knollenberg, who succeeded Professor Andrew Keogh as librarian of Yale University on June 30, has been elected the librarian of the Society for the year 1938-39.

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PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
**American Oriental Society**

AT THE MEETING AT PHILADELPHIA, 1938

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The One Hundred and Fiftieth Meeting of the Society was held at Philadelphia, Pa., on April 19, 20, 21, 1938, at the occasion of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Philadelphia Oriental Club upon the invitation of the Club, the University of Pennsylvania, the University Museum, Haverford College and Dropsie College. Sessions were held at each of the inviting institutions. The following were among the members who participated in the sessions:

C. Adler	M. S. Enslin	H. F. Jayne
W. F. Albright	K. C. Evans	E. J. Jurji
L. C. Barret	N. A. Faris	A. E. Kane
G. R. Berry	E. M. Gale	G. A. Kennedy
C. J. Blair	Miss G. E. Gaskill	R. G. Kent
S. H. Blank	Miss M. J. Gates	A. Keogh
H. Borton	H. S. Gehman	E. Klein
G. W. Briggs	H. L. Ginsberg	W. C. Klein
R. S. Britton	H. W. Glidden	C. H. Kraeling
Mrs. N. L. Brookens	A. Goetze	E. G. Kraeling
W. N. Brown	L. C. Goodrich	H. M. G. Labatt-Simon
L. Bull	C. H. Gordon	T. E. LaFargue
M. Burrows	W. C. Graham	W. R. Leete
E. E. Calverley	M. Graves	K. F. Leidecker
Miss M. E. Cameron	Miss L. W. Hackney	J. Lewy
D. A. J. Cardozo	Miss E. A. Hahn	F. K. Li
Y. Z. Chang	A. S. Halkin	Miss I. Lichtenstädter
W. E. Clark	Miss A. R. Hall	A. H. Lybyer
A. K. Coomaraswamy	R. B. Hall	W. S. McCullough
Miss D. Cross	C. H. Hamilton	W. M. McGovern
I. H. DeLong	D. G. Haring	I. G. Matthews
P. E. Dengler	Z. S. Harris	T. J. Meek
Mrs. A. S. DeWitt	L. Hartman	Mrs. B. C. Merrill
H. H. Dubs	G. Herzog	T. Michelson
P. E. Dumont	P. K. Hitti	G. C. Miles
G. S. Duncan	P. E. Huffman	J. A. Montgomery
I. Dyen	A. W. Hummel	R. N. Montgomery
Miss E. S. Eaton	H. P. Hurd	H. A. Moran
F. Edgerton	Miss M. I. Hussey	J. Morgenstern

V. Müller	A. Sachs	W. F. Stinespring
J. K. Musgrave, Jr.	Miss S. Sakanishi	E. H. Sturtevant
E. J. Nathan	H. S. Santesson	Miss N. L. Swann
A. A. Newman	G. Sarton	G. R. Taylor
J. J. Obermann	N. Schmidt	M. Titiev
C. J. Ogden	B. Schwartz	C. C. Torrey
H. M. Orlinsky	O. Shimizu	G. Vernadsky
C. H. Peake	J. K. Shryock	J. Wach
T. C. Petersen	M. A. Simsar	J. V. Walsh
S. Phelps	S. L. Skoss	J. R. Ware
H. I. Poleman	Miss L. P. Smith	L. Waterman
E. H. Pritchard	Miss M. W. Smith	Miss E. Weil
J. B. Pritchard	E. A. Speiser	W. G. Williams
N. J. Reich	A. Sperber	G. E. Wright
J. Reider	Miss D. Stehle	J. K. Yamagiwa
Mrs. D. J. Reisman	F. J. Stephens	H. B. Young

## THE FIRST SESSION

The first session of the meeting was called to order by President L. Waterman at 10 a. m., April 19, in the Auditorium of the University Museum.

### A. BUSINESS MEETING

Prof. I. G. Matthews reported on behalf of the Committee on Arrangements concerning the plans made for the Society's entertainment.

### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

After certain remarks of an informal nature the Secretary presented his report as follows:

1. The Society was officially represented in the past year at the Centenary Celebration of Mt. Holyoke College, at the 100th anniversary of the birth of Daniel G. Brinton, at the 150th anniversary of Franklin and Marshall College, at the Ninth All-India Conference at Trivandrum, India, at the 50th anniversary of the University of Allahabad, and at the recent meetings of the American Philosophical Society and the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

2. Our membership has risen in the past year from 658 to 713. Since the last meeting 102 persons have qualified for membership in the Society, but no less than 47 were lost by death, resignation and removal from the rolls due to non-payment of dues.

3. We mourn the death of four honorary members and 14 distinguished corporate members of the Society. The following are the names of those of whose loss we have been apprised.

## Honorary Members:

Prof. Adolf Erman  
 Prof. Hermann Jacobi

Père M. J. Lagrange  
 Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin

## Corporate and Life Members:

Prof. R. Butin  
 Dr. F. C. Eiselen  
 Dr. Eva Fiesel  
 Mrs. John B. Gilfillan  
 Prof. A. V. W. Jackson—a  
   member since 1885  
 Capt. Samuel Johnson  
 Sir Reginald F. Johnston

Mr. Robert H. McCord  
 Dr. Alphonse Mingana  
 Dr. Ellen S. Ogden  
 Prof. E. Delavan Perry—a  
   member since 1879  
 Rev. Dr. S. Prentice  
 Dr. Robert K. Reischauer  
 Mr. Felix Warburg

4. The present year marks the 50th year of the membership in the Society of two persons:

Prof. George A. Barton

Prof. John Dyneley Prince

CARL H. KRAELING.

It was voted that the report be received.

It was voted that the Secretary be instructed to send the Society's greetings to Professors G. A. Barton and J. D. Prince at the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of their membership in the Society.

## MINUTES ON THE DEATH OF MEMBERS

Dr. L. Bull presented a minute on the death of Prof. A. Erman, which is printed in the JOURNAL, Vol. 58, p. 413.

Dr. C. J. Ogden presented the following minute on the death of former President A. V. W. Jackson:

A. V. Williams Jackson died at his home in New York City on August 8, 1937, after several years of gradually failing health.

He was born in New York on February 9, 1862, and throughout his career was connected with Columbia University. After being graduated from the college, he pursued advanced studies, receiving the Ph. D. degree in 1886, and thenceforth served as a member of the teaching staff. In 1895 he became Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages, retiring as Professor Emeritus in 1935.

His special field was Persia, Zoroastrianism, the Parsis, to which in later years he added Manichaeism. His reputation was international. India and Persia were well known to him from seven journeys of study and exploration, some of which extended into Central Asia. His climb up to the great inscription of Darius on the Rock of Behistan was the first made to study it since the time of Rawlinson, its original copier and publisher. The Parsi communities in India showed him high honors. The Shah of Persia conferred upon him a decoration. The University at

Teheran awarded to him an honorary degree. Again and again Parsis came to New York to study with him as a master of their own field.

He was the author of several important volumes of research and travel, his most celebrated work being probably his *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, and of many articles and reviews on Iranian and other topics. He belonged to many learned societies and associations and was an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society and of the Société Asiatique. He became a member of the American Oriental Society in 1885, and for half a century participated actively in its work. From 1908 to 1915 he was Corresponding Secretary, for many years he served on its Board of Directors, twice he was its President (1915-16, 1929-30). But eminent as he was in the scholarly field, he will be remembered equally well as the exponent of humane culture. None met him but recognized his personal charm; none enjoyed his converse even briefly but felt for him a real affection. His death is a loss both of a leader in scholarship and of a treasured and beloved friend.

CHARLES J. OGDEN,  
ROLAND G. KENT.

The minute was adopted by a rising vote and the Secretary instructed to send a copy of it to Mrs. Jackson.

Prof. M. Burrows presented the following minute on the death of Mr. Warburg:

Felix M. Warburg had been a life member of the American Oriental Society since 1921. He was a well known banker and philanthropist, but was also greatly devoted to the cause of education, of higher learning, of the fine arts and of music, and particularly in recent years he interested himself in Palestinian archaeology and notably supported the work of the American School at Jerusalem.

He was born in Hamburg on January 14, 1871, and died in New York on October 20, 1937.

His loss is deplored by this Society and by all those who loved the fine and noble things in life.

C. ADLER,  
M. BURROWS.

The minute was adopted by a rising vote.

#### REPORT OF THE EDITORS

Prof. W. N. Brown presented the following as the report of the Editors of the Society's publications:

During the year 1937-38 the editors have published parts 2, 3, and 4 of Volume 57 of the Society's JOURNAL, and part 1 of Volume 58. The total number of pages is 537. The current issue (Volume 58, number 1)

is issued in honor of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Oriental Club of Philadelphia, and is financed jointly by that Club and the Society.

The editors have also published volumes 10 and 11 of the American Oriental Series: *Movable Property in the Nuzi Documents*, by Dorothy Cross; and *The Study of Human Abilities: The Jen wu chih of Liu Shao*, by John K. Shryock. The latter volume was published with the aid of a subvention from the American Council of Learned Societies. Volume 12 of the American Oriental Series is now in process of publication: *A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, by Horace I. Poleman. It also is being published with the aid of a subvention from the American Council of Learned Societies. Other volumes have been submitted for the Series, and are under consideration.

W. NORMAN BROWN,  
E. A. SPEISER,  
J. K. SHRYOCK.

It was voted to receive the report.

#### REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

Prof. A. Keogh presented the following as the report of the Society's Librarian:

During the year 1937-38, 144 volumes and 292 numbers of periodicals have been added to the Library. Of the periodicals, 263 were in continuance of sets already in the Library; 29 represent titles new to the Library. Four new titles have been added to the list of exchanges: Canton University Library Quarterly, Adyar Library Bulletin, Annual Report of the Director of Archaeology of Baroda (State) and the Gaekwad's Archaeological Series. Fifty-eight volumes have been forwarded to the Editors of the JOURNAL for purposes of review. One hundred eighteen volumes, representing for the most part sets in frequent use and important monographs have been bound. In addition to this routine work, the official letters and correspondence of Doctors Jackson and Gottheil, recently deposited in the Library, have been sorted, indexed, and filed with other archives of the Society.

The cataloguing of books, pamphlets and periodicals is up to date.

The following is the list of accessions for the year:

- Abū Sa'īd Manṣūr ibn al-Ḥusain. Arabian wit and wisdom [by] C. A. Owen. 1934. (Publ. of the American Oriental Society. Offprint series, no. 3.)
- Adyar library, Madras. Adyar library bulletin. [1937]
- Alekseev, V. M. La littérature chinoise. 1937. (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, t. 52)
- All-India oriental conference, 9th, Trivandrum. [Three addresses] 1937. 3v.
- American philosophical society. Catalogue of manuscript and printed documents, chiefly Americana. 1937.



- Amsterdam. Koloniaal instituut. *Bulletin of the Colonial institute of Amsterdam*. v. 1, no. 1-2. 1937-38.
- ['Anān Ishō'] *Stories of the holy fathers*. Comp. by Athanasius, Paladius, Saint Jerome, and others. Now tr. out of the Syriac with notes and introduction by Sir E. A. W. Budge. 1934.
- Annuario di studi ebraici, diretto da Umberto Cassuto. v. I, 1934. 1935.
- Appayya Dikṣita. *The Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha*. Ed. by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri. v. II. 1937. (Madras. Univ. Publ. of the Dept. of Indian philosophy, no. 4)
- Athār-é Irān; annales du Service archéologique de l'Iran. T. 1, fasc. 1. [1936]
- Baroda (State). Director of archaeology. *Annual report, 1934-35*. By Dr. Hirananda Sastri. 1936.
- Besault, L. de. President Trujillo. [1936]
- Bhīṣmaparwa. Aanteekeningen bij het Oud-javaansche Bhīṣmaparwa door dr. J. Gonda. 1937. (Bibliotheca Javanica, 7a)
- Bible. *The Old Testament*, tr. by a group of scholars under the editorship of J. M. P. Smith; *the New Testament*, tr. by E. J. Goodspeed. [1935]
- Bibliographie marocaine, 1923-1933. [1934?]
- Binyon, L. *Chinese art and Buddhism*. [1936] (British academy. Annual lecture on aspects of art. Henriette Hertz trust)
- Blachère, R. *Un poète arabe du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire*. Abou-ṭ-Tayyib al-Motanabbī. 1935.
- Boucheman, A. de. *Une petite cité caravanière: Suḥné*. [1937?] (Documents d'études orientales de l'Institut français de Damas. [t. VI])
- Brandstetter, R. *Wir Menschen der indonesischen Erde*. XI. Die Verwandtschaft des Indonesischen mit dem Indogermanischen. 1937.
- Brierre-Narbonne, J. J. *Exégèse talmudique des prophéties messianiques*. 1934.
- Burstein, A. *Religious parties in Israel*. 1936.
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- Celebration of the eight hundredth birthday of Moses Mainonides, 1135-1935—4895-5695. [1935?]
- Christensen, A. *Les gestes des rois*. 1936. (Université de Paris. Conférences Ratanbai Katrak III)
- *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*. 1936.
- [Clay, A. T.] *Bibliography of Morris Jastrow*. [Comp. by A. T. Clay and J. A. Montgomery, 1910.
- Contemporary Manchuria*. v. 1, no. 1, 4. 1937.
- A Coptic gnostic treatise contained in the Codex Brucianus*. A translation from the Coptic: transcript and commentary by C. A. Baynes. 1933.
- Coyajee, J. C. *The future of Zoroastrianism*. [1936?]
- Cross, D. *Movable property in the Nuzi documents*. 1937. (American oriental series, v. 10)
- Davidson, D. S. *A preliminary consideration of aboriginal Australian decorative art*. 1937. (American philosophical society. *Memoirs*. v. 9)

- Davidson, D. S. Snowshoes. 1937. (American philosophical society. Memoirs. v. 6)
- Deshpande, K. The child in ancient India. 1936.
- Eliade, M. *Alchimia asiatica*. I. 1935.
- *Yoga*. 1936. (Bibliothèque de philosophie roumaine)
- Fêng, Han-chi. Black magic in China known as ku [by] H. Y. Feng und J. K. Shryock. 1935. (Publ. of the American oriental society. Offprint series, no. 5)
- Firdausi. *DASTANI CəND əZ SAHNAMƏJE* [ed. by M. A. Manāf-Zāde.] 1935.
- Fish, T. *ed. & tr.* Letters of the first Babylonian dynasty in the John Rylands library, Manchester. 1936.
- Frahang i pahlavik, ed. by H. F. J. Junker. 1912.
- Friedmann, H. Birds collected by the Childs Frick expedition to Ethiopia. Pt. 2. 1930. (U. S. National museum. Bulletin 153)
- Fyze, A. A. A. The Ismaili law of wills. 1933.
- Ġāmi 'al-Ḥaqā' i q bi-Taġrid al-'Ala' i q. Origen y texto por M. J. Casas y Manrique. 1937.
- Goldberg, L. *Das samaritanische Pentateuchtargum. Eine Untersuchung seiner handschriftlichen Quellen*. 1935. (Bonner orientalistische Studien, Hft. 11)
- Goodenough, E. R. *By light, light*. 1935.
- Grant, J. C. B. *Anthropometry of the Beaver, Sekani, and Carrier Indians*. 1936. (Canada. Dept. of mines and resources. Bulletin no. 81. Anthropol. series, no. 18)
- Gravely, F. H. *An outline of Indian temple architecture*. 1936. (Madras. Govt. mus. Bull. New series. General section, v. 3, pt. 2)
- Gt. Brit. India office. Library. *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts*. v. II. [Pt.] II. *Šūfism and ethics*, by A. J. Arberry; v. III *Fiqh*, by R. Levy. 1936-37. 2v.
- Halkin, A. S. *The Ḥashwiyya*. 1934. (Publ. of the American oriental society. Offprint series, no. 3)
- Hambly, W. D. *Skeletal material from San José ruin, British Honduras*. 1937. (Anthropol. series, Field museum of natural history. v. XXV, no. 1. Publ. 380)
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- Henning, W. *Ein manichäisches Bet- und Beichtbuch*. 1937.
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- Jabagi, M. *ed.* Textes populaires inguš. 1935.
- Jacobsen, T. Sennacherib's aqueduct at Jerwan, by T. Jacobson and S. Lloyd. [1935] (University of Chicago Oriental institute publ. v. XXIV)
- Jassinowsky, P. Symphonic poems. English and Hebrew lyrics. English renderings by A. Burstein. 1936.
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- The journal of history of Chinese Buddhism. v. 1, no. 1-2. [1937]
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- Kořínek, J. M. K tak zvanému thráckému nápisu na prstenu ezerovském. 1935.
- Kowalski, T. Les turcs et la langue turque de la Bulgarie du nord-est. 1933. (Prace Komisji orjentalistycznej Polskiej akademji umiejetności, nr. 16. Mémoires de la Commission orientaliste, no. 16)
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- Orton, E. F. Links with past ages. [1935]
- Potseluevskii, A. P. Dialekty turkmenskogo iazyka. 1936.
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- Reich, S. Études sur les villages araméens de l'Anti-Liban. [1937?]
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- Rettig, D. Memar Marqa. 1934. (Bonner orientalistische Studien, Hft. 8)
- Review of religion. v. 1, no. 1, 3, 4; v. 2, no. 1-2. 1936-38.
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- Semenov, A. F. A travers les ruines de la Transcaspie. 1928.
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- Syed, M. A. The origin of the Khojāhs and their religious life today. 1936. (Untersuchungen zur allgemeinen Religionsgeschichte, Hft. 8)
- Tallqvist, K. L. Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlū. [1895] 2v. in 1. (Acta Societatis scientiarum fennicae, t. XX, no. 6)
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- Väisänen, A. O. *ed.* Wogulische und ostjakische Melodien. Phonographisch aufgenommen von A. Kannisto und K. F. Karjalainen. 1937. (Suomalais-ugrilainen seura, Helsingfors. Toimituksia, LXXIII)
- Vijayanagara sexcentenary commemoration volume. Pub. under the auspices of the Vijayanagara empire sexcentary association and Karnatak historical research society, Dharwar. 1936.
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- Wintenberg, W. J. Roebuck prehistoric village site, Grenville county, Ontario. 1936. (Canada. Dept. of mines and resources. Bulletin no. 83. Anthropol. series, no. 19)
- Yano, J. A history of the post-bellum diplomacy of China after the Sino-Japanese war. 1937. (Memoir of Tōhō-bunka-gakuin Kyōto kenkyū-sho, v. 9)
- Young men's Christian association, Harbin, Manchuria. Club of natural science and geography. The annual, v. 1. 1934.
- Zajaczkowski, A. Études sur la langue vieille-osmanlie. 1934. (Prace Komisji orientalistycznej Polskiej akademji umiejętności, nr. 17. Mémoires de la Commission orientaliste, no. 17)
- [Zhi-chin] Miscellany of personal views of an ignorant fool. Gukwanshō, chapter 2-6. Appendix: Shūgyokushū, Gwammon. Tr. by J. Rahder. [1937?]

ANDREW KEOGH.

It was voted that the report be received.

It was voted that the Society take this occasion to express to Prof. Keogh its appreciation of the important services which he has rendered to the Society as its Librarian since 1925.

#### REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

Prof. M. Burrows presented the following as the report of the Auditors:

We hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer and that we believe them to be correct and in accord with the report submitted.

M. BURROWS,  
F. J. STEPHENS.

It was voted to receive the report.

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer submitted the following report upon the Society's finances for the fiscal and calendar year 1937:

## 1. CERTIFICATE OF HOLDINGS

This is to certify that as of December 31, 1937, Yale University is holding for account of the American Oriental Society the following securities:

\$6,000 mortgage on 688-90 Dixwell Avenue, New Haven, Conn.  
 2,000 Morris & Essex 3½s of 2000  
 2,000 Pacific Gas & Electric 4s of 1964  
 2,000 Terminal Railroad Association of St. Louis 4s of 1953  
 2,000 Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates 4s of 1956  
 1,000 Niagara Falls Power 3½s of 1966  
 1,000 American Telephone & Telegraph 3¼s of 1961  
 20 shs. Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific preferred  
 10 " Bankers Trust Company  
 10 " First National Bank of Boston  
 15 " American Telephone & Telegraph Company  
 10 " Chemical Bank & Trust Company  
 5 " Union Pacific Railroad

The cash balance as of December 31, 1937, is \$2,327.50.

Yale University.

By H. J. OSTRANDER, *Cashier*.

## 2. GENERAL BALANCE SHEET. ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

	Book Value Dec. 31, 1936	Book Value Dec. 31, 1937	Market Value Dec. 31, 1937
<i>Assets</i>			
Investments .....	\$20,435.08	\$21,957.39	\$19,067.50 *
Cash Balance.....	2,998.72	2,327.50	2,327.50
Total.....	\$23,433.80	\$24,284.89	\$21,395.00

\* (Market Value of Investments, Dec. 31, 1937)

	Dec. 31, 1936	Dec. 31, 1937
<i>Liabilities</i>		
Trust Funds.....	\$12,772.12	\$13,294.73
Life Membership Fund.....	4,200.00	4,330.00
Reserve Fund.....	2,000.00	2,000.00
JOURNAL Balance.....	43.01	360.91
Monograph Balance.....	2,976.97	3,135.21
Held for Publ. AOS X.....	110.00	
Com. on Research Balance...	41.00	26.00
Credit Monog. Purchase.....		.95

Credit JOURNAL Purchase.....		1.50	
Credit JOURNAL Author.....	1.50		
Due Offprint Author.....	.50	.50	
Due Yale Press (Barton).....		3.00	
Due Waverly Press (Emeneau)		28.11	
Total.....	\$22,145.10	\$23,180.91	\$23,180.91
Surplus .....	1,288.70	1,103.98	
Deficit .....			1,785.91
Total.....	\$23,433.80	\$24,284.89	\$21,395.00

## 3.

## INVESTMENTS

	Date of Purchase	Book Value	Market Value	Yield
<i>Mortgage</i>		\$6,000.00	\$6,000.00	6%
<i>Bonds</i>				
1 Amer. Tel. & Tel.	Oct. 16, '36	1,011.90	1,012.50	3½%
2 East. Gas & Fuel	Mar. 31, '36	1,936.67	1,330.00	4 %
2 Morris & Essex	July 9, '35	1,900.68	1,420.00	3½%
1 Niag. Falls Power	June 25, '36	1,051.47	1,060.00	3½%
2 Pac. Gas & Elec.	July 9, '35	2,096.39	2,190.00	4 %
2 Term. R. R. St. Louis	July 9, '35	2,120.12	2,175.00	4 %
<i>Stocks</i>				
10 Amer. Tel. & Tel.	June 3, '36	1,660.35	1,445.00	\$9.00
5 Amer. Tel. & Tel.	Mch. 29, '37	855.53	722.50	9.00
20 Chic., R. I. & Pac.	Dec. 16, '12	920.00	40.00	default
5 Union Pac. R. R.	Feb. 26, '37	666.78	407.50	\$6.00
10 Chem. Bk. & Trust	Oct. 16, '36	667.50	435.00	1.80
10 Bankers Trust	June 11, '36	605.00	490.00	2.00
10 First Nat. Bk. Boston	June 11, '36	465.00	340.00	2.00
Total.....		\$21,957.39	\$19,067.50	
<i>Interest Collected</i>				
On Cash.....		\$ 88.75		
On Investments.....		930.50		
Total.....		\$1,019.25		
Index Figure on Investments.....		4.23%		



4.

CAPITALIZED FUNDS

*General*

Charles W. Bradley.....	\$ 3,000.00	
Alex F. Cotheal.....	1,500.00	
William D. Whitney.....	1,000.00	
I. M. Casanowicz.....	150.00	
Justin E. Abbott to Dec. 31, '36.....	\$7,122.12	
Completed May 3, '37.....	522.61	
	<hr/>	7,644.73
		<hr/>
		\$13,294.73

*Life Membership Fund*

Total to Dec. 31, 1936.....	\$4,200.00	
Added to Dec. 31, 1937.....	130.00	
	<hr/>	4,330.00

*Reserve Fund*..... 2,000.00

(James B. Nies Fund, \$10,000.00, held in trust, unproductive)

5.

GROSS INCOME AND EXPENDITURES

Cash Balance, Dec. 31, 1936..... \$2,998.72

*Income*

Dues .....	\$2,856.46	
JOURNAL Sales.....	652.44	
Author Charge Collect.....	119.77	
Offprint Sales.....	7.42	
Monograph Sales and Payments.....	571.93	
Subvention (AOS XI).....	750.00	
Interest .....	1,019.25	
Abbott Bequest.....	522.61	
Life Memberships.....	130.00	
Library Catalogue Sales.....	6.66	
Discount on Bill.....	.14	
Addressograph Service Charge.....	4.00	
	<hr/>	6,640.68
		<hr/>
Total.....		\$9,639.40

*Expenditures*

Secretary-Treasurer's Expenses.....	\$ 798.53
Secretary-Treasurer's Honorarium.....	200.00
JOURNAL Publication.....	2,573.44
Editors' Expenses.....	70.92
Editors' Honoraria.....	400.00
Expended for JOURNAL Authors.....	127.97

Offprint Postage and Refunds.....	4.57
Librarian's Account.....	200.89
Monograph Costs.....	1,241.63
Purchase Securities.....	1,522.31
Committee on Research.....	15.00
Committee on Membership.....	31.64
Middle West Branch.....	100.00
ACLS .....	25.00

Total.....	7,311.90
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Cash Balance, Dec. 31, 1937.....	\$2,327.50
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# 6. JOURNAL ACCOUNT

## Income

Balance, Dec. 31, 1936.....	\$ 43.01
Per Budget (Printing).....	2,165.17
Per Budget (Mailing).....	150.00
Per Budget (Honoraria).....	400.00
Sales (Yale Press).....	421.57
Sales (Office).....	230.87

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\$3,410.62

Transferred from Offprint Account.....	2.85
Held, Advance Payment of JOURNAL Authors.....	1.50
Refunds, Journal Authors.....	119.77

Total.....	\$3,534.74
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## Expenditures

Vol. 56, 4	Printing, Mailing.....	\$655.35	
	Review copies.....	4.90	
	Cuts .....	55.41	
		<hr/>	\$ 715.66
Vol. 57, 1	Printing, Mailing.....	\$635.24	
	Cuts .....	46.58	
		<hr/>	681.82
Vol. 57, 2	Printing, Mailing.....	\$586.87	
	Review Copies.....	5.75	
	Cuts .....	30.45	
		<hr/>	623.07
Vol. 57, 3	Printing, Mailing.....	\$528.95	
	Review Copies.....	8.32	
		<hr/>	537.27
Vol. 57, 4	Cuts .....		15.62
		<hr/>	
Total Publication and Mailing Cost..			\$2,573.44

Editors' Expenses.....	42.27	
Office Postage.....	18.05	
Purchase JAOS, Vol. VI.....	2.50	
Addressograph .....	3.10	
	<hr/>	
	\$2,644.36	
Editors' Honoraria.....	400.00	
Expended for JOURNAL Authors.....	127.97	
	<hr/>	
Total Expenditures.....		\$3,172.33
		<hr/>
Remainder .....		362.41
Credit to JOURNAL Purchase.....		1.50
		<hr/>
Balance, Dec. 31, 1937.....		\$ 360.91

7. MONOGRAPH ACCOUNT

Income

Balance Dec. 31, 1936.....	\$2,976.97	
Held for Publ. AOS X.....	110.00	
Subvention AOS XI.....	750.00	
Payment on AOS IX.....	25.00	
Net Sales, Barton.....	12.83	
Gross Sales AOS I-XI.....	533.15	
Advance Payment on Sale.....	95	
	<hr/>	
		\$4,408.90

Expenditures

Costs AOS X .....	\$ 288.37	
AOS XI .....	802.55	
	<hr/>	
	1,090.92	
Reader's Fee (AOS XI).....	20.00	
Storage (AOS IV, VII, VIII).....	17.50	
Transfer to Yale Press (Barton).....	3.00	
Advertising .....	58.81	
Postage and Express.....	46.74	
Supplies .....	4.66	
	<hr/>	
		1,241.63
		<hr/>
Remainder .....		\$3,167.27
Less Credit on Advance Payment.....	\$ .95	
Due Yale Press (Barton transfer).....	3.00	
Due Waverly Press (Emeneau).....	28.11	
	<hr/>	
		32.06
		<hr/>
Balance, Dec. 31, 1937.....		\$3,135.21

## SALES, AMERICAN ORIENTAL SERIES

Volume	Author	Copies Sold	Gross Income	Add. Income
I	Blake .....	9	\$36.78	
II-III	Edgerton .....	2	13.09	
IV	Emeneau .....	8	19.76	
V	Albright .....	20	22.10	
VI	Pfeiffer .....	10	32.06	
VII	Emeneau .....	18	33.75	
VIII	Harris .....	91	260.46	
IX	Barret .....	16	44.82	
X	Cross .....	34	34.69	\$ 5.70
XI	Shryock .....	24	29.94	
			<hr/>	527.45
				<hr/>
				\$ 533.15

## Outstanding Dec. 31, 1937:

In hand.....	\$ 2.97
December Sales.....	35.60
November Sales.....	21.55
October Sales.....	12.90
	<hr/>
	\$73.02
Overdue .....	25.97
	<hr/>
	\$98.99

## 8. SECRETARY-TREASURER'S ACCOUNT

*Income*

Per Budget.....	\$1,000.00
Addressograph Service Charges.....	4.00
Discount on Bill.....	.14
	<hr/>
	\$1,004.14

*Expenditures*

Clerical Assistance.....	\$418.00
Travel .....	82.45
Postage, Telegrams, Express.....	76.92
Supplies .....	17.69
Cost of Cleveland Meeting.....	132.60
Upkeep Addressograph List.....	24.27
Program Com. (Cleveland Meeting).....	6.70
Program Com. (Philadelphia Meeting).....	4.20
Honorary Member Committee.....	4.50
Membership Committee (1936-37).....	10.00

Auditors' Expenses.....	1.20	
Accountant Services (1936).....	10.00	
Accountant Services (1937).....	10.00	
Honorarium .....	200.00	
	<hr/>	998.53
Remainder (returned to General Account).....		\$ 5.61

9. OFFPRINT SERIES ACCOUNT

*Income*

Held for Refund to Author, Dec. 31, 1936.....	\$ .50	
Sales .....	7.42	
	<hr/>	
Total.....		\$7.92

*Expenditures*

Postage .....	\$ .37	
Refunds to Authors.....	4.20	
	<hr/>	
Total.....		4.57

Remainder .....	\$3.35	
Transferred to JOURNAL Account.....	2.85	
	<hr/>	
Held for Refund to Authors (Dec. 31, 1937).....	\$ .50	

10. LIBRARIAN'S ACCOUNT

*Income*

Per Budget.....	\$200.00	
Catalogue Sales.....	6.66	
	<hr/>	
Total.....		\$206.66

*Expenditures*

Postage .....	\$ 1.02	
Binding .....	187.85	
Supplies .....	12.02	
	<hr/>	
Total.....		\$200.89

Remainder (returned to General Account).....	\$ 5.77	
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11. COMMITTEE ON PROMOTION OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

*Income*

Balance, Dec. 31, 1936.....	\$41.00	
Per Budget.....	50.00	
	<hr/>	
Total.....		\$91.00

*Expenditures*

Postage and Expenses.....	15.00
Remainder .....	\$76.00
Returned to General Account.....	50.00
<i>Balance</i> .....	\$26.00

12.

## COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

*Income*

Per Budget.....	\$150.00
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*Expenditures*

Postage, Stationery, Supplies.....	31.64
Remainder (returned to General Account) .....	\$118.36

13.

## BUDGETARY ASSIGNMENTS AND EXPENDITURES

*Income*

	Estimated	Actual
Dues .....	\$2,950.00	\$2,856.46
Interest on Cash.....	100.00	88.75
Interest on Investments.....	904.25	930.50
Total.....	\$3,954.25	\$3,875.71
Surplus, Dec. 31, 1936.....	1,288.70	1,288.70

Total Available for Assignment.....	\$5,242.95	\$5,164.41
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*Expenditures*

	Authorized	Actual*
JOURNAL Printing.....	\$2,165.17	\$2,165.17
JOURNAL Mailing.....	150.00	150.00
Editors' Honoraria.....	400.00	400.00
Secretary-Treasurer's Account.....	1,000.00	994.39
Committee on Research .....	50.00	
Committee on Resources .....	200.00	
Committee on Membership .....	150.00	31.64
Librarian's Account.....	200.00	194.23
Middle West Branch.....	100.00	100.00
ACLS .....	25.00	25.00
Total.....	\$4,440.17	\$4,060.43
Surplus .....	802.78	1,103.98
Total.....	\$5,242.95	\$5,164.41

\* Additional expenditures were met by extra-budgetary income. See separate accounts above.

CARL H. KRAELING,  
*Treasurer.*

The Treasurer submitted the following as the report upon the finances of the Middle West Branch:

		Income	Expenditure
Jan. 1	Balance on hand:		
	Cash .....	\$ 95.58	
	Credit .....	3.60	
	Total.....	\$ 99.18	
Jan. 20	Remittance from Treasurer, American Oriental Society .....	100.00	
Dec. 20	Stationery .....		\$ 11.65
	Petty cash (stamps—phone) .....		2.00
			\$ 13.65
Dec. 31	Cash balance on hand.....		185.53
		\$199.18	\$199.18

ALLEN D. ALBERT, Jr.,  
Treasurer.

This is to certify that the above has been audited and found correct.

F. W. GEERS,  
GEORGE R. HUGHES,  
GEORGE G. CAMERON,

It was voted to receive the reports. *Auditors.*

#### REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Secretary reported upon the actions of the Executive Committee as follows:

The Executive Committee, which has taken action repeatedly during the past year by means of Mail Votes, met last evening at the Penn Athletic Club to consider the reports of officers and committees responsible to it, to transact the business entrusted to it by the constitution, and to make certain recommendations to the Society.

It was voted to elect to corporate membership in the Society at this time the following persons:

Mrs. Rose Andrews	Miss Vivian R. Jacobs
R. P. Beaver	M. F. Kanga
E. I. Burdock	G. W. Miller, Jr.
Miss Lillian C. Canfield	J. G. Reid
J. M. Conant	C. B. Sargent
D. Daghlion	C. F. Sheriff
J. O. Ferrell	C. C. Stelle
Miss Grace Fox	J. V. Walsh
E. E. Grice	Mrs. Edith M. Young
Mrs. John Hayward	

It was voted to recommend to the Society for election to Honorary Membership the following:

R. P. LOUIS HUGUES VINCENT, D. D., member of the Dominican Order, professor in the École biblique et archéologique française of Jerusalem, editor of the *Revue Biblique*. Born August 31, 1872. Author of many works dealing with the archaeology and history of Palestine. Address: P. O. Box 7, Jerusalem, Palestine.

ALAN HENDERSON GARDINER, M. A., D. Litt., sometime Research Professor in the University of Chicago (1924-34), Honorary Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford. Born March 29, 1879. Author of numerous publications dealing with Egyptology in many aspects—archaeology, history, language, literature, religion—and with the general science of linguistics. Address: 9 Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, London, W. 11, England.

ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D. C. L., D. Litt., Hon. LL. D., Barrister-at-law and Advocate; Regius Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in the University of Edinburgh. Born April 5, 1879. Author of numerous publications dealing with Indic literature, languages, religion, philosophy, and history, and with British law. Address: 4 Crawford Road, Craigmillar Park, Edinburgh, Scotland.

VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR, M. A., Ph. D., editor-in-chief of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, and Honorary Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Born May 4, 1887. Author of many works on Indic archaeology, history, and literature, and especially editor of the definitive edition of the Mahābhārata. Address: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4, India.

It voted to write off from the list of the Society's financial assets the stock of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific R. R., purchased in 1912.

It considered the matter of the celebration of the Society's one hundredth anniversary in 1942 and authorized the incoming President to appoint a committee of not less than seven to make plans for the celebration of this anniversary.

It considered the matter of the formation of a Pacific Coast Branch, the data collected by the Secretary from members of the Society resident on or near the Pacific Coast, and the report of a special committee of Pacific Coast members appointed to give its judgment in the matter. In accordance with the uncertainty of the Pacific Coast members and the judgment of the special committee it voted to table the matter of the formation of the Branch.

It voted to adopt the following budget for the fiscal and calendar year 1938:

Estimated Income:

Dues .....	\$3,000.00	
Interest .....	1,000.00	
	<hr/>	\$4,000.00



Budgetary Expenditure:

JOURNAL Publication.....	\$2,023.62
JOURNAL Mailing.....	100.00
Editors' Honoraria.....	400.00
Secretary-Treasurer's Account .....	1,000.00
Middle West Branch.....	
Membership Committee.....	100.00
Committee on Research.....	50.00
ACLS .....	25.00
	<hr/>
	3,698.62

Estimated Surplus of Income over Expenditure..... \$ 301.38

CARL H. KRAELING,  
Secretary.

It was voted to receive the report.

It was unanimously voted to elect to Honorary Membership in the Society Père L. H. Vincent, Prof. A. H. Gardiner, Prof. A. B. Keith, and Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.

REPORT OF THE DELEGATES TO THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF  
LEARNED SOCIETIES

Prof. F. Edgerton presented the following as the report of the Society's delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies:

The twentieth meeting of the Council was held in New York City, on January 28 and 29, 1938. The sessions were held at the Harvard Club. In addition to the delegates, the Oriental Society was unofficially represented by a number of its members who were present in other capacities.

Minutes were read in memory of Charles Homer Haskins, A. V. Williams Jackson, John Franklin Jameson, George M. Whicher, and Robert K. Reischauer. The treasurer's report showed that receipts from all sources during 1937 had amounted to \$124,641.68, that there was a balance on hand of \$84,637.17, and that during 1938 funds anticipated and receivable would amount to nearly \$190,000.00. It was announced that the Permanent Secretary, Mr. Leland, had been elected president of the U. A. I. New officers were elected, the most noticeable change being the retirement of Mr. Blake as Chairman of the Council. He was succeeded by Mr. Lingelbach, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania. There were a number of interesting reports of committees, which were printed as annexes to the proceedings. The Committee on Chinese Studies reported the approaching publication of Dr. H. G. Creel's *Studies in Early Chinese Culture*, and of the first volume of Dr. H. H. Dubs' translation of the *Ch'ien Han shu*. Mr. Langdon Warner is acting as temporary chairman

of the Committee on Japanese Studies, succeeding Mr. Reischauer, whose two volume work, *Early Japanese History*, appeared shortly before his death. The Committee on Indic and Iranian Studies reported on the work of Dr. Emeneau and Dr. Mandelbaum in India. Unfortunately the site at Chanhu-daro has been lying unworked this year because of the lack of funds. The Committee on Mediterranean and Near Eastern Studies recommended the formation of a new committee on Islamic culture. It also recommended the improvement of scholarship in three fields: late ancient and medieval Jewish sources, Armenian historical sources, and Central Asian sources. It reported that the subvention for grants in aid of research had been discontinued, but that subventions for aid to publication in the humanities, and for study-aids, would still be available. A committee of which Mr. Edgerton is chairman has been set up to administer the study-aids, which will be granted chiefly for the purpose of developing personnel in the under-developed fields of the humanities. These include most of the fields in which our Society is interested.

Mr. Hummel, the retiring chairman of the Committee on Chinese Studies, was given a vote of thanks for his work. He will remain a member of the Committee, but will be succeeded as chairman by Professor Goodrich of Columbia University. Mr. Lessing of the University of California has been made a member of the Committee, succeeding Mr. Latourette of Yale.

It was announced by the Committee on the History of Religion that a series of lectures by Professor Martin Nilsson would be given during the academic year of 1939-40.

JOHN K. SHRYOCK,  
FRANKLIN EDGERTON.

It was voted to receive the report.

#### REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE ON THE CORPORATION OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH

Prof. N. Schmidt presented the following as the report of the Society's representative on the corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research:

As the representative of this Society on the Corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research and its Board of Trustees I have the honor to present the following report. The annual meeting of the Corporation was held in Union Theological Seminary, New York City, December 28, 1937. The Trustees met in the same place, December 27 and 28, 1937, and also at the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, April 18, 1938. These meetings I attended. Professor Nelson Glueck of the Hebrew Union College continues to be Director of the School at Jerusalem. During the last year he has managed its affairs skillfully and with marked success. Especially noteworthy is his conduct of the excavations at Khirbet et-Tannur, carried on jointly by the School and the Transjordan Department of

Antiquities, in March and April, 1937, and concluded in December, 1937. In the *Bulletin* (Feb. 1938) he has given an extensive account of the ruins of a Nabataean temple discovered in this locality, apparently on the border line between ancient Moab and Edom. In the trying circumstances of Palestinian life at the present time Dr. Glueck has maintained cordial relations with the authorities, the learned institutions, and the various elements of the population. Professor S. Vernon McCasland of Goucher College is the Annual Professor for 1937-38. He has delivered public lectures and conducted private seminars. Together with the Two Brothers Fellow, Mr. William L. Reed, and Mr. C. S. Steinbeck, another student, he also assisted the Director during most of the supplementary campaign in December at Khirbet et-Tannur. Professor Clarence S. Fisher as Professor of Archaeology continues the preparation of his great *Corpus of Palestinian Pottery*. A number of scholars have been in residence at or have visited the School. The Hostel is well filled. The Library has been increased by new accessions. Professor Henry J. Cadbury of Harvard University has been appointed Annual Professor for 1938-39.

Professor E. A. Speiser, of the University of Pennsylvania is Director of the School at Baghdad. He is in charge of the excavations at Tepe Gawra, a joint enterprise of the School and the University of Pennsylvania. His published accounts indicate the extraordinary importance of this site. Professor A. T. Olmstead of the University of Chicago was the Annual Professor for 1936-37. It was understood that he was to devote the year to extensive travels in the Near East for the purpose of enriching a forthcoming historical work with the results of fresh observation of this region. He has published in the *Bulletin* (Feb. 1938) an itinerary including approximately one hundred places in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Transjordan, Cyprus, Egypt, Iraq, and Iran. The Annual Professor of 1937-38 is Professor Elihu Grant of Haverford College, who has carried on research, lectured in Baghdad, and traveled in Iraq. The School greatly needs a house of its own in Baghdad. Such an educational centre is warranted by the extent and importance of American scientific interests and achievements in the land of the two rivers.

N. SCHMIDT.

It was voted to receive the report.

#### OTHER BUSINESS

Prof. J. A. Montgomery spoke of the work of the Society's Committee for the Promotion of Oriental Research.

Upon the motion of Prof. W. F. Albright it was voted that we send to the American Philosophical Society, the oldest and most catholic of America's learned societies, our sincere greetings at the occasion of our simultaneous meetings at Philadelphia.

Upon motion of Prof. F. Edgerton it was voted that the Secretary telegraph the Society's greetings to our oldest member, Prof. C. R. Lanman.

The President announced the appointment of the following committees:

Committee on Resolutions: Dr. C. J. Ogden, Prof. A. H. Lybyer.

Committee of Auditors for 1938: Prof. E. H. Sturtevant, Prof. F. Edgerton.

## B. PRESENTATION OF COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were presented:

Prof. J. A. MONTGOMERY (*University of Pennsylvania*): The Contribution of the Orient to the Concept of Universal History.

(1) The central position of the Near Orient, between the Euphrates and Nile valleys, the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean, with complication of races and commerce; (2) the Empires and their ecumenical scope; (3) Hebrew and later Arabian monism; (4) the appeal of Oriental religions and cults, ignoring racial and political bounds; their cosmic problems of good and evil; eschatology; (5) Oriental science; (6) the historical philosophy of Ibn Khaldun.

Prof. L. C. GOODRICH (*Columbia University*): Early Prohibitions of Tobacco in China and Manchuria.

Tobacco appears in Southeastern China about 1620, and about the same time in Manchuria. Shen Han-kuang (1619-77) writes of having seen an edict forbidding the use of tobacco while at Peking in 1637. Other prohibitions are for the years 1638, 1641, and 1643. The first edict by the Manchus in Mukden, still extant, was issued on July 26, 1639. It includes the phrase: "The board has prohibited (tobacco) several times already." The Manchu emperor of the K'ang-hsi period (1662-1722) tells his sons of not smoking himself because of the current ban. In the 1676 code there appears an order against smoking in the forbidden city (Peking), public granaries, altars, temples, and like places. The first regulation against smoking in a library is mentioned in the writings of Wu I-feng (1742-1819) in his description of the famous T'ien I Ko of Ningpo.

Dr. H. I. POLEMAN (*Yale University*): Aspects of Caesarian Section in India.

The earliest description of Caesarian section in medical texts. Iconographic and mythological suggestions. The use and survival of the practice in Hindu ritual.

Prof. G. VERNADSKY (*Yale University*): On the Origins of the Antae.

The Antae are generally considered the ancestors of the Eastern Slavs. The name itself is apparently not Slavic. There seems to be sufficient evidence for looking for its origins to the Sarmatian tribes, in particular to the Alani. According to Chinese sources the Alani were known originally as An-ts'ai. In the Middle Ages the Alani were referred to as *As* (*Iasy* in Russian chronicles). The branch of the Slavs known as Antae might have received its name from a Sarmatian ruling clan. The identification of Antae as *Iasy* of the Russian chronicles, if recognized as valid, will throw considerable new light on the early background of Russian history.

The session was concluded at 1 p. m., when those present adjourned to the Hotel Normandie where they were entertained at luncheon by the University of Pennsylvania.

## THE SECOND SESSION

The Second Session of the Society was called to order at 2.30 p. m. of the same day by Prof. W. C. Graham, President of the Middle West Branch, who presided.

The following communications were presented:

Prof. A. H. LYBYER (*University of Illinois*): The Foundations of Mohammed the Conqueror.

Three documents are known, two Arabic and one Turkish. The longer Arabic *Waqfiyyeh* describes the dozen institutions founded; lists the towns, villages, farms, khans, bazaars, baths, mills and houses assigned for revenue (about 850 items); and specifies officers and rules of administration. Provisions for Fatih's own mosque with its eight colleges, eight schools, hospital, and guest-house include 100 servitors of the mosque, with daily pay from 30 *aqcheh* for the preacher to two for a Koran reciter. Each college had a professor at 50 *aqcheh*; a tutor at 5; and 15 students, a porter, and two attendants at two each.

Prof. R. G. KENT (*University of Pennsylvania*): Old Persian Jottings. Published JOURNAL 58, 324.

Pres. J. MORGENSTEIN (*Hebrew Union College*): The Date, Historical Background and Cultural Implications of Psalm 48.

Psalm 48 has generally been interpreted as referring to the traditional destruction of Sennacherib after the siege of Jerusalem in 701 B. C. or else as a processional psalm recited by pilgrims coming to Jerusalem from the far south (perhaps even from Upper Egypt). This paper will endeavor to show that the psalm is composite, that vv. 2-4, 9-15 are the utterance of a body of pilgrims to Jerusalem coming from Galilee, or even from Phoenicia,

during the period 516-500 B. C., while vv. 5-8 are an interpolation referring to a historic event of 480 B. C. of great significance to the Jews of Jerusalem.

Prof. C. H. GORDON (*Johns Hopkins University*): Seals of Western Asia in Walters Art Gallery (Illustrated).

There are about sixty seals and seventy seal impressions in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore. Of these only the famous Tarkondemos seal has been published. Many periods are represented, ranging from the Jemdet Nasr Period at the close of the fourth millennium B. C. to the Sassanian Period terminated by the Islamic Conquest in the seventh century A. D. The seals come mainly from Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor. The inscriptions on the seals are written in Sumerian and Accadian cuneiform, Hittite and Egyptian Hieroglyphs and Aramic and South Arabic alphabetic characters. The script and language of one inscription are not yet identified with certainty. The collection is rich in North Syrian seals of the second half of the second millennium B. C.

Dr. G. E. WRIGHT (*American Schools of Oriental Research*): Some Phoenician Art of the Persian Period and the Origin of the 'Megarian' Bowl (Illustrated).

Certain objects of art, especially bowls, ladles, and jewelry, the significance of which has not been grasped, have been turning up in Palestine and Syria in deposits dating from the Persian period. Comparative study of material from Persia, Egypt, Greece, and Italy indicates that they are Phoenician art. It is from this art that the 'Megarian' bowl of the Hellenistic period, hitherto commonly considered of Egyptian origin, received its immediate inspiration.

Miss A. R. HALL (*Boston Museum of Fine Arts*): Miniature Copper Objects of the 3rd Millennium B. C. from Chanhudaro, India (Illustrated).

Two copper carts and a miniature figure found at Chanhudaro, Sind, India, by the Joint Expedition of the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies and the Museum of Fine Arts, 1935-36.

Prof. C. C. TORREY (*Yale University*): South-Arabian Antiquities at Yale University (Illustrated).

Yale University possesses a collection (20 pieces) of small alabaster fragments from Southern Arabia. These include sculpture in the round as well as inscriptions.

Prof. J. J. OBERMANN (*Yale University*): The Archaic Inscriptions from Lachish (Illustrated).

A re-examination of the reading of the individual symbols, together with an attempt to interpret the legends of (a) the ewer, (b) the bowl, (c) the dagger found at Tell ed-Duweir. Critique of the assumption of proto-Sinaitic influence. Consideration of the general alphabetologic significance of these inscriptions.

The Session was concluded at 5.30 p. m. and the members present were transported in busses to the campus of Haverford College. Here they examined the collections of Palestinian Pottery and Artifacts in the Haverford Archaeological Museum, Sharpless Hall. Supper was served by the courtesy of the College in Founders Hall. After supper those present adjourned to the Union where they were welcomed by President W. W. Comfort of Haverford. President Waterman expressed the gratitude of the Society for the hospitality extended to it by the College.

Upon the motion of Prof. J. A. Montgomery, who commented appropriately upon the long-established relation between Haverford College, the Oriental Society, and the Oriental Club of Philadelphia and upon the significance of Prof. J. Rendel Harris in this connection, it was voted that the Society send it cordial greetings to Prof. Harris at the occasion of its meeting at Haverford.

Vice-President L. Barret presided while Prof. L. Waterman delivered the Presidential Address upon the subject, "Oriental Studies in the Present World Picture" (see this issue of the JOURNAL, p. 402).

The meeting adjourned at 9.15 p. m., the members of the Society returning to Philadelphia by bus.

### THE THIRD SESSION

The third session was held at Dropsie College, beginning at 10.00 a. m. on Wednesday, April 20. It consisted of two simultaneous Group Meetings in the Near Eastern and Far Eastern fields respectively in which communications on stated topics were presented by special invitation. The Near East Group Meeting had as its theme: Linguistic Contacts in the Near East in the Period of the Great Migrations. The Far East Group Meeting had as its theme: Problems in Far Eastern Linguistics and Philology.

In the Near East Group Meeting, over which President L. Waterman presided, the following communications were presented:

Prof. Z. S. HARRIS (*University of Pennsylvania*): Development and Differentiation of the Canaanite Dialects.

The Syrian-Palestian area was settled at an early date by people who spoke Northwest Semitic (specifically Canaanite). In the course of centuries linguistic forms spread over various parts of the area, gradually

building linguistic boundaries across it, and eventually dialects. This investigation seeks to determine the date and geographic diffusion of the more important linguistic developments in that general area, and so to reveal the formation of the historical Canaanite dialects.

Prof. A. GOETZE (*Yale University*): Indo-European Elements in the Ancient Near East.

The paper contained a critical report on recent research concerning the rôle played by the Indo-Europeans in Ancient Near Eastern cultures. It dealt successively with the Indo-Europeans in Asia Minor (Luwians, Hittites) and those among the Churrians. The problem whether Indo-European influence is recognizable among the Kassites and among the Urartians was discussed.

Prof. W. F. ALBRIGHT (*Johns Hopkins University*): Northwest Semitic in the Light of Accadian and Egyptian Evidence.

The material comes mainly from the *Achtungstexte* (2000 B. C.) and from the names and words of Canaanite origin in New-Egyptian documents (1500-1200 B. C.) as well as in Accadian tablets from Babylonia and Mari (c. 2000-1600 B. C.) and from Egypt and Palestine (1500-1300 B. C.). The results of my analysis are important particularly for South-Canaanite and East-Canaanite phonology, for the verb (imperfect and future tenses in indicative, subjunctive, and jussive moods, perfect and stative), and for the noun (declension of masculine plural and dual; formation of masculine participles as nouns of occupation and feminine participles as kennings of objects).

Prof. E. H. STURTEVANT (*Yale University*): The Evidence of Anatolian Languages for Indo-European Laryngeal Consonants.

The theory that the Indo-European languages have lost certain consonants more or less similar to the Semitic laryngeals receives strong support from Hittite and certain other Anatolian languages, namely Luwian, "Hieroglyphic Hittite," and Lycian. I think that we can plausibly assume four Indo-European lost consonants: (1) *'*, a glottal stop of palatal color, does not change the quality of a neighboring *e*; it is not recorded in Hittite. (2) *ʔ*, a glottal stop of velar color, changes a neighboring *e* to *a*; it is not recorded in Hittite. (3) *x*, a velar or laryngeal voiceless spirant, changes a neighboring *e* to *a*; it is represented in Hittite by *ḫ*, which is normally written double where the cuneiform system makes that possible. (4) *y*, a velar or laryngeal voiced spirant, does not change the quality of a neighboring *e*; it is represented in Hittite by *ḫ*, which is never written double.

There was considerable discussion in which the following participated: Messers Albright, Edgerton, Reich, Stephens.

In the Far East Group Meeting, over which Prof. L. C. Goodrich presided, the following communications were presented:



Mr. J. K. YAMAGIWA (*University of Michigan*): Wants in Japanese Language Teaching.

This paper began with a description of the courses in Japanese offered at the University of Michigan; named certain aids found useful in the teaching of vocabulary; proceeded to a general consideration of grammars used, especially those of Rose-Innes and the Vaccaris, as regards phonology, idiom, use of Japanese character, vocabulary, use of connected discourse, statement of grammatical rules, the order in which they are presented, and terminology used; and suggested what ought probably to be the characteristics of an improved grammar which will serve not only as a guide to spoken Japanese but as an introduction to the written language.

Prof. J. R. WARE (*Harvard University*): A Difficult Phrase in Liu T'ao's Memorial on the Yellow Turbans.

In Liu T'ao's memorial one finds (*Hou Han shu* 87.4b) the phrase *niao shēng shou hsin ssü kung ming hu* which may be translated literally as "bird sounds and animal hearts secretly share their cries." Since the writer has found the real significance of this phrase quite obscure, he will present some parallels from the literature in an attempt to arrive at a solution.

Prof. R. S. BRITTON (*New York University*): Directional Value in Chinese Paleography.

Under the *chih-shih* category, a familiar device is the making of a distinct character by inverting, reversing, or otherwise changing the direction of a sign, without morphographic change of the sign within itself. This paper suggested that such directional value is more highly developed in the early Chinese than in comparable scripts, and is one of the resources of ideographic versatility by which the Chinese escaped syllabary and alphabet and developed a system embracing both the phonetic and ideographic principles.

Prof. F. K. LI (*Yale University*): A Type of Folk-Song in Wu-ming.

The form of the folk-song in Wu-ming, a Tai community in the Province of Kwang-si; the rime pattern and the intonation pattern; comparison with Siamese poetry seems to indicate a common Tai tradition in the form of these songs.

Prof. G. A. KENNEDY (*Yale University*): Some Uses of Three Classical Particles in Chinese.

Though many of the uses of these particles are well understood, there remains in each case a function that has been vaguely labelled 'rhythmic' or 'emphatic.' This paper attempted to get a little closer to a positive definition of these functions, chiefly through a study of the comparative effect of retaining or eliminating the particles in concrete cases. All three particles are seen then to have bearing on the highly important 'equation-type' of sentence structure in Chinese.

There was considerable discussion of each of the communications, in which Messrs. Borton, Chang, Dubs, Gale, Goodrich, Hummel, Kennedy, Labatt-Simon, Li, McGovern, Shimizu, Shryock, Ware and Yamagiwa participated.

The session was concluded at 1.00 p. m., when the Society was entertained at luncheon by Dropsie College.

### THE FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session, also held at Dropsie College, began shortly after 2.30 p. m. of the same day. It consisted of three simultaneous Group Meetings in the Near Eastern, the Middle Eastern, and the Far Eastern fields respectively.

At the Near Eastern Group Meeting, over which Prof. T. J. Meek presided, the following communications were presented and discussed:

Prof. N. J. REICH (*Dropsie College*): On Grammatical Exercises in the Schools of Ancient Egypt.

Prof. F. J. STEPHENS (*Yale University*): The Oath Formula in Sumerian Texts of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

A Sumerian unpublished private contract from the Third Dynasty of Ur, unique because of the form of its oath clause, was presented in cuneiform text, transliteration, and translation. The oath formula in this text reads: *mu-na i-na-PAD*. The attempt to interpret the new oath formula led to a discussion of the oath formulae of over 100 selected documents of this period.

Prof. J. LEWY (*Hebrew Union College*): Remarks on a Newly Published Contract from Ras Shamra.

A brief discussion of certain relations of the contract published in *Syria*, XVIII, 248, with the Middle Assyrian Laws and other contemporary sources.

Prof. J. REIDER (*Dropsie College*): Biliteralism in the Light of the Ras Shamra Texts.

This paper reviewed the problem of biliteral roots in Semitic languages and endeavored to prove the existence of such disputed roots from the Ras Shamra texts of the middle of the second millennium B.C. Using the same method, an attempt was made to justify also the existence of uniliteral roots, remnants of which are found in the Bible.

Prof. E. A. SPEISER (*University of Pennsylvania*): Fallacies of the Theory of Polarity.

The object of this paper was to demonstrate that the term "polarity" as used by many Semitists is misleading. This alleged linguistic principle covers in reality several different linguistic phenomena.

Prof. H. S. GEHMAN (*Princeton Theological Seminary*): The John H. Scheide Papyri of Ezekiel.

The Scheide papyri of Ezekiel, recently published by the Princeton University Press, date from about 200 A.D. and belonged originally to the same codex as the Chester Beatty Papyri. This text has more agreements with B than with A and Q, but in many passages it departs from B and agrees with the Massoretic text, A, Q, and minuscules of various groups. This new text rather confirms the view that long before the time of Origen there were two strata in the LXX: the AQ-type and the B-type, which is also represented in the Syro-Hexaplar.

Prof. E. A. HAHN (*Hunter College*): Hittite Mahhan.

*Mahhan* is both comparative and temporal. The comparative use seems the earlier; the points raised by Pedersen as possible objections are not cogent. Postpositional *mahhan* = 'after the manner of.' Adverbial *mahhan* has been translated 'zurzeit, schon' (Ungnad), 'zunächst' (Goetze), 'in the meantime, immediately' (Sturtevant); 'then' fits as well as any of these in every case, better in some cases, besides accounting better for the conjunction's meaning 'when.' Moreover, the meaning 'then' renders smoother two involved passages in which *mahhan* has been taken as 'when.' Conjunctival *mahhan* = 'as' or 'when'; the meaning 'where' offered by Goetze in one passage seems unnecessary.

Mr. B. SCHWARTZ (*New York Public Library*): The Diagonal Wedge is not a "Glossenkeil" in Hittite.

In every instance where the diagonal wedge stands before a word in the Hittite texts, it can be demonstrated that the word thus stigmatized presented some punctual, lexical, or morphological difficulty to the scribe. It is proposed that this sign merely calls attention to a following word, marking it as unusual (and thus indicating that the scribe is a faithful copyist), and is therefore roughly equivalent to our *sic*!

At the Middle East Group Meeting, over which Vice-President L. C. Barret presided, the following communications were presented and discussed:

Prof. P. E. DUMONT (*Johns Hopkins University*): The Meaning of *saṃmr̥ṣāti* in *Āpastamba-Śrauta-Sūtra* VI. 4. 2 and Other Passages.

Caland explains *na stanān saṃmr̥ṣāti* by saying "Nachdem durch das Kalb die Milch zum Fliessen gebracht ist, berührt er nicht, wie im gewöhnlichen Treiben, mit der befeuchteten Hand, die Zitzen." This

interpretation seems to be untenable. In this and in other passages *saṃmr̥ṣati* means "to touch together."

Dr. T. MICHELSON (*Smithsonian Institution*): Once more Nātaputta.

When I pointed out before the American Oriental Society at the previous meeting at Philadelphia that the dental N of Nātaputta was due to the Māgadhan form of the word, because in Asokan Māgadhan palatal ñ is replaced by dental n, I was unaware of the fact that Jacobi, *Indian Antiquary*, 1880, pp. 158, 159 had previously come to this same conclusion.

Prof. W. N. BROWN (*University of Pennsylvania*): Some Notes on Old Gujarāṭi.

Discussion of intrusion of vowel between dissimilar consonants in the seam of Sanskrit compounds when borrowed by Old Gujarāṭi; and of aspiration in OG of some unaspirated Sanskrit stops, and deaspiration of some aspirated stops.

Prof. F. EDGERTON (*Yale University*): Rome and (?) Antioch in the Mahābhārata. Published JOURNAL 58. 262.

Dr. A. K. COOMARASWAMY (*Boston Museum of Fine Arts*): Svayamā-tṛṇṇā.

The "self-perforated stones" *svayamā-tṛṇṇāḥ śarkarāḥ*, SB. VIII. 7. 4. 1) of the Fire Altar, representing the Three Worlds, being "for the passage of the breaths and for a sight of heaven" (TS. V. 2. 8. 1 etc.), were evidently "ringstones," like those annular stones of which examples surviving in India are called "doors of liberation" (*mukti-dvāra*), and like those which have been found in large numbers on Indus Valley sites. The three openings form a way by which the Devas, and now likewise the Sacrificer, ascend and descend these worlds, using the "Universal lights" (*viśvajyotiḥ* bricks) as stepping stones: cf. Jacob's Ladder. In the "cotton-bale" symbol of the punch-marked coins, the three "self-perforates" are "strung like gems on a thread" (*sūtrātman*). The uppermost "self-perforate corresponds to the luffer of a circular hut, the opening of a hypaethral temple, the eye of a dome, and the "eye of the needle"; remarkable parallels can be adduced from Siberia and China (jade *pi*), and from the *Zohar*, and other sources.

Dr. C. J. OGDEN: Three Turfan Pahlavi Etymologies: HPSYRD, 'ŠKRWST, MNWHMYD. Published JOURNAL 58. 331.

At the Far East Group Meeting, over which Prof. L. C. Goodrich presided, the following communications were presented:

Prof. C. H. PEAKE (*Columbia University*): On the Limitation of Interest Rates in China.

From the Han dynasty on the government of China has attempted to limit interest rates. From the Han to the T'ang the regulations were not consistently enforced. The result was a frequent resort to release from

long-standing public obligations and an occasional release from private obligations. From the T'ang dynasty on when the codification of laws and regulations governing the interest rates became more definitely fixed, this practice apparently died out. In the Yuan dynasty the regulations received their modern form in the expression *i pen i li* (一本一利) providing that interest should not exceed the capital no matter how long the loan remained unpaid though this principle emerges centuries earlier. Furthermore it was ordered that the interest rates should not exceed 3% a month. In the Ming these regulations became a fixed part (lǚ) of the code which remained unchanged in form in subsequent codes to the end of the monarchy in 1911.

Prof. Y. Z. CHANG (*University of Michigan*): China's Contribution to Western Civilization.

In contrast to the bellicose ideological conflict of the modern world, the exchanges of ideas and cultural influences of former ages based upon the individual needs and free choice of the nations concerned, supply to the peoples of today a most significant lesson. China's contribution to western culture forms an important chapter in a history of the cultural relations of the east and the west.

That silk, porcelain, tea, gunpowder, and compass came from China is common knowledge. Some scholars believe that paper and printing also originated in China. Recent investigations conducted in Nanking, Washington, Chapel Hill, and Ann Arbor seem to indicate that a modern contribution, the merit system, has had far reaching effects in the social and political life of Europe and America.

Mr. H. S. SANTESSON (*India Political Council*): The Japanese and the Preservation of China's Antiquities. A Record of Achievements.

A brief discussion of the attitude of the Japanese Army of Occupation to the relics of China's past found in the territories under their control. In Jehol special efforts have been made to preserve the antiquities neglected under the rule of the war-lords. In the Liaotung Peninsula the investigation of the megalithic vestiges is proceeding under semi-official auspices. The attitude of the Japanese in the course of their present activities in northern and middle China was likewise discussed.

Prof. H. H. DUBS (*Duke University*): The Victory of Han Confucianism. (Printed in this issue of the JOURNAL, p. 435.)

Miss N. L. SWANN (*Gest Oriental Library*): Pan Ku's Preface to the Han Shu.

Tradition based upon incomplete accounts is most probably responsible for attribution to Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92) of sole authorship of the *Han Shu* of the Pan family, father, son, and daughter. Other hands contributed at least to some degree to the book. Credit, however, does belong to Pan Ku for the structure of the record and for the organization of the material, both that inherited from his father, and that assembled and composed by himself.

A very convincing documentary evidence for the striking part played by Pan Ku in the history is found in his preface, occupying the second of the two parts of the last chapter of *Han Shu*. This consists of a series of ninety-nine rhythmic riming verses, in the order of the one hundred chapters of the book, that in turn epitomize—with but one exception, when one verse is assigned to two chapters—one chapter after the other.

Miss M. E. CAMERON (*Western Reserve University*): The Public Career of Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909): A Brief Survey.

Chang Chih-tung (1837-1909), one of the most distinguished Chinese officials in the service of the Manchu dynasty in its closing decades, was noted both for his ardent Confucianism and for his pioneer activity in introducing such occidental devices as railways and factories. This biographical sketch was based on Chinese biographical studies of Chang plus information from occidental sources, and was meant as a preliminary to a full-length study of Chang's official career, based on his papers.

Dr. H. A. MORAN (*Cornell in China*): The Astrological Elements in Early Chinese Writing.

A communication on the astrological elements underlying the Chinese ideographic system, indicating the predominant part which the Ten Stems, the Twelve Branches, the Twenty-Eight Signs of the Lunar Calendar, and other astrological forms play in early Chinese writing. Comment on the relationship of the Twelve Branches with the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac as found in ancient India, Babylon, and other contemporary civilizations. Amplification of the suggestion, already made by the speaker at a previous meeting of the Society, of a possible connection between the lunar signs and the phonetic alphabet.

Prof. W. M. MCGOVERN (*Northwestern University*): The Hsiung-nu Kingdoms in Northern China.

Much light has been thrown in recent years upon the nomadic Hsiung-nu Empire which flourished in Central Asia from the third century B. C. to the second century A. D., but much less is known regarding the Kingdoms established in North China during the fourth century A. D. by the descendants of the old Southern Hsiung-nu. The present paper attempted to outline the history of the two most important of these Hsiung-nu dynasties, viz., the Early Chao and Later Chao Dynasties. Especial emphasis was laid upon the racial and linguistic peculiarities noted in the Chinese Dynastic Histories.

In the discussion of these communications the following participated: Messers Dubs, Gale, Goodrich, Hummel, La Fargue, McGovern, Moran, Shimizu, Swann, Vernadsky, and Ware.

At 7.00 P. M. of the same day the members of the Society in attendance upon the sessions, their friends, and certain invited guests including President and Mrs. W. W. Comfort of Haverford

College, Dean and Mrs. H. L. Crosby of the University of Pennsylvania, Mrs. Max L. Margolis, and Mrs. Morris Jastrow, met at the Penn Athletic Club for the annual Subscription Dinner.

After the dinner Dean H. L. Crosby conveyed to the Society and to the Philadelphia Oriental Club at the occasion of its Fiftieth Anniversary, the greetings of the University of Pennsylvania, expressing the University's pride in its Orientalists and its interest in Oriental studies. President Waterman responded for the Society.

Prof. G. Sarton delivered the address upon the subject, "The Oriental Origins of Western Science."

President C. Adler of Dropsie College, the sole surviving charter member and founder of the Club in America (the only other surviving charter member being Prof. J. Rendel Harris, now of Manchester, England), spoke informally of the beginnings and the early memberships of the Philadelphia Oriental Club and of the Club's desire to interest the laymen in the study of the Orient. President Waterman expressed the Society's felicitations to the Club at the occasion of its Fiftieth Anniversary and called attention to the debt of gratitude which Oriental studies in America owe to the Club, members of which are now scattered over a large part of the United States and Canada.

## THE FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session of the meeting was held in the auditorium of the University Museum, beginning at 10.00 A. M. on Thursday, April 21. President Waterman presided.

### A. BUSINESS MEETING

Prof. R. G. Kent presented the report of the Nominating Committee and the Society proceeded to elect, each by a separate vote, the following officers and representatives. The term of office is one year unless otherwise indicated:

*President*—Prof. LeRoy C. Barret

*Vice-President*—Dr. Ludlow Bull

*Secretary-Treasurer*—Prof. Carl H. Kraeling

*Editor*—Prof. W. Norman Brown

*Associate Editors*—Dr. John K. Shryock

Prof. Ephraim A. Speiser

*Librarian*—Prof. Andrew Keogh

*Member of Executive Committee*—Prof. Albert T. Olmstead, to serve for three years

*Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies*—Prof. James R. Ware, to serve for four years

*Members of the Nominating Committee*—Professors William F. Albright, L. Carrington Goodrich, Dr. Charles J. Ogden, each to serve for two years

It was voted to appoint Prof. E. H. Sturtevant chairman of the Nominating Committee for the year 1938-39.

The Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had accepted the invitation of The Johns Hopkins University, and that the next meeting of the Society would be held at Baltimore, Md., in Easter week of 1939.

President Waterman announced the appointment of the following as the Committee on Arrangements for the Baltimore meeting: Professors W. F. Albright (chairman), P. E. Dumont, W. Rosenau, and Mr. A. J. Sachs.

Dr. C. J. Ogden presented the following as the report of the Committee on Resolutions:

The American Oriental Society hereby places on record its pleasure in holding its one hundred and fiftieth meeting in Philadelphia on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Philadelphia Oriental Club, and it expresses to the Club its hearty thanks for the courteous invitation and for the dinner tendered to the members of the Executive Committee.

It also deeply appreciates the kindness of the administration of the University Museum in granting the use of its commodious lecture hall for the sessions on Tuesday and Thursday and in arranging the exhibits of Near and Far Eastern antiquities.

The University of Pennsylvania has earned our thanks by extending again its accustomed hospitality and by its cordial greeting through Dean Crosby. President Comfort and the authorities of Haverford College provided a most enjoyable evening by displaying especially for us the archaeological collection of the College and by entertaining us in the beautiful surroundings of its campus. The Dropsie College made us feel at home through supplying rooms for our sectional meetings, through its invitation to luncheon, and above all through the presence of President Adler, without which no meeting in Philadelphia would be complete.

The courtesy of the Penn Athletic Club in extending the use of its facilities is gratefully acknowledged. The local members, especially those belonging to the Committee on Arrangements, have been unfailingly



thoughtful. Philadelphia in its relations with this Society has indeed shown brotherly love.

It was voted to accept the report.

It was voted to appoint Prof. N. Schmidt as the Society's representative on the Corporation of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

Prof. W. C. Graham presented the following motion:

Resolved that the Executive Committee be requested to take such action as it may deem desirable and effective to call to the attention of the authorities of American institutions of learning, wherever it may seem advisable and necessary, the immediate and pressing importance, both from the standpoint of the origins and history of western culture, and from that of contemporary human relationships, of intelligently promoting Oriental studies both at the undergraduate and graduate levels.

After comment by several members it was voted to adopt the resolution.

Miss E. Weil reported upon the projected inauguration of an archaeological department by the periodical *Asia*.

It was voted that the incoming President be authorized to appoint a committee to discuss the matter further with Miss Weil, the editor of *Asia*.

## B. PRESENTATION OF COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were presented and discussed:

Prof. M. BURROWS (*Yale University*): Law and Custom in the Book of Ruth.

The forms of marriage, inheritance, and redemption reflected in the book of Ruth and their interrelations do not correspond to anything else in the Old Testament. Do the laws and the book of Ruth respectively represent different stages in Israel's social evolution? Does Ruth give an imaginary picture of bygone times, while the laws reveal actual practices? Or does Ruth reflect living custom, and the laws merely picture unrealized ideals? These questions are vitally related to the problems of the date and literary character of the book.

Prof. S. H. BLANK (*Hebrew Union College*): Divergent Tendencies and Party Conflicts in Early Post-Exilic Judaism.

Histories of Post-Exilic Judaism tend to oversimplify the religious and political situation. The century following the advent of Cyrus appears in reality to have been one in which many divergent currents of thought and political philosophies struggled with each other for supremacy, a fact

which has been obscured by the circumstance that our biblical records were composed largely under the influence of the party which eventually prevailed. This paper was an attempt to indicate briefly the complicated character of that period.

Prof. H. L. GINSBERG (*Jewish Theological Seminary*): The Aramaic Original of Dan. 1-2: 4a; 8-12.

That the Hebrew is translated from an Aramaic original is borne out by a more extensive and conclusive body of evidence than is submitted by Charles. Besides many moderate Aramaisms remarkable only by their abundance, there are several crude barbarisms, some only intelligible through retroversion, and—the decisive proof—a few phrases that clearly reflect corrupt, misread or misunderstood Aramaic expressions. The Maccabean Daniel was written in Aramaic because the earlier work, substantially chs. 1-6 and probably of Babylonian origin, was known as an Aramaic book. Charles's assumption of three Hebrew translators is unwarranted.

Dr. H. M. ORLINSKY (*Johns Hopkins University*): Ḥāṣēr (ḥṣr 'enclosure, court'; ḥṣr 'settlement, village') in the Old Testament.

Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew Lexicon*, does not give us the correct etymologies of, and Gesenius-Buhl, *Handwörterbuch* 17, does not differentiate between the two distinctly separate roots and meanings of Hebrew ḥāṣēr. Ras Shamra ḥṣr provides conclusive evidence. An attempt was made to account for the confusion in the Bible as regards the gender of ḥāṣēr 'enclosure; court.'

Prof. T. J. MEEK (*University of Toronto*): Problems concerning the Levites.

This paper discussed such questions as the following: Were the Levites originally a secular tribe? Were they ever in Egypt? How were they related to Moses? How and when did they become Yahweh worshippers?

The session adjourned at 1.00 P. M., when separate luncheon conferences of those interested in Far Eastern and in Islamic studies respectively were held at the Hotel Normandie.

## THE SIXTH SESSION

The sixth and last session was called to order at 3.00 P. M. of the same day by President Waterman at the University Museum. The following communications were presented and discussed.

Prof. K. C. EVANS (*Trinity College, Toronto*): The "Herod" as Herod.

On various grounds the "Herod" in Josephus' *Jewish War* I, 203-673, is to be viewed as a fair reproduction of the "Herod" in Nicholas' "Uni-

versal History." Nicholas is responsible for the patterning of Herod's life upon that of King David. Josephus' purpose in prefacing his *War* with an account of Herod was, by a slight change, to correct this view of Herod. Since Herod's brothers and sisters all bear Semitic names it is not unreasonable to suppose that Herod is a name assumed so as to express the character in which his court historian, Nicholas, was to cast him.

Prof. E. J. JURJI (*Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*): Sufi-Shi'ite Affinities.

Illuministic Sufism is studied in relation to the Nuṣayris, a Shi'ite sect clinging to the practices of ancient Semitic cults, who in the eyes of Syriologists are the direct descendants of paganism. Islamic Illumination, steeped in the syncretic philosophy of Hellenism which reached the Hither Orient in the form of Neo-Platonic, Hermetic and allied speculations, was blended with Persian and other ideas. Parallels between the Nuṣayri and Illuministic systems fall under the headings of (a) initiation, (b) theory of revelation, and (c) cosmogony and eschatology. The commonly expressed view that Shi'ism and Sufism are divergent must, therefore, be made to conform with these considerations.

Dr. H. W. GLIDDEN (*Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*) and Dr. N. A. FARIS (*Princeton University*): The Development of the Meaning of Koranic Ḥanīf.

This study undertook a reexamination of the use of the word *ḥanīf* in the Arabic sources, as well as a reconsideration of the corresponding terms in Aramaic and Greek, the two most important cultural languages of the environment of early Islam.

We find Arabic *ḥanīf* and Syriac *ḥanpo*, *armoyo* used as the equivalent of Greek *Hellēn*, which denotes either a follower of Hellenistic paganism or simply a person of Hellenic culture. In hitherto unused Ḥarrānian and Nabataean sources we find *ḥanpo* and *ḥanīfu* used respectively for a member of the Syro-Hellenistic cultural circle and as a proper name with the same relative significance. Pre-Islamic poetry describes the *ḥanīf* as abstaining from wine; since this is found both among the Nabataeans and the Muslims the conclusion is that *ḥanīf* was borrowed from the Nabataeans in pre-Islamic times and then passed into the Koran.

Miss I. LICHTENSTÄDTER: Muḥammad Ibn Ḥabīb and His Kitāb al-Muḥabbar.

Although Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Ḥāshimī al-Baghdādī, the author of the *kitāb al-muḥabbar*, was a well-known scholar, only very scanty information on his life and personality has reached us; the only date we know for sure is that of his death on the 23rd Dhū'l-Ḥijja 245 A. H. (March 21, 860 A. D.). He was a great authority on ancient Arabic poetry and is the *raʾi* of many *diwāns*; he was also well versed in Arabic history and genealogy of which fact his principal work gives ample proof. Strange to say he is nevertheless but rarely quoted in Arabic sources; most notable is the absence of his name in the work of *aṭ-Ṭaḥarī*.

Internal evidence shows that the *kitāb al-muḥabbar* must have been composed in or before 232 A. H., and it is therefore one of our earliest sources on Islamic history. The only extant manuscript is in the possession of the British Museum and consists of 172 folios; the manuscript, however, is not complete, for it breaks off in the middle of a chapter. The work is an encyclopedia of pre-Islamic and Islamic history, legends and genealogy; much of its material is entirely unknown or rarely found in other sources. It contains also much poetry a great part of which is unknown too. The question of Ibn Ḥabīb's sources offers some difficulty, as, with only a few exceptions, he does not state his authorities. The few *isnāds* which he gives include the names of scholars whose identity it is difficult to find out or whom I was unable to identify so far. His teacher Ibn al-Kelbi, however, seems to have been his main authority as a comparison between the latter's work and the chapters of the *kitāb al-muḥabbar* shows.

The following communications were presented by title:

Prof G. W. BRIGGS (*Drew University*): Caḡdāla and Ḍom.

Prof. F. R. BLAKE (*Johns Hopkins University*): The Origin and Development of the Hebrew Daghes.

Miss H. B. CHAPIN (*Mills College*): Bodhidharma, Slim and Hairless.

Mr. M. GRAVES (*American Council of Learned Societies*): Remarks on Oriental Studies in the Soviet Union.

Prof. H. N. HOWARD (*Miami University*): The Libraries and Archives of Istanbul, Turkey.

Prof. W. S. McCULLOUGH (*University of Toronto*): Addenda and Corrigenda for J. A. Montgomery's "Aramaic Incantation Texts from Nippur."

Prof. R. MARCUS (*Columbia University*): Phoenician Origins.

Prof. C. D. MATHEWS (*Birmingham-Southern College*): The Kitāb Aimān al-'Arab of an-Najīramī.

Dr. G. C. MILES (*American Numismatic Society*): Mint Towns of the Ilkhanids of Persia.

Prof. H. A. RIGG, JR. (*Western Reserve University*): The So-called Caucasian Linguistic Relationships.

Rev. A. R. SIEBENS: Disorder in Deuteronomy and the Oriental Mind.

Mr. F. E. SOMMER (*Cleveland Public Library*): Chinese for Enjoyment.

Prof. W. R. TAYLOR (*University of Toronto*): Light from Ras Shamra on the Agencies of Wisdom-teaching in Early Israel.

The meeting adjourned at 4.15 P. M.

Respectfully submitted,

CARL H. KRAELING,

*Secretary.*

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
MIDDLE WEST BRANCH  
OF THE  
**American Oriental Society**

AT THE MEETING AT CHICAGO, 1938

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The Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society held its Twenty-Second Annual Meeting on Friday and Saturday, April 1st and 2nd, in Chicago, Illinois. The members of the Society and nominees were guests of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, of the Field Museum of Natural History, and of the New Orient Society.

In addition, the Branch joined with the Chicago Society of Biblical Research, whose sessions were held Saturday afternoon, April 2nd, immediately following the adjournment of the Oriental Society's sessions.

Headquarters of the Branch were the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Friday Morning's session and those on Saturday were held in James Henry Breasted Hall at the Oriental Institute. Friday Afternoon's session was held in the Small Lecture Hall of the Field Museum of Natural History.

The following members were present at one or more of the sessions:

Abbott, Miss	Creighton	Hallock, R. T.
Albert	Debevoise	Hines
Blank	Dubberstein	Hoyos, Miss
Bobrinskoy	Edgerton	Hughes
Bowman	Engberg	Irwin
Boyes	Feigin	Jacobsen
Branden	Frye	Johnson, S. E.
Brookens, Mrs. N.	Geers	Johnson, Mrs. S. E.
Brux	Gelb	Kelley
Buttenweiser	Goossens	Kraft
Cameron	Graham	Lewy
Chang	Grant	Lybyer
Cook	Grice	McElwain
Creel	Gruenthaner	McGovern

MacNair, H.	Price	Templeton
MacNair, Mrs. H.	Purves	Thomas
Martin	Putcamp, Miss	Totten, Miss
May	Robinson	Walther
Maxwell	Rudolph	Waterman
Mihelic	Safar	White
Moore	Sauer	Wilbur
Morgenstern	Seele	Wilkins, Miss
Munson	Scherer	Willett
Olmstead	Sellers	Wilson
Parker	Shapiro, Miss	Young
Perkins, Miss	Shier, Miss	
Petersen	Smeadon, Miss	TOTAL 81
Poebel	Stefanski, Miss	

There were present also the following nominees for membership in the Society: Mr. Taha Baqir, Mr. Burr Cartwright Brundage, Dr. Floyd V. Filson, Dr. Alexander Heidel, Dr. Thorkild Jacobsen, Dr. N. W. Lund, Mrs. W. M. Mackenson, Mr. Harry F. Mist, Jr., Dr. A. O. Sarkission, Dr. Henry Schaeffer, Mr. A. D. Tushingham—Total 11.

The following members of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research were also present at one or more sessions: O. J. Baab, E. C. Colwell, P. E. Davies, A. H. Forster, E. J. Goodspeed, A. A. Hays, P. E. Keen, John Knox, E. F. Krauss, L. F. W. Lesemann, L. L. Mann, P. S. Minear, A. C. Zenos—Total 13.

Baron von Heine Geldern was the guest of the Branch and gave an illustrated paper. Professor Fleming James of Berkley Divinity School was also a guest.

Members of the New Orient Society were also guests and a number were present at several of the sessions.

At every session there were present students, wives of members, and others interested in the programs.

### THE FIRST SESSION

At 9.30 A. M. on Friday, President Sheldon H. Blank called to order the first session of the meeting in James Henry Breasted Hall of the Oriental Institute.

Reading of the minutes of the meeting in Cleveland in 1937 was omitted, since they were already in print. The report of the Treasurer was then given (see above, p. 521).

The Auditing Committee then reported (see above, p. 521).

The President appointed the following as members of the Committee on Resolutions: Professors Braden (Chairman), Lybyar and May.

The Branch elected Professor Sellers (Chairman), Dr. Dubberstein and Dr. Albert as the Committee on Nominations. On motion, it was voted to dispense with the usual order of business and receive the report of the Nominating Committee at the close of the morning session.

There followed the reading of papers.

Professor O. R. SELLERS (*Presbyterian Theological Seminary*): Chiasmus in Egyptian.

Some ancient Egyptian texts show a chiasmic arrangement of words and of sections; e. g., the funerary stela of *Nb-pw-Snwsrt* (Gardiner's *Grammar*, pp. 168-9); PT 587. The same words may be repeated in reverse order, or the idea repeated may be expressed synonymously. The use of chiasmus in Egyptian was only occasional, but some of it seems to have been by design.

Dr. SAMUEL I. FEIGIN (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): The Creation of Woman.

On the seventh day God cut off (*bārâ* "a side" (*ṣela'*) of the bicorporal man and formed woman, as he had hewn the universe into a masculine heaven and a feminine earth in the beginning. "Image of God" refers to bicorporality. Because the earth was *tôhû wabôhû*, namely, water and air, creation took place in two cycles, in three orders, heaven, air and water, and earth.

Dr. ALEXANDER HEIDEL (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): The Problem of *Mummu* in the Babylonian Epic of Creation Reconsidered.

*Mummu* is a Sumerian appellative, derived from *mud-mud*, and denotes "one who gives birth to many" (*Tiāmat*); "one who begets many" (*Apsû*); "one who forms, fashions, or creates a plurality of things" Ea, Marduk, and *Mummu* the *sukallu* of *Apsû*. The *mummu* meaning "thunder" (*rigmu*) is an entirely distinct homonym.

President J. W. CREIGHTON (*Hastings College, Hastings, Nebraska*): Does Mana Offer an Acceptable Explanation of the Beginnings of Pantheism, Polytheism, and Monotheism?

At 11.00 A. M., Director John A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute delivered an address of welcome to the Branch and its guests.

This was followed by the Presidential Address of Professor Sheldon H. Blank, of Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio, "The Voice of the Laity in Early Post-Exilic Judaism."

Following the address of President Blank, Professor O. R. Sellers read the report of the nominating committee as follows:

Your committee nominates the following persons to hold office for the year 1938-39:

President—Professor W. C. GRAHAM, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

Vice-President—Professor JOSEPH WARD SWAIN, of the University of Illinois.

Secretary and Treasurer—Dr. ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR., of Seabury Western Theological Seminary.

Members of the Executive Committee—Professor SHELDON H. BLANK, of Hebrew Union College, and Dr. SHERMAN E. JOHNSON, of Nashotah House.

Signed O. R. SELLERS,  
WALDO H. DUBBERSTEIN,  
ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR.

On motion of Professor Price, seconded by President Morgestern, the report was accepted and the secretary instructed to cast a white ballot for the nominees. President Blank then declared them elected as nominated.

The Branch then adjourned to the Field Museum of Natural History, where it had its luncheon in the Cafeteria of the Museum.

At 1.30, under the guidance of Mr. Richard Martin of the Field Museum staff, a visit was paid to the new Kish Room.

## THE SECOND SESSION

President Blank called the second session to order in the Small Lecture Hall of the Museum at 2.00 P. M.

Director C. C. Gregg of the Field Museum of Natural History delivered an address of welcome to the members and guests. This was followed by the resumption of the reading of papers.

Professor C. S. BRADEN (*Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois*): Japanese Imperialism and Religion.

However much economic factors may lie at the basis of the present imperialistic expansion program of Japan, it is to religion that the government looks in no small degree as one of the strong motivating forces in getting people to support the program. Shintoism, the native religion of Japan, is invoked in support of four basic beliefs which are fundamental to Japan's present program.



(1) The Japanese people are in a peculiar sense a chosen people—God's people.

(2) They are therefore a unique and a superior people.

(3) Their government, that of a direct descendant of the Sun-goddess, is worthy of absolute obedience.

(4) Japan consequently has a world mission to perform.

All these are supported in the paper by direct quotation from eminent contemporary Japanese writers.

Professor MOSES BUTTENWEISER (*Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio*): Are the Stories of Elijah on Mount Horeb and Michiah ben Imlah's Predicting of Evil to Ahab Authentic or Legendary?

Mrs. HARLEY MACNAIR (*Chicago*): The Chinese Cult of Pattern Men (Illustrated).

Baron VON HEINE-GELDERN: Illustrated Lecture.

The Branch then adjourned to a tea held in its honor by the Field Museum of Natural History.

At 7.00 P. M. was held the Annual Dinner of the Branch at the Hotel Sherry. Following dinner, the two visiting professors to the American Schools of Oriental Research, Professors Olmstead and Graham, delivered addresses to the members and guests on their experiences in the Near East.

### THE THIRD SESSION

Because of the number of papers, it was found necessary to hold the third session in two divisions, contrary as this is to the practice of the Branch. The first of these was held in James Henry Breasted Hall of the Oriental Institute and was called to order by Vice-president Cameron at 9.00 A. M. The reading of papers was resumed.

Dr. WALDO H. DUBBERSTEIN (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): Agriculture and Land Tenure in Later Babylonia.

Greek sources ascribe unbelievable fertility to later Babylonia. Native sources indicate that barley and dates were the most common and the cheapest agricultural products; garlic the most popular vegetable. The State, the temples and wealthy landowners controlled most of the acreage. Feudal tenure existed in a complicated form. A decrease of independent farming is discernible.

Dr. ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR. (*Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, of Evanston, Illinois*): Water Supplies and Drainage in the Ancient City.

Since the key to life in Mesopotamia was largely water, it is not surprising to find the ancient dwellers of that region giving a great deal of attention to water supplies and drainage. Some of the structures they erected were worthy of comparison with those of any except the present period. When these were neglected for any of several reasons Mesopotamia's prosperity disappeared with them.

Dr. I. J. GELB (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): Ishtar and Shamash.

The current belief among scholars is that Ishtar was masculine and Shamash was feminine among all the ancient Semites and especially among the pre-Islamic Arabs, but that among the Assyrians and Babylonians the genders of these two divinities were exactly the reverse. On the basis of hitherto unknown or overlooked sources an attempt is made to prove that originally also among the ancient Akkadians Ishtar was masculine and Shamash was feminine.

Dr. A. O. SARKISSIAN (*University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois*): The Authenticity of Moses of Khorene's History.

Professor LEROY WATERMAN (*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan*): The Unpublished Assyrian Letters in the British Museum, A Reconnoitre and Report. (Illustrated.)

Professor HERBERT MAY (*Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio*): Some Scattered Archaeological Notes. (Illustrated)

Mycenaean, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian analogies are invoked to demonstrate that we may interpret as a symbol of the mother goddess the palm tree design on Palestine painted pottery, belonging to the late Hyksos and subsequent periods, and at times depicted with accompanying goats, stags, gazelles, birds, and doves. The Megiddo pottery offering stand of the Late Bronze Age is an especially good example of the tree with streams and of the symbolism of the bunches of dates as the breasts of the goddess. Canticles 7: 7-8; 8: 5, and Genesis 35: 8 are important biblical passages throwing light on our problem. The Stele of Baal with the Sprouting Lance from Ugarit, the pottery model chariot wheels, and the ivory inlay representation of the Canaanite king on the cherubim throne are also discussed briefly.

Miss WINIFRED SMEATON (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): Evidence for Tattooing in the Ancient Near East. (Illustrated)

Professor JULIUS LEVY (*Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio*): The Assyrian Calendar.

A linguistic analysis of the specific Assyrian month names found in the Old and Middle Assyrian sources (about 2000 to 1100 B. C.) from which it follows (1) that a part of these month names have the same

meaning as the corresponding Old Babylonian month names which still today are used in the Jewish calendar. (2) That these month names originate from the Amoritic elements of Assyria and Babylonia. (3) That they refer to events invariably returning at the same time of each year. (4) That they presuppose the knowledge of a year of 365 days. Discussion of corroborating evidence to this effect.

Professor ARNO POEBEL (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): Remarks on the Elamite Tablets from Persepolis.

President Sheldon Blank called the second division to order in Room 208 of the Oriental Institute, likewise at 9.00 A. M., and the reading of papers was resumed in that division also.

Dr. SHERMAN E. JOHNSON (*Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wisconsin*): Gospel Material in the Pauline Epistles.

A reëxamination of the Synoptic Gospels and Pauline epistles suggests that Paul may have known and used some of the materials underlying the gospels, viz. the Sermon on the Mount, the mission charges, apocalyptic discourses, etc. There are indications that in I and II Thess. Paul employs the same order found in gospel sections.

Mrs. SHERMAN E. JOHNSON (*Nashotah, Wisconsin*): Some Notes on The Translation of Job.

Miss ELIZABETH STEFANSKI (*Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*): The Coptic Oath, "By this Holy Shrine."

Mr. C. MARTIN WILBUR (*Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago*): Legal Aspects of Slavery in the Han Period in China.

Han law code lost; evidence assembled from contemporary edicts, memorials, legal cases. Enslavement legal by sale and for major crimes. Emancipation by purchase and imperial edict. Emancipation movement weak and non legal-philosophic. Owners right over slave's life countered by cases of officials prosecuted for killing slaves. Evidence shows slaves had disadvantageous position in criminal law.

Professor G. V. BOBRINSKOY (*University of Chicago*): The Daily Rites of the Hindus.

Dr. PIERRE M. PURVES (*Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*): An Early Scribal School at Nuzi.

Certain business archives from Nuzi reveal four generations of scribal development. The first generation documents present a style distinctly differing with the later style typical of most Nuzi tablets. The transition between the style of this early school and the later one takes place during the second generation.

Professor W. A. IRWIN (*Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*): A Note on Hosea's Wife.

Dr. THORKILD JACOBSEN (*Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*): The Assumed Conflict between Sumerians and Semites in Early Babylonian History.

At 12.30 the University of Chicago entertained the Members and Nominees of the Branch at Luncheon in the University Coffee Shop in Mandel Corridor. Director Wilson of the Oriental Institute again delivered an address of welcome, this time on behalf of the university.

#### THE FOURTH SESSION

At 1.30 President Blank called the fourth session to order in the James Henry Breasted Hall and the following papers were read:

Professor WILLIAM M. MCGOVERN (*Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois*): The Tunghu or Eastern Barbarians-Ancestors of the Mongols.

Professor A. H. LYBYER (*University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois*): Kemalism: The System of New Turkey.

Mr. HARALD W. JACOBSON (*Oriental Institute, University of Chicago*): Significance of the Silk Trade in Central Asian History.

Professor Braden then read the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

During the year death has taken one of the members of the Mid-west Branch of the American Oriental Society, known to most of us if not from personal acquaintanceship, then from his writings in the Biblical field. I refer to Dr. Frederick Carl Eiselin, who was for 36 years a member of the Society and president of this branch in 1922-23.

Dr. Eiselin did his doctoral work in the field of Oriental studies and achieved distinction as a teacher of the Hebrew and Assyrian languages. He is best and most widely known, however, for his work as a popularizer of Biblical Scholarship in such works as *The Books of the Pentateuch*, *Prophecy and Prophecy* and *The Writings*. His latest important work was as editor of and contributor to the Abingdon One Volume Commentary on the Bible.

Known as a stimulating teacher, he became in later years an administrator, first as president of Garrett Biblical Institute and still later as secretary of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Preoccupation with the numerous responsibilities imposed upon him by these important positions made it difficult for him to keep up scholarly work in his field, and he was not so frequently in our sessions in later years. However, he never got over a nostalgic longing for the leisure to continue the work of scholarship to which he had given so many years of his life. He did maintain a lively interest in the Bible and served actively

almost to the last on the Lesson Committee of the International Sunday School Association. He was also one of the members of the committee now working on a version of the American Standard Version of the Bible.

Resolved that the Society spread this brief memorial on its minutes and that the Secretary send a copy of it together with a word of sympathy to Mrs. Eiselin.

CHARLES S. BRADEN, *Chairman*,  
ALBERT H. LYBYER,  
HERBERT G. MAY.

Resolved that the Society express its hearty appreciation of the hospitality extended to it by its hosts, the Oriental Institute, the Field Museum, and the New Orient Society; that in particular we thank the staff of the Museum for the delightful tea which they served, and the University of Chicago for the luncheon which they so graciously offered us.

Resolved that we thank the officers of the society and the local committee of arrangements for a smooth running, well-ordered Conference, and especially for the very enjoyable dinner and program at the Hotel Sherry, Friday evening.

Resolved further that in planning the next year's program sufficient time be allowed for the reading of all papers before the entire Society, rather than dividing into sections. If this should necessitate the extension of the meetings through another afternoon or evening, this should be done.

In case this should not seem feasible, then it would be preferable to shorten the time allowed for each paper to be read.

CHARLES S. BRADEN,  
ALBERT H. LYBYER,  
HERBERT G. MAY.

After discussion this report was accepted as read.

On motion of President Morgenstern, seconded by Professor Buttenweiser, it was voted to leave the time and the place of the 1939 meeting in the hands of the executive committee.

There being no further business, the twenty-second annual meeting of the Branch adjourned to join with the Chicago Society of Biblical research.

Respectfully submitted,

ALLEN D. ALBERT, JR.,  
*Secretary.*

## AN ECHO-WORD MOTIF IN DRAVIDIAN FOLK-TALES \*

M. B. EMENEAU

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IN THE *Indian Antiquary* 14 (1885), 79-81, S. M. Natesa Sastri Pandit published an English translation of a Tamil folk-tale which is built around a word-play. Linguistic work in South Indian has provided me with versions of this tale in three separate Dravidian languages, Kota, Coorg, and Toda, and the material now at hand is sufficient for a presentation of the motif employed in these stories and an analysis of the stories themselves.

The motif I shall call the "Echo-word motif," borrowing the term "echo-word" from a discussion of certain noun-formations found in many, if not most, of the languages of India, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda, a discussion which was published in the Circulars of the Linguistic Society of India in 1928. The term did not originate there, but its origin is relatively unimportant and need not be traced further in this connexion. Such echo-words are well-known for the major Indo-Aryan vernaculars, e. g. in Hindi *jal-ul, hāth-uth*, in Bengali *jal-ṭal, hat-ṭat*, in Gujarati *hāth-bāth*, in Marathi *dzal-bil, ghoda-bida*. Prof. S. K. Chatterji, *ib.* 3 (14 May, 1928), pp. 7-8, states that the function of the formations is to express "[the thing denoted by the basic noun] and things similar to or associated with that," in much the same terms that he had used previously in *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta University Press, 1926), p. 176.

In the Dravidian languages such formations are also well-known as a feature of the vernaculars, e. g. Tamil *taṇṇir-kiṇṇir*, Telugu *gurramu-girramu*, Kannaḍa *kudure-gidure*. Since they are vernacular forms and found rarely, if at all, in the literatures of the literary languages, they have been almost totally neglected in the grammars. Work on the Toda, Kota, and Coorg languages has enabled me to state the method of formation and the functions of these words in an exact form. For Toda the formation is as follows.

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\* This paper represents a small part of the work done in South India under the auspices and by the aid of the American Council of Learned Societies in 1935-6 and the American Philosophical Society (Penrose Fund) in 1936-7.

All Toda nouns may be schematized by the formulas CVX and CV:X, in which C is the initial consonant, V or V: the first vowel or diphthong, and X all the remainder of the word. The following formulas then represent the method of formation:

CVX > 'CVX-ki-X and CV:X > 'CV:X-ki:-X.

The formation is reduplicative with a substitution morpheme -ki/-ki:- replacing the CV/CV: part of the basic noun. Details concerning the vowels and diphthongs represented by V and V: and the sandhi and other phonetic changes involved are to be found in my paper "Echo-words in Toda" read at the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in December 1937 and later published in *New Indian Antiquary* 1, 109-17. It needs only to be pointed out here that the formation is evaluated phonetically as a compound and that the second member of the compound, viz. ki-X/ki:-X, while it may be isolated as a separate word in certain circumstances, is entirely meaningless; if it should coincide with a real noun, this is accidental. The function of the formation is to denote a specimen which the speaker does not care to identify from among a hypothesized collection of identical discrete entities of infinite number or from a hypothesized infinite extension of a non-discrete handleable entity. The formation may be used in negative statements, prohibition, commands, questions, and hypothetical clauses, but not in affirmative statements except when ['ofodj] "all" is added to the formation. In some cases the infinite extension includes by implication all other entities that might replace the expressed entity in the situation stated in the utterance. This is the usage stated by Chatterji for the Indo-Aryan forms; these forms are used in general somewhat differently from the Dravidian forms. Examples of the Toda forms and their usage are: ['no:j kʷɑ:u,xi:'θuɖfuɹk] "let the dog not eat any carrion ([kʷɑ:u,xi:])," ['mæ:ntɕ,xi:ntɕ'θu:x] "hang yourself on some tree or other (or on anything else on which one can hang oneself)."

In Kota the same formulas will apply, with replacement of -ki/-ki:- by -gi/-gi:-. In Coorg also we can use the same formulas, with replacement of -ki/-ki:- by -gu/-gu:-. In these languages the function of the forms is the same as in Toda. From the meagre accounts in the grammars of other Dravidian languages and from my observations on Tamil and Kannaḍa, it appears that the Toda

formulas will serve unchanged for Tamil. For Kannaḍa we may use the Toda formulas with substitution of -gi-/gi:- for Toda -ki-/ki:-. In Telugu and Kuvi, the Toda formulas are to be applied with the substitution morpheme appearing as -gi-/gi:-. For Kui, Winfield's grammar does not mention the formation, but it is probable, since it is found in Kuvi, a closely related dialect, that it is found in Kui as well. Malayalam appears not to possess the formation; the books do not mention it, and I am informed by Prof. L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar that he does not know it for this language. Brahui appears not to have the formation, its place being taken by other types. For Tulu, and Kurukh, Gondi, and other central Dravidian languages, I have no information, except for Kolami, which has the formation with the morpheme -gi-/gi:-. I cannot state the function of the formation in the languages that are not known to me from direct study of the living speech; the books do not discuss the matter, but it may be suspected that Toda, Kota, and Coorg represent the general type.

Other types of formation are probably to be found in some of the languages. In fact, in the Tamil story as reported by Natesa Sastri the formation is *bhu:ta-ku:ta*, in which *ku:ta* is meaningless. Details of this formation are not given by Natesa Sastri.

In the four stories to be analyzed the same linguistic basis forms the motif. A man says aloud to himself or to his flock that precautions must be taken against any tiger or demon that may come to do mischief. In each case the tiger or the demon is represented by an echo-word. A tiger or a demon overhears and, in accordance with the general stupid nature of these creatures in the folk-lore, misunderstands. It knows that it is itself the tiger or the demon, but does not know what the meaningless second member of the compound denotes and fears that it is something even more terrible than itself. Some unexpected event then happens to it, and it is outwitted, thinking that the agency of this event is the fearsome creature denoted by the meaningless word.

The Tamil story given by Natesa Sastri is reproduced here from the *Indian Antiquary*, with a very few omissions and condensations.

In two adjoining villages there lived two famous men. The one was called Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth—one that could accomplish wonders with words alone. The other was called Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands—one who could make no use of the tongue, but was able to bear burdens, cut wood, and perform other physical labor.



It so happened that they agreed to live together in the house of Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth, to try and see which of them was the superior. They accordingly kept company for several months, till the great feast of nine nights (*navarātri*) came on. On the first day of the feast Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands wanted to sacrifice a goat to the goddess Kālī. So he said to Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth: "My dear friend, we both are mighty in our way, and so it would be shameful for us to buy with money the goat that we want to sacrifice. We should manage to get it without payment." "Yes, we must do so, and I know how," replied Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth, and he asked his friend to wait till that evening.

Now there lived a goatherd<sup>1</sup> at one *ghaṭikā*'s (hour's) distance from their house, and the two friends resolved to go to his fold that night and steal away one of his goats. Accordingly when it was dark they approached his fold. The goatherd had just finished his duties, and wanted to go home and have his rice hot. But he had no assistant to watch the herd, and he must not lose his supper. So he planted his crook before the fold, and throwing his blanket over it, thus addressed it: "My son, I am hungry, and must go for my rice. Till I return watch the herd. This wood is full of tigers and goblins (*bhūtas*). Some mischievous thief or *bhūta*—or *kūta*—may come to steal away the goats. [The echo-word *bhūta-kūta* is used here.] Watch over them carefully." So saying the goatherd went away.

The friends had heard what the goatherd said. Of course, Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth laughed within himself at this device of the goatherd to impress upon would-be robbers that he had left someone there to watch his goats, while really he had only planted a pole and thrown a blanket over it. Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands, however, did not see the trick, and spoke thus to his friend: "Now what are we to do? There is a watchman sitting in front of the fold." Thereupon Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth cleared away his doubts by saying that it was a mere stick, and entered the fold with his friend.

It had also so happened that on that very night a *bhūta* had come into the fold to steal away a goat. It shuddered with fear on hearing the goatherd mention the *kūta*, for having never heard of the existence of *kūtas*, it mistook this imaginary being to be something superior in strength to itself. So thinking that a *kūta* might come into the fold, and not wishing to expose itself till it knew well what *kūtas* were, the *bhūta* transformed itself into a goat and laid itself down among the herd. By this time the two Mighties had entered the fold and begun an examination of the goats. They went on rejecting animal after animal for some defect or other, till at last they came to the goat that was none other than the *bhūta*. They tested it, and when they found it very heavy—as, of course, it would be

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<sup>1</sup>In Natesa Sastri's account the word "shepherd" occurs here and so throughout the remainder of the episode. After this sentence he speaks of the herd as a flock of sheep and of the friends wanting to steal a sheep. I have tacitly corrected this to "goat" at each occurrence. Sheep are not sacrificed in South India, nor are they reared, except in the hills and there they are a recent innovation; the flock in the story must be one of goats.

with the soul of the *bhūta* in it—they began to tie up its legs to carry it home. When hands began to shake it the *bhūta* mistook the Mighties for the *kūtas*, and said to itself: "Alas! the *kūtas* have come to take me away. What a fool I was to come into the fold!" So thought the *bhūta* as Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands was carrying it away on his head, with his friend following him behind. But the *bhūta* soon began to work its devilish powers to extricate itself, and Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands began to feel pains all over his body and said to his friend: "My dear Mighty, I feel pains all over me. I think what we have brought is no goat!" Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth was inwardly alarmed at the words of his friend, but did not like to show that he was afraid. So he said: "Then put down the goat, and let us tear open its belly, so that we shall each have only one-half of it to carry." This frightened the *bhūta*, and he melted away on the head of Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands, who, relieved of his devilish burden, was glad to return home safe with his friend.

The *bhūta* too went to its abode and there told its fellow-goblins how it had involved itself in a great trouble and how narrowly it had escaped. They all laughed at its stupidity and said: "What a great fool you are! They were no *kūtas*. In fact there are no *kūtas* in the world. They were men, and it was most stupid of you to have got yourself into their hands. Are you not ashamed to make such a fuss about your escape?" The injured *bhūta* retorted that they would not have made such remarks had they seen the *kūtas*. "Then show us these *kūtas*, as you call them," said they, "and we will crush them in the twinkling of an eye." "Agreed," said the injured *bhūta*, and the next night it took them to the house of the Mighties, and said from a distance: "There is their house. I cannot approach it. Do whatever you like." The other *bhūtas* were amazed at the fear of their timid brother, and resolved to put an end to the enemies of even one of their caste. So they went in a great crowd to the house of the Mighties. Some stood outside the house, to see that none of the inmates escaped, and some watched in the back-yard, while a score of them jumped over the walls and entered the courtyard.

Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands was sleeping in the verandah, adjoining the courtyard, and when he heard the noise of people jumping, he opened his eyes, and to his terror saw some *bhūtas* in the court. Without opening his mouth he quietly rolled himself along the ground, and went to the room where Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth was sleeping with his wife and children. Tapping gently at the door he awoke his friend and said: "What shall we do now? The *bhūtas* have invaded our house, and will soon kill us." Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth told him quietly not to be afraid, but to go and sleep in his original place, and that he himself would make the *bhūtas* run away. Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands did not understand what his friend meant, but rolled his way back to his original place and pretended to sleep, though his heart was beating terribly with fear. Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth now awoke his wife, and instructed her thus: "My dearest wife, the foolish *bhūtas* have invaded our house, but if you do what I say we are safe, and the goblins will depart harmlessly. Go to the hall and light a lamp, spread

leaves on the floor, and then pretend to awake me for my supper. I shall get up and enquire what you have ready to give me to eat. You will then reply that you have only pepper-water and vegetables. With an angry face I shall say: 'What have you done with the three *bhūtas* that our son caught on his way home from school?' Your reply must be: 'The rogue wanted some sweetmeats on coming home. Unfortunately I had none in the house, so he roasted the three *bhūtas* and gobbled them up.'" Thus instructing his wife Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth pretended to go to sleep.

The wife did as her husband said, and during the conversation that followed, the fact that his son had roasted three *bhūtas* for sweetmeats was conveyed to the *bhūtas*. They shuddered at the son's extraordinary ability, and thought: "What must the father do for his meals when a son roasts three *bhūtas* for sweetmeats?" So they at once took to their heels. Then going to the brother they had jeered at, they said to him that indeed the *kūtas* were their greatest enemies, and that none of their lives was safe while they remained where they were. They therefore all resolved to fly away to the adjoining forest, and disappeared accordingly. Thus Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth saved himself and his friend on two occasions from the *bhūtas*.

The friends after this went one day to a nearby village and were returning home rather late in the evening. Darkness came on them before half the way was traversed, and there lay before them a dense wood infested by beasts of prey; so they resolved to spend the night in a high tree and go home next morning, and accordingly got up into a big *pīpal*. Now this was the very wood into which the *bhūtas* had migrated, and at midnight they all came down with torches to catch jackals and other animals to feast upon. The fear of Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands may be more imagined than described. The dreaded *bhūtas* were at the foot of the very tree in which he had taken refuge for the night. In his agitation he lost his hold, and came down with a horrible noise. His friend, however, was, as usual, ready with a device, and bawled out: "I wish to leave these poor beings to their own revelry. But you are hungry and must needs jump down to catch some of them. Do not fail to lay your hands on the stoutest *bhūta*." The goblins heard the voice which was already familiar to them, for was it not the *kūta* whose son had roasted three *bhūtas* for sweetmeats that spoke? So they ran away at once, crying out: "Alas, what misery! Our bitter enemies have followed us even to this wood!" Thus the wit of Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth saved himself and his friend for the third time.

The sun began to rise, and Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands thrice walked round Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth and said: "My dear friend, truly you only of us two are mighty. Mere physical strength is of no use without skill in words. The latter is far superior to the former, and if a man possesses both, he is a golden lotus having a sweet scent. It is enough for me now to have arrived at this moral! With your permission I shall return to my village." Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth, after honoring his friend as became his position, let him return to his village.

The Kota story forms part of a much longer tale. The first section describes a hunting party of seven Kota brothers of the village ['porga:r], of whom five were men of sense, the sixth was a fool, and the seventh was a lame man. Both the latter are despised persons in the Kota community, but on the hunting expedition the lame man, by throwing finely ground chilli-powder into their eyes, overcame successively a demon ['a:ta:munjv], a tiger and a python, which the elder brothers then killed. The use of chilli-powder or a bamboo syringe full of pepper-water for this purpose seems to have been usual in former times when the Kotas engaged in hunting as a normal part of their life, but in this particular story the lame man's use of the powder is said to be an instance of his cleverness and resource.

The ['a:ta:munjv], which is mentioned above and also plays a large part in what is to follow, is a demon in human shape, with coal-black skin, a huge mouth with projecting tusks, and long matted hair like rope. Its size seems to vary at will, sometimes it is only as big as a small child, sometimes it is gigantic, even as much as twenty feet tall. In one story a one-eyed, Cyclopean ['a:ta:munjv] occurs, but this is not a usual characteristic. It eats men and all sorts of domestic animals. Usually it goes quite naked, not wearing even the perineal cloth which the Kota always wears for decency, but occasionally it puts on human skins. Like men these demons have wives and children. The Kota name is puzzling. The demon may be referred to also as [munjv], as will be seen below. This word denotes a glutton who crams food into his mouth by handfuls. The meaning of the first member of the compound ['a:ta:-], is unknown; its form suggests that it is the attributive form of the negative of a verb (what is usually called in grammars of Dravidian languages the negative relative participle), but my informants cannot suggest any verb that it might plausibly be derived from. The next episode is united to the first by the father of the seven men giving to his lame son a wife, in order to curb his recklessness, and at the same time giving the fool a wife. The lame man was provided with a diligent woman who could work and make up for his physical disabilities, the fool with a clever woman who could think for him. The fool, then, unable to provide a good living for his wife, proposed to make a living by stealing buffaloes, cattle, goats, and fowls from those who possessed them. This he did and

the plan worked admirably until he was one day caught. By his wife's cleverness he was got off. From this point I translate the story.

When they arrived home, the fool said: "Nowhere have I seen a woman as clever as my wife," and husband and wife that night were full of joy. Then the wife said: "Husband! in our village [*'porɣa:ɾ*] the people shut up all their buffaloes, cows, and goats at night in sheds near the village. Here you will be caught by someone. But the people of [*'kina:ɾ*] drive their animals to the high pastures far from the village and shut them up in the cattle-shed there. So if you go only to the [*'kina:ɾ*] pasture, no one will find you out at all. You may drive here all we need." When she said that, the fool remembered that his younger brother, the lame man, had taken chilli-powder formerly when they went hunting, and accordingly he also took a small measure of chilli-powder as well as food tied up in a cloth and a rope, and went off to the high pastures of [*'kina:ɾ*].

At this time the headman of [*'kina:ɾ*] had fifty or sixty goats, buffaloes, and cows, and had got a sensible boy to watch the animals. In the district of [*'kina:ɾ*] in those days there were many tigers and demons ([*'a:ta:munjv*]) which daily were destroying and eating the domestic animals. So, that young herdsman every evening when he shut up the shed, before he went off, used to bow down to the four directions and say: "I am going. Cows! goats! buffaloes! Be very careful! Take good care in case any tigers or demons come." (Here the echo-words [*'puɕ,giɕ*] and [*'a:ta:munjv,gi:ta:munjv*] are used.) And every evening before he put the cattle in the shed a tiger on one side and a demon on the other used to be watching. If you ask what each of them thought, the tiger was thinking: "I only am the tiger ([*'puɕ*]). But what is that which he calls a [*'giɕ*]?" And the demon was thinking: "I only am the demon ([*'a:ta:munjv*]). But what is that which he calls a [*'gi:ta:munjv*]?" So for ten or fifteen days they thought and did not enter that shed.

Finally on this night the tiger thought: "Whatever will come, let it come!" and opened the door and entered. But the demon still thought: "I must not enter," and stayed outside. Just on this night after it became dark the fool also, with his rope and chilli-powder and food tied in a cloth, opened the door and entered that shed. He thought: "Only if I take away a big male-goat will my wife be pleased with me," and felt about in the dark in all corners of the shed. On the side opposite the door he felt a goat that seemed to be the biggest and put the rope round its neck and dragged it outside. The tiger (for that was what he had found) was afraid and thought: "That young herdsman was right in what he said. This is the [*'giɕ*] that he talked about. Today I have been caught. How can I escape? That [*'giɕ*] will certainly kill me," and when the fool pulled, it followed him. When they were outside, the fool said: "I cannot pull it along," and took the rope which he had tied around its neck and put it over its face with a slip-knot like reins. Then he mounted it like a horse and hit it on the hindquarters with his stick and rode it along as one rides and guides a horse.

Since it was night, the poor fool could not see the way to ['porɣa:r]. So it happened that riding it along and struggling to guide it he came just above the village ['kina:r]. It was then becoming a little light before dawn. He looked to see how big a goat he had brought, and behold! its body was all striped and felt smooth and sleek. He examined it well and thought: "This is a tiger. When it finds out that I am a man it will kill me." So he took a handful of the chilli-powder that he had and threw it into the tiger's eyes. The tiger's eyes burned and it shut them and jumped about, and this man held on by the rope. The tiger jumped up and came down thud, and its hind-leg was broken. It jumped again and its fore-leg was broken. While the fool was holding tight to the tiger and struggling with it, the sky became fully light and the priests came to the water-channel to wash before they worshipped. They heard the noise of thudding and crashing on the hill above and when they went to see what it was, they saw the fool from ['porɣa:r] struggling with a tiger. They asked: "Fool! what are you doing?" and he answered: "As I was coming on the way to ['kina:r], the tiger came out of the forest and walked slowly along in front of me on the way I had to go and I came behind. It entered the ['kina:r] headman's cattleshed and seized a goat. So I thought: 'It is destroying the headman's animals,' and I caught and beat it and have driven it here. Come, let us kill it." The tiger had both eyes closed and was unable to open them and was thrashing about with two legs useless, so the priests neglected to go to the temple to worship but shouted and all the ['kina:r] people came. They stood around the tiger and saw what the fool had done and felt like people in a dream. Then all the people struck the tiger with stones and killed it.

Afterwards the headman took the fool to his house and enquired about the whole affair and said: "I will do something for the man who did me so great a favor." He called his servants and said: "Make five bullock-loads of the millet in the two storage-baskets in our house and take them to ['porɣa:r] and return." Just as he ordered, they unloaded the five bullock-loads of grain at ['porɣa:r] and returned. When the ['porɣa:r] people asked the fool how he got the millet, he said: "It was just because of my heroic deed that he gave it to me."

Afterwards his wife being pleased with him said: "Husband! do you realize that I brought it about that we got so much millet without work?" He answered: "Things come to me just because I always listen to the words of my clever wife." That night, after they had slept, in the morning she said: "Husband! only if we have meat to eat with the millet that we have now, will we be well off. So tonight also you must go to the same place where you went yesterday and get a good, fat male-goat." He replied: "Good! my wife! I will do so. Grind for me a small measure of chilli-powder." She ground the chilli-powder into good fine flour and sent him off with it. He took that powder and a rope and his stick and went to that same place.

Just as on the previous night that young goatherd said: "Cows! goats! buffaloes! be well on your guard lest some demon or some thief should

come." (The echo-words ['a:ta:munjv,gi:ta:munjv] and ['kaŋ,giŋ] are used.) And he shut the door and went off. Before the fool came, the demon heard the goatherd's words and thought: "How long shall I wait? What comes, let it come," and when it was getting dark, it stealthily opened the door and entered. For a little time its heart was beating violently: "[tiŋk tiŋk]," and then the fool in the darkness opened the door and entered and shut the door. Then the demon thought: "Oh! at last the [ginjv] has come. Today I shall die. So whatever the [ginjv] tells me to give, I will give and save my life." The fool then went around feeling in the dark all the goats there, and the demon was the biggest goat of them all. When he felt it in the dark he seized its top hair and pulled. As the demon pulled one way and he the other, the tuft was pulled out of its head. Then the demon said: "Father! I came not knowing that you, the ['gi:ta:munjv], would come. If you let me go and do not kill me, I will give you a big pot of gold that is at my house. Do not kill me! I prostrate myself at your feet; I call you god. Let me go!" The fool replied: "Only if you give me the jar of gold will I let you go; otherwise, I will kill you. Listen well to what I say!" Then the demon said: "Oh my god! ride upon me! I will carry you to my house and give you that jar of gold." He answered: "Well then! carry me!"

Accordingly that demon put him on its shoulder and in a moment carried him to its house and put him down on the ground before the house. It went inside and brought a jar of gold and gave it to him. He said: "I cannot carry it from here. Only if you carry me and the gold to where I say and put me down, will I let you go; otherwise, I will swallow you," and he opened his mouth and snarled. When the demon heard that noise, it said: "Oh my god! don't do that! I gave you the gold and was obedient." The fool said: "You must also carry me and the gold." Accordingly the demon quickly put him on one shoulder and the jar of gold on the other and came to the clay-pit at ['porga:ʔ] and put him down. He said: "Be off in a hurry without looking to one side or the other." When it heard that, it thought: "I will run and save my life," and said: "Oh ['gi:ta:munjv]! Hereafter do not come to that cattle-shed. I gave you gold and satisfied you. Every day I will seize one goat and so feed my children. Do not trouble me again!" This fool said: "So be it!" and the demon went off running to save its life.

There follow other episodes. The lame man went off to get a pot of gold as the fool had done and was killed by the demon. The fool killed the demon and married his lame brother's widow. The fool also acquired a third wife ['ka:ni:ɕ] by rescuing her from a Kurumba.<sup>2</sup> This happened when he had set off a third time at his

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<sup>2</sup>The Kurumbas are a tribe or a set of tribes (they have never been investigated intensively by an ethnologist and even this elementary point is quite uncertain) who inhabit the lower parts of the Nilgiri plateau as well as other jungle parts of South India. The Nilgiri tribes, Kotas, Todas, and Badagas, attribute to the Kurumbas great powers as sorcerers.

first wife's bidding to see if he could be again successful in getting something at the ['kina:ɾ] cattle-shed. Translation follows.

When he went to the ['kina:ɾ] cattle-shed taking ['ka: rni: ɕ] with him, it was midnight. Whatever time it was, would the fool forget what his wife had told him? He did not forget, nor did he think that he had got a new wife also. He remembered only that he must finish the thing for which he had come, and said: "Wife! sit outside. I will go and bring out a big goat." He opened the door and after making her sit outside he went in. She thought: "It is probably his shed." In a few minutes she heard a noise of people dragging one another about. If you ask what it was, the wife of that demon which he had caught previously had come and entered that shed. That she-demon had thought previously: "The boy who shut up the cattle told the cattle: 'Cattle! be careful lest some demon ([a: ta: munjv, gi: ta: munjv]) should come,' and said: 'Oh ['gi: ta: munjv]! kill the demon which comes to seize the goats.' This ['gi: ta: munjv] is only that fool." Now when she was caught by the fool she said: "God! do not kill me! I will bring from my house everything that you want and will give it to you." He said: "You came here not knowing that I am the ['gi: ta: munjv] that ate your husband the demon. I will not release you. Ah! I will bite you." The she-demon thought: "He is really a ['gi: ta: munjv]," and begged him saying: "God! I will give you all the property that is in my house. We have gold and silver and do not do anything with it. I will give it all to you. Don't do anything to me." He replied: "Bring it quickly." Then when the she-demon was about to go, he said: "I know that you thought that you would deceive me and get off, so I will not let you go." Then the she-demon took from her mouth a thing like a stick and said: "Here! hold this! I will come in a moment with all that gold and silver." He asked: "What is this?" and she replied: "Father! this is my life-stick." When he asked: "What do you do with this?" she said: "My life is inside this. You cannot see the stick since it is dark here, but feel for it in the dark and see its power. Bend the stick and feel its shape. Then feel my shape." When he did so, her body was the same shape as the stick in his hand. Then he said: "All right! go and return quickly."

He came outside and sat talking with ['ka: rni: ɕ]. Before they could wink, the she-demon returned with a big jar full of gold and silver and stood before them. He said: "Carry us and the jar and set us down at the clay-pit of ['porga:ɾ]," and in a moment she set them down there. Then the she-demon prostrated herself at his feet and said: "Give me my life-stick, or I shall die." According to the maxim which says: "It is not right to injure a woman," he said: "Because you are a female, I will let you go. But if you promise that from today you will not go to that cattle-shed and do any harm, I will give you your life-stick. If you were a male, I would kill you." She replied: "There is no going against what god says. I give you my oath that from today I will not touch the ['kina:ɾ] animals,"



and she touched his head and prostrated herself at his feet.<sup>8</sup> The fool gave her the life-stick and told her to go.

She saw the beauty of ['kɑ: rni: ɕ] and said to him: "Why should I not also become the wife of you who have this beautiful woman as wife? It is just right that a male should become the husband of a female." He answered: "Not so, demon! If I want to marry you, a year must pass. Then I must leave my wives and become a demon like you. While I have my wives, I must not marry you. So do not feel a vain desire. I am a [ginjv] and you are a demon ([munjv]). If you become my wife, you cannot support my weight in sexual intercourse. Only a goat can mate with a goat, and only a horse can mate with a horse. If a stallion mates with a goat, will the goat be able to support the stallion's weight? A she-demon ([munjv]) cannot support the weight of a [ginjv]. Do not feel such a desire. Be off quickly!" The she-demon said: "It is enough that by the grace of god you have let me go without killing me," and before he could wink she was off over the hills. Then the fool and ['kɑ: rni: ɕ] took the gold and silver to his house in seven or eight loads, and when they had finished the sky began to get light before dawn.

The remainder of the story describes how the father of ['kɑ: rni: ɕ] rejoiced because his daughter had been rescued from the Kurumba and how the fool had many children and became headman of his village. It is obvious from the last paragraph translated that the Kotas receive a peculiar pleasure from the word-play and it is probable that the incident has been added merely to elaborate on the words. The whole story illustrates excellently the Kota habit of narrating story-motifs which are clichés of Indian story-telling as events which happened to Kotas of former times. The informant declares that they are all historical events, and in fact the Kota language has no word for an imaginative story or fable, but only for a narrative of events that really happened. Even the well-known fable of the mongoose that killed the serpent and saved the child but was itself killed in ignorance by the angry parent because of the blood on its mouth is told as an event that happened to people who are still living.

The following Coorg story, on the other hand, an instance of the echo-word motif, is told as an imaginative story and has very little in it that is specifically Coorg in flavor. The most obvious Coorg touches are minor details, e. g. the sash that the man unties from his waist and ties on the tiger's neck, and the plantain-grove near the house, a typical feature of the Coorg country.

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<sup>8</sup> This is a Kota method of swearing an oath.

In a certain city a man and his wife were making their living by tilling a small piece of ground and working hard. To that city came a band of thieves who caused much trouble to the people, by getting into the houses of the wealthy people and stealing gold, silver, money, clothes, and all sorts of property. Being unable to endure the ravages of these thieves all the people went to the king of that country in that city and complained. The king said to his minister and all his officials: "Whoever catches these thieves, to him I will give a great gift," and he sent them off. Then everyone in obedience to the king's order made great efforts to catch the thieves, but by no means could anyone catch them.

Now this man that we mentioned, who was living there with his wife, had no learning. He was not a sensible man nor a man of knowledge; he was a very stupid man. But he was a big man with a very strong body. His wife however was a very sensible woman. The king saw this strong man and his body and became joyful. He sent a servant to him and had him summoned and said to him: "If you catch and hand over to me the thieves who have come to our city, I will give you a great gift; otherwise, I will imprison you." When he heard that, the stupid man feared and said to the king: "So be it!" and returned to his house. He told his wife of the matter, saying: "It appears that we must catch these thieves and hand them over to our king; otherwise, he will imprison us." Then husband and wife felt great sorrow, and stayed in their house, doing nothing, and not eating or drinking.

Then the wife of that stupid man had to defecate and went out to their plantain-grove and squatted down. At that time the thieves came and were talking among themselves, saying that that night they would go to that stupid man's house to steal. The stupid man's wife overheard them, unseen by the thieves. She returned to the house stealthily without being discovered. Without her husband's knowledge she killed a cobra and taking its poison mixed it into rice-flour, and fried cakes. Then she put them on a plate and placed them so that smell would go well through the house. Shutting the door she and her husband went outside and sat hidden in the plantain-grove. At midnight the thieves came. They broke the lock of the house and having entered and looked around they found in the house no money or gold or silver or anything good. As they were searching they saw in the kitchen on a plate the cakes that she had fried. One thief picked them up and smelt them and they smelt very good. When he perceived that, he called his companions and said: "Even if we go away without getting money, it doesn't matter. Here are some cakes. Even their smell is good and fills the belly. Come along. Let us each eat one." So all of them came and ate the cakes on the plate. In a short time the poison that she had added affected all the thieves and they all died. Soon it dawned. The husband and wife left the plantain-grove and came to the house and when they looked, there were all the thieves dead. When she saw that, the wife said to her husband: "You go and tell our king that you have killed the thieves," and sent him off. So the husband went and told the king. The king was much pleased and gave him a thousand rupees. So for a little time everyone was happy.

After a little time a tiger came to this country. It caught and ate the cattle and calves and then caught the dogs and the pigs and when all these were finished, it began to catch and eat men. After that it caught the king's state-horse. Then the king became very angry and said: "Somehow this tiger must be shot. If we go on without killing it, it will get us one by one and kill us." But for all their efforts the tiger was not caught. After that the king announced to all the inhabitants of the country and the people of that city: "Whoever kills this tiger or catches it and hands it over to me, to him I will give half of my kingdom." All the inhabitants of the country made great efforts day and night to kill the tiger, but for all that the tiger could not be caught by anyone. So that tiger went on causing much trouble.

When it went on like that, the king sent a servant and had that stupid man summoned and said to him: "If you kill this tiger or catch it and hand it over to me, I will give up to you half of my kingdom; otherwise, I will shoot you." That man could not oppose the king's words but said: "So be it!" and went to his house and told his wife of the matter. Then the wife said: "It will be impossible for us to shoot or catch that tiger. So before dawn let us start from here and without the king's knowledge let us go to another country." So in the evening they ate their meal and lay down. Just before dawn the wife called her husband and said: "Before I prepare food, you go and look among the king's horses for the biggest and bring it here. By that time I will have prepared rice and curry. Then after eating our meal we will mount the horse and go." So her husband went to the king's stable to bring a horse.

As he went he was in fear of the tiger and went along, feeling his way in the darkness and saying: "Is there any tiger anywhere?" (Here the echo-word [*'nari guri*] is used.) That night the tiger had gone to the king's stable to seize a horse. At that time this man came talking like this. In the darkness he could not see the horses but put his arms round the necks of all the horses and looked for the biggest. As he went along, the necks of the horses seemed small. In the darkness the tiger was sitting in a corner. He came not knowing that it was a tiger and put his arms around its neck also. He thought: "This is the biggest horse," and untied the sash on his waist and tied it around the tiger's neck. At that moment the tiger was thinking: "This man says: 'Is there any tiger (*['nari guri]*) here?' When he says 'tiger' that is myself. But when he says '*[guri]*,' what is bigger than I?" and it was afraid and did nothing. This man thought that the tiger was a horse and came with it and tied it up in the fuel-shed in front of the house. After that he went into the house and by the time he and his wife had eaten their meal dawn came.

Then his wife came outside and looked. When she saw the tiger tied up in the fuel-shed, she called her husband and asked who had tied the tiger there. Her husband came running out quickly and looked. When he saw the tiger, he became terrified and fell down in a faint. His wife brought a little cold water and rubbed it on his head and face and made him get up. In a few moments he regained his senses and she said to him: "In this

affair god has protected us. Go quickly and tell our king about it," and she sent him off. So he went quickly to the king's palace and told the king about the matter. Then the king came and saw the tiger and felt great joy. He gave him half of his kingdom and plenty of money and from that day he honored him and everyone lived happily, it appears.

The Toda story, like all Toda stories, displays the sketchiness and almost taciturnity of the Toda story-telling technique. This is in remarkable contrast with the manner in which stories are told by other South Indian communities. There we find abundance of circumstantial detail, retailing of long conversations, reporting by the characters in full detail of events that have happened to them although the events have already been described in the narrative, and other typically verbose characteristics of unlettered literature. The contrast is so remarkable that some explanation seems called for, and I have hinted at an explanation in "The Songs of the Todas" (*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 77, 543-560), pp. 543-4. The art of extempore lyric song has been developed in the Toda culture to an extraordinary degree. It is exercised on all possible occasions by all the members of the tribe. Furthermore, when many Todas are gathered together and sit unoccupied, their long silences are broken (if not by singing) by the ridiculing of one of their number. This (called [kɥuɔɔɔɔɔɔ]) usually is a good-natured recalling of some amusing incident; e. g. on one occasion when I was present, a young man was jested with because he had become drunk at a funeral and reeled about, quarrelling, as he thought, with the man whose funeral ceremony was going on. Some of the more ready-witted Todas carry the sport to a great length, inventing ridiculous detail around a small nucleus of fact and building up a towering edifice of chaff. This may be reverted to again and again at successive meetings of the same individuals, and occasionally nicknames arise as a result. These two interests, songs and ridicule, seem between them to fill up the Toda field of spare-time verbal activity, and story-telling is neglected so that the expected technique is absent. In comparison with Kota or Coorg stories, the Toda ones, whether told to children or meant for adult audiences, are crude and amateurish efforts. What I have written here is of course merely descriptive of the Toda situation; to explain the neglect of story-telling as an art is an impossible task, of the order of the proverbial "proving a negative." The Toda story, as it would be told to a child, is as follows.

A certain Toda one evening had finished milking all the buffaloes and put the calves in the calf-shed. When he had put them there and had shut up the shed, he said: "My friend! (This appears to be his companion, but no explanation was given.) May no tiger carry off a calf!" (Here the echo-word ['pysj xisj] is used.) And he came to the houses. A certain tiger was behind the calf-shed and heard what this man said. That tiger thought: "When I am the tiger ([pysj]), what is that other thing, the [kisj]?" and it entered the calf-shed to seize a calf. Then on the back of one of those calves a rat was sitting. The rat at once leaped onto the tiger's back. The tiger thought: "Oh! it is this that he calls the [kisj]. It may do me some harm," and it became afraid and at once, without seizing a calf, it ran away in its fright, they say. The tiger was frightened like this by a rat. Understand well, child!

The Toda word for "rat" is [isj], and it is highly probable that a further verbal play is intended between [kisj] and [isj]. It is perhaps this word-play that gives the story its aberrant form as compared with the three preceding versions.

The Tamil, Kota, and Coorg stories show two distinct story-types built up on the echo-word motif. In one a tiger is the stupid creature that fails to understand. It is found in the darkness of a room by a man who, like the tiger, is looking for a domestic animal with intent to carry it off, and, thinking him to be the unknown creature of the second part of the echo-word, it lets itself be led out from the building as if it were the domestic animal, and is taken to another place by the man, who does not realize what he has found. In the Kota version it allows itself to be ridden like a horse and the period of misunderstanding is brought to an end by the man at dawn recognizing that he is riding a tiger. He finds himself in the impossible position where "who rides on a tiger can never dismount," but by his cunning he disables the animal which is then killed. The Coorg does not say specifically that the man rode the tiger like a horse, but it is probable that he did so, since he was under the impression that it was a horse that he had found. The end is given a different twist from that of the Kota version. The tiger is tied up in a shed and the discovery is made by the man's wife in the morning. After a comic episode of the man's fainting from the shock of the discovery, the tiger is presumably killed.

In the other story-type built up on the same motif it is a demon that fails to understand. As in the first type, the demon and the man are both out to steal a domestic animal in the same place, and the man in the darkness stumbles upon the demon, which takes

him for the unknown fearsome creature. The two versions that display this type, the Tamil and the Kota, differ widely in detail, but there is an essential unity in that in both the deception is carried out knowingly by the men after they have discovered that the demons are deluded. To the end the demons do not discover that there is a deception and the stories end with the men delivered from the attentions of the demons. Comparison of the details of the two versions will serve no useful purpose at present; if other versions of the type are found, it may be that points of resemblance in detail to either the Tamil or the Kota version may appear.

The first and second types are closely related to one another. In both, the misunderstanding creature is found by the man when he is searching in the dark for a domestic animal. The Tamil version of the second type is very close to both versions of the first type, in that the demon has taken on the form of a domestic animal and is carried off by the man, and especially close to the Kota version in that the domestic animal is a goat. The Kota version of the second type is slightly more divergent from the first type, since the demon has kept its own form and its real nature is at once apparent to the man.

Of the three stories, Tamil, Kota, and Coorg, the Coorg is an example of the first story-type, that in which the tiger fails to understand the echo-word, the Tamil is an example of the second type, that in which a demon is the deluded creature, and the Kota version gives the two types in succession. Without more versions it is impossible to plot the occurrence of the two types geographically, but we may guess that the Kotas have acquired the two types from different sources and combined them because of their resemblance into one story, which is then in their usual fashion attributed to a Kota of former times. We may only hope that other versions of the type will be collected elsewhere in the Dravidian speech-area and throw light on the distribution.

There remains the Toda version, which is markedly aberrant as compared with the other three. It is clearly connected with the first type, since it is a tiger that is deluded by the words of a man and it is the darkness of a shed that contributes to the delusion. But otherwise there is no resemblance. The imaginary creature feared by the tiger is not impersonated by a man but by a rat; it has been suggested above that this is due to a desire to make a further word-

play between [kisj], the meaningless word extracted from the echo-word compound, and [isj] "rat." Other details are quite lacking in the very sketchy story. Again it is permissible to hope that a closer parallel will be found elsewhere in South India.

This paper, while it presents four stories and analyzes out two main types of development and an unsatisfactory third (which may be *sui generis*), is in effect a plea for the collection in the Dravidian-speaking area of other versions of the same motif, by means of which the types can be established on a firm basis and the distribution mapped out with a view to the reconstruction of the historical spread of the motif in its several types.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Variants of some of the motifs, stories, and echo-words appearing in this paper are mentioned in a paper by W. Norman Brown in *AJP* 42 (1921), pp. 137, 145-147. My paper was written in India where access to Prof. Brown's paper was impossible. On referring to it since my return to the United States of America I find that the Sinhalese tale analyzed by Prof. Brown (*loc. cit.* 147) is of my first type, a leopard being substituted for the tiger, which is not found in Ceylon. The denouement of the Sinhalese story is different from that of my stories and apparently based on the introduction of another motif. Brown's linguistic analysis of the echo-word in the Sinhalese version seems over-subtle and in the light of the stories that I have presented will not prove close connexion of the Sinhalese version with Natesa Sastri's Tamil version, which belongs to my second type. The Sinhalese echo-word is of a formation common in that language (oral information from Mr. S. Paranavitana of the Ceylon Dept. of Archaeology) and probably to be connected historically with the Gujarati type of which I have given one example at the beginning of this paper.

Brown's paper serves to place my collection of stories in the much broader perspective of the folk-tales of India. It does not however lessen the need for the collection of further examples of the echo-word motif in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India.

THE KASHMIRIAN ATHARVA VEDA, BOOK EIGHTEEN  
EDITED WITH CRITICAL NOTES

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*Introduction*

The eighteenth book of the Pāippalāda here presented is of moderate length: in arrangement of contents it differs somewhat from the other books and the implications of this difference are not wholly clear.

*Of the ms.*—This eighteenth book in the Kashmir ms begins f227b18 and ends f239b9, almost twelve folios. Most of the pages have 20 or 21 lines of script, a few have only 19. The birch-bark is in good condition throughout the book except for a break at the top of f236. There are, as heretofore, some marginal corrections.

*Punctuations, etc.*—The regular, almost unvaried, habit of the ms in this book is to use the colon (single bar) or virāma to indicate a pause, except at the end of hymns and to set off colophons: to set off colophons and numerals the period ("z") is used. After each hymn in this book, excepting three, a numeral is placed to indicate its order in the anuvāka: in two places the numerals are not correct, one of which, after hymn 7, seems surely to be a simple mistake, the other, after hymn 28, is a "6" instead of a "2"; in this latter case it is probable that a stanza numeral has taken the place of the kāṇḍa numeral. Stanzas are not numbered.

The book is divided into six anuvākas of unequal length: at the end of each of the first five anuvākas is the proper colophon, at the end of the last one stands only the general colophon marking the end of the book.

Accents are marked on several entire hymns and on a considerable number of stanzas in other hymns: accents are marked on 1. 1—3. 8 and 21. 1—23. 4, also on some stanzas in hymns 5, 7, 8, 12, 16, and 24.

*Extent of the book.*—This book as edited has 32 hymns divided into six anuvākas: again in this book the decad division of long hymns is made important and the arrangement of stanzas agrees



rather closely as between the Śāunikiya text and that of the Pāippa-lāda. Hymn 27 is prose. As in previous books a table is given here to present succinctly some statistics. Only nine stanzas are new.

1	hymn	has	3	stanzas	=	3
2	hymns	have	4	stanzas each	=	8
1	hymn	has	6	"	=	6
1	"	"	7	"	=	7
1	"	"	8	"	=	8
3	hymns	have	9	stanzas each	=	27
19	"	"	10	" "	=	190
2	"	"	11	" "	=	22
1	hymn	has	12	"	=	12
1	"	"	14	"	=	14
<hr/>						
32						297

*Contents of the book.*—All of § Book 14 is here except a few stanzas; about half of § Book 13; § Book 15. 1 and 15. 2. 1; some stanzas from the beginning and from the end of Book 16; Book 17, but with omission of six stanzas; and as the last stanza of the book here stands § 18. 4. 89 which is the last stanza in § Book 18. In WT p. 1014ff Lanman gives a conspectus of the contents of Pāipp Book 18 and a discussion of the significance of the arrangement. He interprets the inclusion of parts, but not all, of § Books 15 and 16 as an acknowledgment by Pāipp that all the material of those books is regarded as belonging to its own text, and he interprets the inclusion of § 18. 4. 89 as an acknowledgment that all of § Book 18 is regarded as part of the Pāipp text. The manner in which the Kashmirian manuscript presents the material here may be vaguely comparable to quotation by pratika: but the method is not used in any previous book nor in Book 19; nor, I suspect, in Book 20; and quoting the last stanza of a book is not a common mode of indicating the use of the entire book. It must however be remembered that Books 12—18 of § are of different character from the rest of that collection. With some reservations I can think that the Kashmir manuscript means to intimate that it accepts more of § Books 15 and 16 than the parts actually written down.

The question concerning the funeral stanzas (§ Book 18) is somewhat different: the last stanza of § Book 18 has little or no

connection with the funeral stanzas but there it stands with them, whereas in Pāipp it stands as the last stanza of the anuvāka which is Book 17 in Ś. To some scholars it may seem more fittingly joined to the hymn to the sun (Indra as sun) than associated with the funeral stanzas. It occurs as the first stanza of RV 1. 105, a hymn which some ancient and modern commentators have thought alludes to an adventure of Trita in a well: the associations of Trita with Indra and the sun are fairly clear and perhaps sufficient to justify the position of the stanza with the material which is Book 17 of Ś. But there is still the question as to why the funeral stanzas are not in the Pāippalāda.

# ATHARVA VEDA PĀIPPALĀDĀ ŚĀKHĀ BOOK EIGHTEEN

## 1

(Ś 14. 1)

[f227b18] *athāṣṭādaśaṁ likhyate* zz [19] *oṁ namo gaṇeśāya |*  
*oṁ namo jvālābhagavatyāi | oṁ namas tilottamāyāi* zz [20] *oṁ*  
*satyenottabhītā bhūmis sūryenottabhītā dyāuḥ ṛtenādityas tiṣṭha-*  
[f228a] *nti divi somo adhiśritaḥ somenādityā balinas somena pṛthivī*  
*mahī* [2] *atho nakṣattrāṇām eṣāṁ upasthe soma āhita | somam*  
*manyate pāpivā-*[3] *n yat saṁpiśanty oṣadhim. | somam yaṁ vrah-*  
*maṇo vidur na tasyāśnāpitārthivā* [4] *aśchadvidhānāir gupito*  
*bārhatāis soma rakṣitaḥ grāvṇām iśchrṇvaṁ tiṣṭhasi* [5] *a te naś-*  
*nāti pārthivaḥ cittir vā vopabarhaṇāi cakṣur ā vadaty añjanaṁ |*  
*dyāu-*[6] *r bhūmiḥ kośa āśid yad ayāt sūryā patim. | rāibhy āśid*  
*anudeyī nārāṣaṇ-*[7] *si nyocanī | sūryāyā bhadraṁ id vāso gātha-*  
*yetu pariṣkṛtaḥ |* [8] *stomā āsan paridhayaṣ kuvīraṁ śchanda*  
*upaśaḥ sūryāyā aśvinā varād a-*[9] *gnir āśit purogavaḥ somo*  
*vadhūyūr abhavad aśvinā stām ubhā varā | sūryām yat pa-*[10] *tye*  
*śaṁsantīm manasā savitādadhāt | mano asyā ana āśi dyāur āśid uta*  
*ścha-*[11] *dīh śukrāv anaḍvāhāv astām yad ayāt sūryāt patim. |*  
*ṛksāmābhyām upahi-*[12] *tāu gāvāu te sāmṇāv āitām. śrotraṁ tī*  
*cakre āsthām divi pañcā carācaraḥ* [13] *z 1 z*

In the right margin of f228a opposite line 10 is dhat.; the ms marks the accents in this hymn and in the next two.

For the invocation read: *athāṣṭādaśaṁ likhyate z z oṁ namo gaṇeśāya z oṁ namo jvālābhagavatyāi z oṁ namas tilottamāyāi z z*

Read: satyenottabhitā bhūmis sūryenottabhitā dyāuḥ | ṛtenā-dityās tiṣṭhanti divi somo adhi śritaḥ z 1 z somenādityā balinas somena pṛthivī mahī | atho nakṣatrāṇām eṣām upasthe soma āhitaḥ z 2 z somaṁ manyate papivān yat sampiṇṣanty oṣadhim | somaṁ yaṁ vrahmāṇo vidur na tasyāśnāti pāṛthivaḥ z 3 z āchadvidhānāir gupito bārhatais soma rakṣitaḥ | grāvṇām ic chrṇvan tiṣṭhasi †a te nāśnāti pāṛthivaḥ z 4 z cittir vāvopabarhaṇaṁ cakṣur vāvā-bhyañjanam | dyāur bhūmiḥ kośa āsīd yad ayāt sūryā patim z 5 z rāibhy āsīd anudeyī nārāśaṁsī nyocanī | sūryāyā bhadram id vāso gāthayāitu pariṣkṛtam z 6 z stomā āsan paridhayaḥ kuriraṁ chanda opaśaḥ | sūryāyā aśvinā varāgnir āsīt purogavaḥ z 7 z somo vadhūyur abhavad aśvināstām ubhā varā | sūryām yat patye śaṁ-santīm manasā savitādādāt z 8 z mano asyā ana āsīd dyāur āsīd uta chadiḥ | śukrāv anaḍvāhāv āstām yad ayāt sūryā patim z 9 z ṛksāmābhyām upahitāu gāvāu te sāmānāv āitām | śrotraṁ te cakre āstām divi panthās carācaraḥ z 10 z 1 z

The first two anuvākas here [14 hymns] agree fairly closely in general with the wedding stanzas as given in Ś Book 14; the same number of stanzas appear in each version, but Ppp omits four which Ś gives and gives four which are new.

St 4. In pāda d Ś and RV have na te aś° and we might well read so here, assuming an error such as appears in the ms at the end of st 3.

St 6. In pāda d the correction follows RV.

## 2

### (Ś 14.1)

[f228a13] śuci te cakre yātyā vyāno aha āhataḥ ano manasmayam sū-[14]ryārohat prayati patim. sūryāyā vahatuḥ pragāt savitā yam avasṛjat. | [15] aghāsu hanyamte gāvaḥ phālguniṣu vi havyate | yad aśvinā pṛschamānāv a-[16]yātām tricakreṇa vahatuṁ sūryāyāḥ kvāivam cakram vām āsīt kva deṣṭrāya tassva-[17]thuh yad ayātām śubhas patī vadeyam sūryām upa | viśve devā anu tad vām a-[18]jānam putraḥ pitarāv avṛṇta pūṣā | dve te cakre sūrye vrahmaṇā ṛtuṣā vi-[19]duḥ athāikam cakram yad gūhā tad ardha-tayā id viduḥ pra tvā muñcāmi varu-[20]ṇasya pāśācyena tvāba-dhnāt savitā suśevaḥ uruṁ lokam sugam itra panthām [f228b] kṛṇomi tubhyām sahapatnī vadhūḥ arimṇam yajāmahe sugandhim

*pativedanam. urvā-[2]rukam iva bandhanād yato muñca māmutaḥ  
 preto muñcata māmutas subaddhām a-[3]mutas karat. | yatheyam  
 indra mīḍhvas suputrā subhagāsati | bhagas tveto na-[4]yatu  
 grḍyāśvinā tvā pra vahatām rathena grhān gaścha grhapatnī yathāso  
 [5] vaśinī tvam vidatham ā vadāsi | iha priyam prajayā te samrḍ-  
 dhyatā-[6]m asmin grhe gārhapatyāya jāgrvi | enā patyā tanvām  
 sam sprśasvām athā [7] cirvi vidatham ā vadāsi z 2 z*

In the right-hand margin, opposite line 15 is pā°, and opposite line 16 is kvāikam.

Read: śuci te cakre yātyā vyāno akṣa āhataḥ | ano manasmayaṁ  
 sūryārohat prayati patim z 1 z sūryāyā vahatuḥ prāgāt savitā yam  
 avāsrjat | aghāsu hanyante gāvaḥ phalgunīṣu vy uhyate z 2 z yad  
 aśvinā prcchamānāv ayātaṁ tricakreṇa vahatuṁ sūryāyāḥ | kvāikam  
 cakram vām āsīt kva deṣṭrāya tasthathuḥ z 3 z yad ayātaṁ śubhas  
 patī vareyaṁ sūryām upa | viśve devā anu tad vām ajānan putraḥ  
 pitarāv avṛṇīta pūṣā z 4 z dve te cakre sūrye vrahmāṇa ṛtuthā  
 viduḥ | athāikam cakram yad guhā tad addhātaya id viduḥ z 5 z  
 pra tvā muñcāmi varuṇasya pāsād yena tvābadhnāt savitā suśevāḥ |  
 uruṁ lokaṁ sugam atra panthām kṛṇomi tubhyaṁ sahapatnyāi  
 vadhu z 6 z aryamaṇaṁ yajāmahe sugandhim pativedanam | urvā-  
 rukam iva bandhanād ito muñcāmi māmutaḥ z 7 z preto muñcati  
 māmutas subaddhām amutas karat | yatheyam indra mīḍhvas  
 suputrā subhagāsati z 8 z bhagas tveto nayatu <hasta>grhyāśvinā  
 tvā pra vahatām rathena | grhān gaccha grhapatnī yathāso vaśinī  
 tvam vidatham ā vadāsi z 9 z iha priyam prajayā te sam ṛdhyatām  
 asmin grhe gārhapatyāya jāgrvi | enā patyā tanvaṁ sam sprśasvāthā  
 jirvir vidatham ā vadāsi z 10 z 2 z

St 2. In pāda b aghāsu agrees with RV; ś has maghāsu. In d the ms reading havyate may have arisen under some sort of influence from the late caus. pass. vāhyate.

St 6. This is ś 14. 1. 58; pādas ab = ś 19 ab.

St 7. For pāda d cf. especially VS 3. 60.

St 10. In pāda b other texts have jāgrhi; but Ppp reading is possible.

### 3

#### (ś 14. 1)

[f228b7] ihāiva staṁ mā vi yāuṣṭam dīrgha-[8]m āyur vy aśnu-  
 tam. | kṛlāntāu putrāin naptribhir modanāu sve grhe | pūrvāparam

[9] *ñ carato māyayāitāu śīśu kriṇantāu pari jāto adhvaram. viśvany anyo bhū-*[10]*vanā vicaṣṭa ṛtūr anyo vidadhaj jāyate punaḥ navo navo bhavati jāyamāno* [11] *hnām ketur uṣasām ety agram. | bhāgaṁ devebhyo vi dadhāty āyan pra candramās thi-*[12]*rate dīrgham āyuh parā dehi śāmulyaṁ vrahmabhyo vi bhajā vasu | kṛtyāiṣā pa-*[13]*dvati bhūtvā jāyā viśate patim. nīlaloḥitaṁ bhavati kṛtyāsakti-*[14]*r vy ajyate | edhante asyājñātayaṣ patir bandheṣu baddhyate | aśrīrā tanūr bhava-*[15]*ti ruśati pāpayāmuyā | patir ya rścha vadhvo vāsasas svam aṅgam abhy u-*[16]*ṇute | āśāsanam vyāśāsanam atho adhivikartanam. | sūryāyāṣ paśya* [17] *rūpāṇi tāni vrahmota śumbhati | tṛṣṭam etat kaṭukam etad apāśavad vi-*[18]*śavam nāiśadhattave | sūryām yo vrahmā veda sa id vadhūyam arhati | sa vāi ta syono* [19] *harati vrahma vāsas sumāṅgalāu | prāyaścittam yo dhyeti yena nāyā na ri-*[229a]*ṣyati | yuvaṁ bhagaṁ sambharantas samaddham ṛtaṁ vadantām ṛtyodyena | vrahmaṇas pate pati-*[2]*m asyāi rocayāmuṁ cāru śumbhalo vadatu vācam etām. z 3 z*

Read: *i*hāiva staṁ mā vi yāuṣṭam dīrgham āyur vy aśnutam | kriṇantāu putrāir naptṛbhir modamānāu sve gr̥he z 1 z pūrvāparam carato māyayāitāu śīśu kriṇantāu pari yāto adhvaram | viśvany anyo bhuvanā vicaṣṭa ṛtūr anyo vidadhaj jāyate punaḥ z 2 z navo-navo bhavati jāyamāno 'hnām ketur uṣasām ety agram | bhāgaṁ devebhyo vi dadhāty āyan pra candramās tirate dīrgham āyuh z 3 z parā dehi śāmulyaṁ vrahmabhyo vi bhajā vasu | kṛtyāiṣā padvatī bhūtvā jāyā viśate patim z 4 z nīlaloḥitaṁ bhavati kṛtyāsaktir vy ajyate | edhante asyā jñātayaṣ patir bandheṣu badhyate z 5 z aśrīrā tanūr bhavati ruśati pāpayāmuyā | patir yad vadhvo vāsasas svam aṅgam abhyūrṇute z 6 z āśāsanam viśāsanam atho adhivikartanam | sūryāyāṣ paśya rūpāṇi tāni vrahmota śumbhati z 7 z tṛṣṭam etat kaṭukam etad apāśhavad viśavan nāitad attave | sūryām yo vrahmā veda sa id vadhūyam arhati z 8 z sa vāi tat syono harati vrahmā vāsas sumāṅgalam | prāyaścittam yo 'dhyeti yena jāyā na riṣyate z 9 z yuvaṁ bhagaṁ saṁ bharathas samṛddham ṛtaṁ vadantāv ṛtyodyena | vrahmaṇas pate patim asyāi rocayāmuṁ cāru saṁbhalo vadatu vācam etām z 10 z 3 z

St 1. In pāda b here and below in 13.3d dīrgham replaces viśvam or sarvam of other texts except PG. In d RV has sve gr̥he as here.

St 2. In pāda b only Ś has arṇavam; and in c only Ś has

viśvānyo, and vicaṣṭe appears only in MS and the two AV texts. In d ś has jāyase navaḥ, others as here. Further details in WT.

St 3. Only ś has the verbs in the second person.

St 9. Pāda b is given here as in ś; perhaps the reading of the ms could stand. In c ś has °cittim.

St 10. In pāda c amum is otiose but need not be omitted.

4

(ś 14. 1)

[f229a2] ahed a-[3]sāgha na maro gamāthe imaṁ gāvaṣ prajayā vardhayātha | śubhaṁ yatīdusṛ-[4]yās somavarcaso viśve devās kinn iha yaṁ manāṁsi | imaṁ gāvaṣ prajayā [5] saṁ viśadhvam imaṁ devānām i manāti bhāgam. | asmāi va pūthā marutaś ca [6] sarve asmāi vo dātā savitā suvāti | anṛkṣarā ṛjavas santu nthāyeno ye-[7]bhis sakhāyo yanti no vareyam. sambhagena sam aryamnā saṁ dhātā sṛjatu va-[8]rcasā naḥ yaṁ mānagnā jaghnam aśvinā yena vā surā | yenākhyābhyāṣicyanta te-[9]namāṁ varcasāvatam. yada varco heṣu surāyām ca yad āhitam. yada goṣv aśvi-[10]nā varcas tenemām varcasāvatam. | yo nidhmo didāyāpsv antar yaṁ viprāsa īla-[11]te adhvaṛṣu | apān napān madhumatir apo dā yābhir indro vāvṛdhe vīryāvām. [12] yadam ahaṁ ruśantaṁ grābhaṁ tanūrdūṣim athi nudāmi | yaś śivo bhadro rocanas te-[13]na tyām api nudāmi | ā śrī harantu strapanaṁ vrahmaṇāvīraghnīr utajantv ā-[14]paḥ aryemno gñim pary eti kṣipraṁ pradīkṣante śvaśurā divaraś ca | śān te hiraṇyam [15] śam u santv āpaś śān te metir bhavati sām yuktaś ca tarutamaḥ śān tāpaś śatapavi-[16]trā bhavantu saṁ patyā tanvaṁ saṁ spriśasva yathā sindhun nadinām srāmṛājyaṁ su-[17]ṣuve ṛkāt. yāvā taṁ samṛājīdhi paśyad astvaṁ paretya z 4 z

At the end of line 12 “m.” is out in the margin; three lines below, in the same margin, is śān te and below that is śān ta me.

Read: ihed asātha na paro gamāthemam gāvaṣ prajayā vardhayātha | śubhaṁ yatīr usriyās somavarcaso viśve devās krann iha ṛyaṁ manāṁsi z 1 z imaṁ gāvaṣ prajayā saṁ viśadhvam imaṁ devānām i mināti bhāgam | asmāi vaḥ pūṣā marutaś ca sarve asmāi vo dātā savitā suvāti z 2 z anṛkṣarā ṛjavas santu panthāno yebhis sakhāyo yanti no vareyam | saṁ bhagena sam aryamnā saṁ dhātā sṛjatu varcasā naḥ z 3 z yaṁ mahānagnā jaghanam aśvinā yena vā surā | yenākṣā abhyāṣicyanta tenemām varcasāvatam z 4 z

yac ca varco 'kṣeṣu surāyām ca yad āhitam | yad goṣv asvinā varcas  
tenemām varcasāvataṁ z 5 z yo 'nidhmo didāyāpsv antar yañ  
viprāsa īlate adhvareṣu | apām napān madhumatīr apo dā yābhīr  
indro vāvṛdhe vīryāvān z 6 z idam ahañ ruśantañ grābhañ tanū-  
dūṣim apa nudāmi | yas sico bhadro rocanas tena tyam apa nudāmi  
z 7 z āsyāi harantu snapanañ vrāhmaṇā avīraghnīr ud acantv āpaḥ |  
aryamṇo 'gnīr pary eti kṣiprañ pratikṣante śvaśurā devaraś ca  
z 8 z śaṁ te hiraṇyañ śaṁ u santv āpaś śaṁ te methir bhavati  
śaṁ yugasya tardma | śaṁ ta āpaś śatapavitṛā bhavantu śaṁ patyā  
tanvañ saṁ sprśasva z 9 z yathā sindhur nadīnāñ sāmṛājyañ  
suśuve vṛṣā | evā tvañ samṛājñy edhi tpaśyad astañ paretya  
z 10 z 4 z

St 2. In pādas ab Ś has viśāthāyam; imam here disturbs the  
symmetry of meaning. Ś has dhātā in d.

St 3. In pāda a RV and ApMB have the better panthā; the  
syllables eno in the ms might be a sort of dittography.

St 5. In pāda a both Ś and RV 10. 30. 4 have dīdayad.

St 8. In pāda b Lindenau's revision of Ś has acantu: in c  
kṣipram is read also in ApMB 1. 1. 8.

St 10. In pāda d Ś has patyur which is probably intended here.

## 5

### (Ś 14. 1)

[f229a17] sañrāñ e-[18]dhi śvaśureṣu sañrājñataś śvaśruvām.  
janāntu sañrājedhi sañrāgy uda tevr-[19]śā | yākrantañ navañ  
yaś ca tatnīre yā devīr antāñ abhito dadantaḥ tās tvā ja-[20]rase  
sañ vyayanty āyusmatīdañ pari dhatsva vāsaḥ jīvo rudanti vi  
nayanty adhva-[21]rañ dīrghāñ anu prasitīm dīdhiyun naraḥ  
vāmañ pitṛbhyo ya idam samerire [229b] mayas patibhyo janayaś  
pariśvaje | dhruvañ syonañ prajāya te dhārayām āsmā-[2]na  
devyāś pathivyām upasthe | tam ā rohānumādyā suvīrā dīrghaṁ  
tvāyu-[3]s savitā kṛnotu | devas te savitā hastañ grhṇātu somo  
rājā supraja-[4]sañ kṛnotu | agnis subhagāñ jātavedāś patyāś  
patnīm jaradaṣṭīm kṛ-[5]notu | grhṇāmi te sūbhagatvāya hastañ  
mayā patyā jaradaṣṭīr yathā-[6]saḥ bhago aryamā savitā purandhīr  
mahyan tvādur gārha-[7]patyāya devāḥ yenāgnīr amyā bhūmyā  
hastañ jagrāha rakṣaṇam. | tena [8] grhṇāmi te hastañ mā vya-  
dhiṣṭhā maya saha | dhātā te hastañ agrahīt savi-[9]tā te hastañ

*agrahīt. bhagas te hastam agraḥīd aryamā te hastam agraḥīt.*  
 [10] *patnī tvam asi dharmanāham gṛhapatis tava | samey astu*  
*poṣyā mahyan tvā-*[11] *dād vṛhaspatih mayā patyā prajāvatī samñ*  
*jīra śaradaś śatam.* [12] *tvaṣṭā vāso vy adadhās chubhāi kaṁ*  
*vṛhaspateṣ praśiṣā kavīnām. te-*[13] *nemām nāryam savitā bhagaś*  
*ca sūryām iva pari dhattām prajāyāi z 5 z*

Read: samrājñy edhi śvaśureṣu samrājñy uta śvaśruvām |  
 nanānduḥ samrājñy edhi samrājñy uta devṛṣu z 1 z yā akṛntann  
 avayan yās ca tatnire yā devīr antān abhito 'dadanta | tās tvā jarase  
 sam vyayanty āyuṣmatīdam pari dhatsva vāsaḥ z 2 z jīvam rudanti  
 vi nayanty adhvaram dīrgham anu prasitim dīdhiyur naraḥ |  
 vāmam pitṛbhyo ya idam samerire mayas patibhyo janayas pariṣvaje  
 z 3 z dhruvam syonam prajāyāi te dhārayāmy aśmānam devyās  
 pṛthivyām upasthe | tam ā rohānumādyā suvīrā dīrgham ta āyus  
 savitā kṛnotu z 4 z devas te savitā hastam gṛhṇātu somo rājā  
 suprajasaṁ kṛnotu | agnis subhagām jātavedas patyā patnīm jara-  
 daṣṭim kṛnotu z 5 z gṛhṇāmi te sāubhagatvāya hastam mayā patyā  
 jaradaṣṭir yathāsaḥ | bhago aryamā savitā puramdhir mahyam  
 tvādur gārhapatyāya devāḥ z 6 z yenāgnir asyā bhūmyā hastam  
 jagrāha dakṣiṇam | tena gṛhṇāmi te hastam mā vyathīṣṭhā mayā  
 saha z 7 z dhātā te hastam agraḥīt savitā te hastam agraḥīt |  
 bhagas te hastam agraḥīd aryamā te hastam agraḥīt | patnī tvam  
 asi dharmanāham gṛhapatis tava z 8 z mameyam astu poṣyā mahyam  
 tvādād vṛhaspatih | mayā patyā prajāvatī sam jīva śaradaś śatam  
 z 9 z tvaṣṭā vāso vy adadhāc chubhe kaṁ vṛhaspateṣ praśiṣā kavīnām  
 | tenemām nārim savitā bhagaś ca sūryām iva pari dhattām prajāyāi  
 z 10 z 5 z

St 1. This is very like the Ś version but a much varied text is given in RV 10. 85. 46, ApMB 1. 6. 6, and SMB 1. 2. 20.

St 2. In pāda c Ś has vyayantv: for readings of other texts see WT, with remarks there.

St 3. Here our text agrees with RV 10. 40. 10 in dīdhiyur, samerire and janayas.

St 4. In pāda b Ś has pṛthivyā upa°; see Vedic Variants, vol. 3, p. 328.

St 5. In pāda d Ś has patye.

St 7. In Ś (st 48) there is a fifth pāda prajāyā ca dhanena ca.

St 8. HG 1. 5. 9 has 12 pādas similar to the first four here, Ś has only two.



St 9. In pāda c prajāvatī is read also by RVKh 10. 85 and PG 1. 18. 19.

St 10. In pāda d ś has prajāyā.

## 6

(§ 14. 1)

[f229b14] dhruhrstvā prorṇuvantu varcasā bhagena jyotiṣmatīdam  
prati muñca prasū va-[15]puḥ uṣāya va sūryasya sandrṣī indrāgnī  
dyāvāprthivī ya pūṣā [16] mitrāvaruṇā bhagāu āśvinobhāḥ vṛhas-  
patir maruto vrahma somam i-[17]mām nāryam prajāyā vardha-  
yantu | vṛhaspatir sa prathamā sūryāyā śi-[18]rṣe keṣāṇ akalpayat.  
| tenemām āśvinā nāryam patyāśse śoryathā-[19]masi | imām tad  
rūpam yad avama yoṣā jāyām jajñāse manasā cara-[20]ntī | stām  
annantiṣve sagabhi navigvāṣ ka imām vidvān vi cacanta [21] pāsam.  
| aham vi śyāmi mayi rūpam asyā vedud akapaśyam mana-[f230a]  
siñ kulāyam. ana steyam agniṁ manasod amucye svayam sraṣṭhāno  
varuṇasya pāsam [2] imām vi śyāmi varuṇasya pāsam tena tvāba-  
dhāt savitā sumeraḥ | ṛtasya [3] yonāu sukr̥tasya loke syonan te  
stu sahapatnī vadhū | udyatsyadhvam apa rakṣam ha-[4]nāthe  
imām nāryam sukr̥te tadāpaḥ | dhātā vipaśyat patim asye viveda  
[5] bhago rājā pura etu prajān. bhagas tataksa caturaṣ pado bhagas  
tataksa catvā-[6]ry āspadāni | tvaṣṭā pibeṣa madhyato varadhrām  
sā no stu sumāṅgalī | yenā-[7]jyena haviṣa prajāyāi ca vareṇyam. |  
paśubhyaś cakṣuṣe ca kaṁ sam agnyam sam i-[8]dhīmahi | śukim-  
śukam vahatum viśvarūpam hiraṇyavarṇam suvṛtam sucakram. |  
[9] ā roha sūrye sukr̥tasya lokam syonam patibhyo vahatum kṛṇu  
tvam. | māmsiṣṭhām [10] kumāryām sthūne devakṣate pathi śālāyā  
devyā dvāram syonam kṛṇvo vadhū-[11]patham. | vrahmāparam  
yujyantām vrahma pūrvam vrahmāntato madhyato vrahma sarvatāḥ  
[12] anāsyādhām devapurām prapadya śivā syonāṣ patiloke vi rāja  
z z [13] z 7 z ity aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe prathamō nuvākāḥ z z

In the top margin of f230b is mraṣṭhā; at the end of line 1, in the margin, is m. (indicating end of a pāda); and in the right margin opposite line 12 is vacaḥ, seeming to correct the end of the line.

Read: druhas tvā prorṇuvantu varcasā bhagena jyotiṣmatīdam |  
prati muñca prasūr †vapuh uṣāyā vā sūryasya sandrṣe z 1 z indrāgnī  
dyāvāprthivī pūṣā mitrāvaruṇā bhago āśvinobhā | vṛhaspatir maruto

vrahma soma imān nārīm prajāyā vardhayantu z 2 z vṛhaspatis sa  
 prathamas sūryāyās śirše keśān akalpayat | tenemām asvinā nārīm  
 patyā †śśe śobhayāmasi z 3 z idam tad rūpam yad avasta yoṣā jāyām  
 jijnāse manasā carantīm | tām anv artiṣye sakhibhir navagvāiṣ ka  
 imān vidvān vi cacarta pāsān z 4 z aham vi śyāmi mayi rūpam asyā  
 vedad avapaśyan manasi kulāyam | na steyam admi manasod amucye  
 svayam śrathnāno varuṇasya pāsam z 5 z imam vi śyāmi varuṇasya  
 pāsam tena tvābadhnāt savitā suśevaḥ | ṛtasya yonau sukṛtasya  
 loke syonam te 'stu sahapatni vadhu z 6 z ud yacchadhvam apa  
 rakṣo hanāthemām nārīm sukrte †tadāpaḥ | dhātā vipaścit patim  
 asyāi viveda bhago rājā pura etu prajānan z 7 z bhagas tatakṣa  
 caturaṣ pado bhagas tatakṣa catvāry uśyalāni | tvaṣṭā pipeṣa ma  
 dhyato vardhrān sā no 'stu sumāṅgalī z 8 z yenājyena haviṣā prajāyāi  
 ca vareṇyam | paśubhyaś cakṣuṣe kaṁ sam agniṁ sam idhīmahi  
 z 9 z sukiṁśukaṁ vahatūṁ viśvarūpam hiranyavarṇam suvṛtam  
 sucakram | ā roha sūrye sukṛtasya lokam syonam patibhyo vahatūṁ  
 kṛṇu tvam z 10 z mā hiṁsiṣṭhām kumāryam sthūṇe devakṛte pathi |  
 śālāyā devyā dvāraṁ syonam kṛṇmo vadhūpatham z 11 z vrahmā  
 param yujyatām vrahma pūrvam vrahmāntato madhyato vrahma  
 sarvataḥ | anāvādham devapurām prapadya śivā syonā patiloke vi  
 rāja z 12 z 6 z

ity aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe prathamō 'nuvākaḥ z z

St 1. This has no parallel; perhaps it is not metrical.

St 3. Ś does not have sa in a: in d it has patye sam śobh°  
 which might well be restored here.

St 6. This stanza corresponds to Ś st 19, and it agrees in one  
 or another detail with RV 10. 85. 24, TS 1. 1. 10. 2 and 3. 5. 6. 1,  
 and ApMB 1. 5. 16: this last text has two slightly differing versions.

St 7. In pāda b Ś has dadhāta, which we should probably  
 restore.

St 9. The repetition of sam in d is a little strange. This stanza  
 has no parallel.

## 7

(Ś 14. 2)

[f230a13] oṁ tubhyam agne [14] pary avahat sūryām vahatunā  
 saha | punaṣ patibhyo jāyan dā agne prajāyā [15] saha | punaṣ  
 patnīm agnir adād ayaṣā saha varcasā | dīrghāyur a-[16]syā yaṣ  
 patir jivāntu śaradaś śatam. | somasya jāyā prathamam gandha-

[17]rvās te apa naṣ patih ṛtīyo agniṣ te patis turiyas te manuṣyajāḥ  
 [18]somo dadad gandharvāya gandharvo dad agnaye | rayīm ca  
 putrāñś cādād agnir ma-[19]hyam atho imam. | ā vām agan sumatir  
 vājīnivasūm ny āsvinā hr̥tsu kā-[20]māñ ayañsata | subhūtaṁ gopā  
 mithunā śubhaspati priyā aryamṇo duryāñ [f230b] aśimahi | sā  
 muñcasānā manasā śivena rahīm dhehi sarvaviraṁ vacasyam.  
 [2]sugan tīrtham saprapāṇam śubhaspati sthāṇum pathiṣṭhām apa  
 durmatim hatam. [3]apa rakṣāñsy apa durmatim hatam śubhas-  
 pati vāto aryāto asmāt. [4]purogavo ajayam rakṣāñsy agne  
 kṣetravat pūrvo vimṛdho nudasva | yā oṣa-[5]dhayo yā nādyo yāni  
 kṣetrāṇi yā vanā | te tvā madhu prajā-[6]vatim pratyē rakṣantu  
 rakṣasaḥ ya imam panthām agat svagam svastivāhanam. [7]yatra  
 vīro na riṣyaty anyeṣām virdate vindate vasu | idam su ve nara  
 ṣnuta [8]yāśiṣā dāmpati vāsam āsnutaḥ ye gandharvāpsarasas ca  
 devīr e-[9]ṣa vānaspatyeṣṭhābhyādi tasthuḥ syonās thī asyāi vadhvī  
 bhavantu mā hiñ-[10]siṣundhakatum uhyamānam. z 1 z

The first four stanzas are accented in the ms: in the left margin  
 of f230b opposite line 11 is nva, correcting °ṣundha°.

Read: tubhyam agre pary avahant sūryām vahatunā saha | punaṣ  
 patibhyo jāyām dā agne prajāyā saha z 1 z punaṣ patnīm agnir adād  
 āyuṣā saha varcasā | dirghāyur asyā yaṣ patir jīvātu śaradaś śatam  
 z 2 z somasya jāyā prathamam gandharvas te aparāṣ patih | ṛtīyo  
 agniṣ te patis turiyas te manuṣyajāḥ z 3 z somo dadad gandharvāya  
 gandharvo dadad agnaye | rayīm ca putrāñś cādād agnir mahyam  
 atho imām z 4 z ā vām agan sumatir vājīnivasū ny āsvinā hr̥tsu  
 kāmāñ ayañsata | abhūtaṁ gopā mithunā śubhaspati priyā aryamṇo  
 duryāñ aśimahi z 5 z sā mandasānā manasā śivena rayīm dhehi  
 sarvaviraṁ vacasyam | sugam tīrtham suprapāṇam śubhaspati  
 sthāṇum pathiṣṭhām apa durmatim hatam z 6 z apa rakṣāñsy apa  
 durmatim hatam śubhaspati vahatho aryāto asmāt | purogavo aja  
 yā rakṣāñsy agne kṣetravit pūrvo vimṛdho nudasva z 7 z yā oṣadhayo  
 yā nadyo yāni kṣetrāṇi yā vanā | te tvā vadhu prajāvatim patye  
 rakṣantu rakṣasaḥ z 8 z emam panthām aganma sugam svasti-  
 vāhanam | yatra vīro na riṣyaty anyeṣām vindate vasu z 9 z idam  
 su me naraś ṣṛṇuta yayāśiṣā dāmpati vāmam āsnutaḥ | ye gandharvā  
 apsarasas ca devīr eṣu vānaspatyeṣu ye 'dhi tasthuḥ | syonās te asyāi  
 vadhvāi bhavantu mā hiñsiṣur vahatum uhyamānam z 10 z 1 z

St 1. This is RV 10. 85. 38; PG 1. 7. 8; ApMB 1. 5. 3; MG  
 1. 1. 12: only MG has agne in a, probably an error; see Vedic  
 Variants, vol. 2, p. 402. In c only Ś begins sa naḥ.

St 5. This is RV 10. 40. 12 and ApMB 1. 7. 11, both of which have *ayaṁsata* in b; and I have kept *kāmān* in b because it is in ApMB.

St 6. It seems almost certain that our text agrees with the text of Ś; but we might consider *muñcamānā* in a. This is RV 10. 40. 13.

St 7. This stanza has no parallel.

St 8. In pāda c Ś has *tās tvā*; but ApMB 1. 7. 9 has *te*, as here.

St 9. In pāda a Ś has *arukṣāma*, and ab as in Ś appear as Pāipp 2. 31. 3cd; see also ApMB 1. 6. 11. It seems probable that in our ms the mistake ya *imam* first arose and then *aganma* was changed.

## 8

(Ś 14. 2)

[f230b10] *ye vadhvaś candra vahatuṁ ya-[11]kṣma yantu janān anu | puras tān yajñīyā devā nayantu yata āgatāḥ [12] mā vidan paryāyaṇo ya āśīdanti dāmpatī sugena durgapātahi-[13]tām apa drāntv arātayaḥ saṁ kṣāyāmi vahatuṁ vrahmaṇā gṛhāir aghore-[14]ṇa cakṣuṣā maitreṇa | paryāṇaddham viśvarūpaṁ yasmin myonaṁ pa-[15]tibhyas savitā kṛṇotu tat. śivā nāryam astum āgam imāṁ dhātā loka-[16]m asyāi viveda | tām aryamā bhago aśvino-bhāṣ prajāpatiṣ prajāyā [17] vardhayantu | āt\*ān\*aty arvarā nāryam āgam yasyān naro vapanta bija-[18]m asyāḥ śchā vaṣ prajāṁ janayād vakṣaṇābhyo bibhratī dudram ṛsadūrdheve-[19]ndraṣ pra jayatām bhagasya mumatāv asat. | ud vā tīdūrmṛṣyaṁ me ha-[20]ntv āpo yoprāṇi muñcatu | muduṣvatāu vyenasāghnyāu śūnam āratām. [f231a] aghoracakṣur apatighny edhi syonā śāgmā saśevā muyamā grheṣu | prajāvatī vi-[2]rasāur devṛkāmemam agniṁ gārhapatyam saparya | adavaraghiṇi patiraghiṇy edhi syona-[3]ṣ paśubhyas sumanas suvīraḥ vīrasūr devakāmā syonā ntvedhiṣimahi [4] sumanasyamānā | ut tiṣṭhādaṣ kim iśchant-vedaṁm agāhan tvede abhibhūs tvā-[5]d gṛhā | aśūnyeṣi nirṛti yājagandhot tiṣṭhārāte pra pata māmsvi raṁsthā z [6] z 2 z*

Accents are marked on stt 1-3ab and 8-10ab.

Read: *ye vadhvaś candraṁ vahatuṁ yakṣmā yanti janān anu | punas tān yajñīyā devā nayantu yata āgatāḥ z 1 z mā vidan paryā-yaṇo ya āśīdanti dāmpatī | sugena durgam atitām apa drāntv arātayaḥ z 2 z saṁ kṣāyāmi vahatuṁ vrahmaṇā gṛhāir aghoreṇa cakṣuṣā maitreṇa | paryāṇaddham viśvarūpaṁ yad asmin syonaṁ*

patibhyas savitā kṛnotu tat z 3 z śivā nārīyam astam āgann imam  
 dhātā lokam asyāi viveda | tām aryamā bhago aśvinobhā prajāpatiḥ  
 prajāyā vardhayantu z 4 z ātmanvaty urvarā nārīyam āgan yasyām  
 naro vapanta bijam asyām | sā vaḥ prajāṁ janayād vākṣaṇābhyo  
 bibhratī †dudram ṛṣadūrdhe vendraḥ † z 5 z <sinīvāli> pra jāyatām  
 bhagasya sumatāv asat z 6 z ud va †tīd ūrmīś śamyā hantv āpo  
 yoktrāṇi muñcata | māduṣkṛtāu vyenasāghnyāu śūnam āratām z 7 z  
 aghoracakṣur apatighny edhi syonā śagmā suśevā suyamā gr̥heṣu |  
 prajāvatī vīrasūr devakāmam agniṁ gārhapatyam saparya z 8 z  
 adevrghny apatighny edhi śyonā paśubhyas sumanās suvīrā |  
 vīrasūr devakāmā syonā sam tvayāidhiṣīmahi sumanasyamānāḥ  
 z 9 z ut tiṣṭhādaḥ kim icchantīdam āgā aham tveḍe abhibhūs svād  
 gr̥hāt | aśūnyāiṣi nirṛte yājaganthot tiṣṭhārāte pra pata †mamsvi  
 raṁsthāḥ z 10 z 2 z

St 1. This and the next are RV 10. 85. 31. 32; cd here have appeared as Ppp 7. 3. 6cd.

St 2. Pāda a has appeared as Ppp 5. 6. 6a, where vidhan was allowed to stand; vidan should be read. Ś has paripanthino.

St 3. See ApMB 1. 7. 10 which differs from our reading only by having asyām at the end of c: Ś and Ppp 3. 26. 1c have mitriyeṇa.

St 5. In pāda b we might better read 'vapanta; Ś has vapata.

St 6. See st 2cd in the next hymn.

St 7. See RV 3. 33. 13.

St 8. With this and the next cf RV 10. 85. 44; ApMB 1. 1. 4; and HG 1. 20. 2: these confirm devakāmā.

## 9

(Ś 14. 2)

[f231a6] yadā gārhapatyām asiparyāyāiḥ pūrvam agniṁ vadhūr  
 iyaṁ | adhā [7] sarasvatyāi nārī pitubhyaś ca namas kuru | carma  
 varmāitad ā harāsyāi nāryā [8] upasthire | sinīvāli pra jāyatām  
 bhagasya sumatāv asat. upa str-[9]ñha balbajam adhi carmani  
 rohate | tatropaviśya suprajā imagnyam sapa-[10]ryatu balba-  
 janyasya carmajopastṛñithinaḥ tad ā rohatu suprajā yā ka-[11]nyā  
 vindate patim. | ā roha camopa sīdāgnim eṣa devaṁ hantu  
 rakṣāñ-[12]si | sarvā sumāṅgaly upa sīdemam agniṁ saṁpatnī  
 prati bhūseha de-[13]vām. | pra jāyantām mātulasyād usthām  
 nānārūpāḥ paśavo ja-[14]yamānā | iha prajā sam jano patye smāi

*sujeṣṭho bhavatu te putra eṣaḥ | [15] sumaṅgalī pratarāṇī grhāṇāṁ suśevā patye śvaśurāya sambhum. | [16] syonā svaśruṣi pra grhāṇ viśemāṁ prajāvatī jaradaṣṭir yathāsat. [17] samaṅgalīr iyaṁ vadhūr imāṁ sam eta paśyata | sāubhāgyam asyāi dattvā dāurbhā- [18]gyena paretanā | yā dūhārdo yuvatayo yāś ceha caratīr api | varco hy a-[19]syāi sandatvāyathāsta vyaparetana | rukṣmaprastaraṇaṁ vahyaṁ viśvārūpā-[20]ṇi bibhratam. | ā roha sūryā sāvitṛi vṛhatī sāubhagāya kam. | [f231b] z 3 z*

Read: yadā gārhapatyam asaparyāit pūrvam agniṁ vadhūr iyaṁ | adhā sarasvatyāi nāri pitṛbhyaś ca namas kuru z 1 z śarma varmāitad ā harāsyāi nāryā upastire | sinīvāli pra jāyatām bhagasya sumatāv asat z 2 z upa stṛṇihi balbajam adhi carmaṇi rohite | tatropaviśya suprajā imam agniṁ saparyatu z 3 z <yaṁ> balbajam nyasyatha carma copastṛṇīthana | tad ā rohatu suprajā yā kanyā vindate patim z 4 z ā roha carmopa sīdāgnim eṣa devo hantu rakṣāṁsi sarvā | sumaṅgaly upa sīdemam agniṁ sampatnī prati bhūṣeḥa devān z 5 z pra jāyantām mātur asyā upasthān nānārūpāś paśavo jāyamānāḥ | iha prajāṁ janaya patye 'smāi sujeṣṭho bhavatu te putra eṣaḥ z 6 z sumaṅgalī pratarāṇī grhāṇāṁ suśevā patye śvaśurāya śambhūḥ | syonā śvaśrūvāi pra grhāṇ viśemāṁ prajāvatī jaradaṣṭir yathāsaḥ z 7 z sumaṅgalīr iyaṁ vadhūr imāṁ sam eta paśyate | sāubhāgyam asyāi dattvā dāurbhāgyena paretanā z 8 z yā dūhārdo yuvatayo yāś ceha jaratīr api | varco hy asyāi sandatvāyathāstaṁ vi paretana z 9 z rukmaprastaraṇaṁ vahyaṁ viśvā rūpāṇi bibhratam | ā rohat sūryā sāvitṛi vṛhate sāubhagāya kam z 10 z 3 z

St 2. For this see ApMB 1.8.1.

St 5. This is 24ab and 25cd in Ś; the next here is 25ab and 24cd in Ś.

St 7. Pāda d has no exact parallel; but see above 5.6b (= 14.1.50b).

St 9. In pādas cd I have followed RV 10.85.33, which is a close parallel to our st 9.

St 10. While vṛhatī could stand in d it seems better to read with Ś.

## 10

(Ś 14.2)

[f231b1] ā roha talpaṁ sumanasyamāne iha prajāṁ jane patye asmāi | indrā-[2]ṇīva sūptā buddhyamānā jyotir ugrā uśasaś pati

cākaraḥ devāgre [3] ny apadyanta patnī samv asprśanti tanvas  
tanūbhiḥ sūryeva nāri vi-[4]śvarūpā mahitvā prajāvatī patye sam-  
bhavāsira | udīrṣvāta-[5]ṣ patihy eṣāṁ viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir  
īle | \*\*\*\*mim iccha pi-[6]tṛṣudhan vaktām sa te bhāgo janusā  
tasya viddhi | yāpsarasas sadhamādaṁ padaṁ-[7]ny antarā havir-  
dhānaṁ sūryaṁ ca | tās te janitram abhi taṣ parehi namas te  
ga-[8]ndharvratamanā kṛṇomi | namo gandharvasya manaso namo  
bhāsāya cakṣuṣe ca [9] kṛṇva | viśvāvaso namo vrahmāṇānte  
kṛṇomy abhicaryāpsarasas parehi [10] rāyā vayaṁ sumanasa  
syāmodito gandharvam ā yivratām. aghnan sa [11] devaṣ paramaṁ  
sadhastham aganma vayaṁ pratiranta ayuḥ saṁ pitarāv ṛdvaye  
sr-[12]jetām pitāmātā ja retaso bhavātha | varīva yoṣāmām adhi  
rohayenām [13]prajāṁ kṛṇvāyām iha rodamānāu ā vām prajāṁ  
janayatu prajāpatir a-[14]horātrābhyām sam anaktu aryamā |  
adurmaṅgalīṣ patilokam ā viśa śan no a-[15]stu dvipade śaṁ  
catuṣpade | tām pūṣaṁschivatamām erayasva yasyām bijam ma-  
[16]nuṣyā vapanti | yā na ūrū uṣatī viśrayāte yasyām uṣantaṣ  
praharema [17] śepaḥ | ā rohorum upa datsva hastam pari śvajasva  
jāyām sumanasyāma | [18] prajāṁ kṛṇvāthām iha puṣyatu no  
rayiṁ dīrghan tv āyus savitā kṛṇutu z [19] z 4 z

Read: ā roha talpaṁ sumanasyamāneha prajāṁ janaya patye  
asmāi | indrāṇīva suptā buddhyamānā jyotiragrā uṣasaṣ prati  
jāgaraḥ z 1 z devā agre ny apadyanta patnīḥ sam v asprśanta tanvas  
tanūbhiḥ | sūryeva nāri viśvarūpā mahitvā prajāvatī patye saṁ  
bhavāsi z 2 z ud īrṣvātaṣ pativatī hy eṣā viśvāvasuṁ namasā gīrbhir  
īle | jānim iccha pitṛṣadaṁ vyaktām sa te bhāgo janusā tasya viddhi  
z 3 z yā apsarasaṣ sadhamādaṁ madanty antarā havirdhānaṁ  
sūryaṁ ca | tās te janitram abhi tās parehi namas te gandhar-  
vartunā kṛṇomi z 4 z namo gandharvasya manase namo bhāsāya  
cakṣuṣe ca kṛṇmaḥ | viśvāvaso namo vrahmaṇā te kṛṇomy abhi  
cāryā apsarasaṣ parehi z 5 z rāyā vayaṁ sumanasaṣ syāmod ito  
gandharvam āvivṛtāma | agan sa devaṣ paramaṁ sadhastham  
aganma vayaṁ pratiranta āyuh z 6 z saṁ pitarā vṛddhaye sṛjethām  
pitā mātā ca retaso bhavāthaḥ | vara iva yoṣām adhi rohayāinām  
prajāṁ kṛṇvāthām iha modamānāu z 7 z ā vām prajāṁ janayatu  
prajāpatir ahorātrābhyām sam anaktv aryamā | adurmaṅgalīṣ pati-  
lokam ā viśemaṁ śaṁ no astu dvipade śaṁ catuṣpade z 8 z tām  
pūṣaṁ chivatamām erayasva yasyām bijam manuṣyā vapanti | yā na  
ūrū uṣatī viśrayāte yasyām uṣantaṣ praharema śepaḥ z 9 z ā rohorum

upa dhatsva hastam pari şvajasva jâyām sumanasyamānaḥ | prajām  
kṛṇvāthām iha puşyataṁ rayim dīrgham ta āyus savitā kṛṇotu  
z 10 z 4 z

St 3. This is RV 10. 85. 21; in c RV has anyām for jāmim.

St 4. Pādas ab = Ppp 4. 9. 5ab; Ś omits yā.

St 5. In pāda c Ś has jâyā, which is rather better.

St 7. Whitney calls vṛddhaye in c “a welcome emendation.”  
In c Ś has marya iva.

St 8. This is RV 10. 85. 43; SMB 1. 2. 18; ApMB 1. 11. 5:  
variants are not significant.

St 9. RV 10. 85. 37 has viśrayāte; ApMB 1. 11. 6 and PG  
1. 4. 16 support this reading.

## 11

(Ś 14. 2)

[f231b19] *yan no diti vrahmabhāgam vadhūyor vāso vadhvaś ca  
vastram. yu-[20]vaṁ vrahmaṇeda manyamāno vṛhaspate sākam  
indras ca dhattām. | devāir da-[f232a]ttam vanunā sākam etad  
vādhūyam baddho vāso syāḥ ye vrahmaṇe cikitūṣe [2] dadāti sa  
yad rakṣāṁsi tṛpyāṁsi hanti | syonād yoner adhi buddhyamānāu  
[3] hasārāu mahasā modamānāu subhāu suputrāu sukṛtāu carātāu  
ca-[4]rātāu jivā uśaso vibhātī | navam vasānas surabhis savāso-  
dāgham [5] jīca uśaso vibhātī | āṇḍāt patatrivāsukṣi viśvasmā-  
cāinasa-[6]s pari | śumbhanī dyāvāpṛthivī yantu sumne mahivrate |  
āpas sapta [7] suvantī tā no muñcantv anhasaḥ sūryāyāi devebhyo  
mitrāya varunā-[8]ya ca | ye bhūtasya pracetasas tebhyo ham  
akaran namaḥ | yad ite jad du-[9]rbhis sruṣaḥ purā jatrubhya  
ādadaḥ sadhotā sandhim maghavā purova-[10]sun iṣkartā viḥṛtam  
punaḥ apāsmad antamad uścam nīlam pīsaṅgam u-[11]ta lohitaṁ  
yat. | nirmahani tyam praghātaker asmin tā sthānāv adhy ā [12]  
sṛjāmi | yāvatiḥ kṛtyā pāścācāne yāvanto rājño varuṇasya pā-  
[13]śāt. ṛddhayo yas samṛddhayāś cāvasmin tās tā no muñcāmi  
sarvām. [14] ye ntā yāvatiḥ sidavo ye ca tantavaḥ vāso yat patnī-  
bhṛtam tanvā syona-[15]m upa sprśaḥ z 5 z*

Read: yaṁ †no diti† vrahmabhāgam vadhūyor <vādhūyam>  
vāso vadhvaś ca vastram | yuvaṁ vrahmaṇa idaṁ manyamānāu  
vṛhaspate sākam indras ca dattam z 1 z devāir dattam vanunā sākam  
etad vādhūyam vadhvo vāso ‘syāḥ | yo vrahmaṇe cikitūṣe dadāti sa



id rakṣāṁsi talpyāni hanti z 2 z syonād yoner adhi budhyamānāu  
 hasāmudāu mahasā modamānāu | śubhāu suputrāu sukr̥tāu carātaś  
 carāto jīvā uṣaso vibhātīḥ z 3 z navam vasānas surabhis suvāsā  
 udāgām jīvā uṣaso vibhātīḥ | āṇḍāt patatrivāmukṣi viśvasmād  
 enasaṣ pari z 4 z śumbhanī dyāvāpṛthivī antisumne mahivrate |  
 āpas sapta sravantī tā no muñcantv aṇhasaḥ z 5 z sūryāyāi deve-  
 bhyo mitrāya varuṇāya ca | ye bhūtasya pracetasas tebhyo 'ham  
 akaram namaḥ z 6 z yad ṛte cid abhiśriṣaṣ purā jatrubhya ātrdaḥ |  
 saṁdhātā saṁdhīm maghavā purovasur iṣkartā vihr̥taṁ punaḥ z 7 z  
 apāsmad tantamad ucchan nīlam piśāṅgam uta lohitaṁ yat |  
 nirdahanī yā praghātaky asmin tām sthāpān adhy ā srjāmi z 8 z  
 yāvatiḥ kr̥tyā t̥paścācāne yāvanto rājño varuṇasya pāsāḥ | vyrd-  
 dhayo yā asamṛddhayaś cāvāsmiṁ tām sthāpān muñcāmi sarvāḥ z 9 z  
 ye 'ntā yāvatiḥ sico ya otavo ye ca tantavaḥ | vāso yat patnibhir  
 utaṁ tanvā syonam upa spr̥saḥ z 10 z 5 z

St 1. In pāda a Ś has me datto vr° which Ppp may have had.

St 2. In pāda a Ś has manunā.

St 3. In pāda d Ś does not have the verb; its c is sugū suputrāu  
 sugṛhau tarāthaḥ.

St 5. This appears also as Ś 7.112.1 as well as 14.2.45.

St 7. Cf especially RV 8.1.12; TA 4.20.1; ApMB 1.7.1.

St 10. For pāda d Ś has tan naḥ syonam upa spr̥sāt; it might  
 be well to read so here.

## 12

### (Ś 14.2)

[f232a] uṣatiḥ kanyalā imāḥ pitṛlokāt patim̐ [16] yatī | ava  
 dāksam asirakṣatas svāhā vr̥haspatināvasr̥ṣtām viśve [17] devā  
 adhārayim. varco goṣu praviṣtām yat tenemā sam̐ srjāmasi |  
 vr̥-[18]haspatināvasr̥ṣtām viśve devā adhārayim. tejo goṣu praviṣtām  
 [19] yat tenemā sam̐ srjāmasi vr̥haspatināvasr̥ṣtām viśve devā  
 adhāra-[20]yim. yo goṣu praviṣto yat tenemā sam̐ srjāmasi vr̥ha-  
 spatināvasr̥ṣtām [21] viśve devā adhārayim. yaśo goṣu praviṣtām  
 yat tenemā sam̐ srjāma-[f232b]si | vr̥haspatināvasr̥ṣtām viśve devā  
 adhārayim. bha-[2]go goṣu praviṣto yas tenemā sam̐ srjāmasi |  
 yad asāu dukitā [3] tava vikreṣv arujat. bahu rodhena kr̥ṇuty  
 agham. | agniṣvāt tasmād e-[4]nasaḥ savitā ca pra muñcatām. |  
 yad aśi keśino janā gr̥he te [5] samanṛtyeṣu rodena kr̥ṇvatir̐ agham.  
 yaj jāmano yad yuvatayo gr̥he [6] te samanṛtyaṣu rodena kr̥ṇvato

*agham. yad amūm dampatī ubhe vivā-[7]he aghamāruto rodēna kṛṇutāv agham. z 6 z*

The first six stanzas here are accented in the ms; in the left margin of f232b about opposite line 5 is ryo.

Read: *usatiṣ kanyalā imāṣ pitṛlokāt patiṁ yatīḥ | ava dākṣam asṛkṣata svāhā z 1 z vṛhaspatināvasrṣtām viśve devā adhārayan | varco goṣu praviṣtām yat tenemām saṁ srjāmasi z 2 z vṛhaspatināvasrṣtām viśve devā adhārayan | tejo goṣu ° ° ° z 3 z vṛhaspatināvasrṣtām viśve devā adhārayan | payo goṣu ° ° ° z 4 z vṛhaspatināvasrṣtām viśve devā adhārayan | yaśo goṣu ° ° ° z 5 z vṛhaspatināvasrṣtām viśve devā adhārayan | bhago goṣu praviṣto yas tenemām saṁ srjāmasi z 6 z yad asāu duhitā tava vikeśy arudad bahu rodēna kṛṇvaty agham | agniṣ tvā tasmād enasaḥ savitā ca pra muñcatām z 7 z yad amī keśino janā grhe te samanartīṣu rodēna kṛṇvanto agham | agniṣ tvā ° ° ° z 8 z yajjāmāyo yad yuvatayo grhe te samanartīṣu rodēna kṛṇvatīr agham | agniṣ tvā ° ° ° z 9 z yad amū dampatī ubhāu vivāhe agham āruto rodēna kṛṇvantāv agham | <agniṣ tvā tasmād enasaḥ savitā ca pra muñcatām> z 10 z 6 z*

St 1. In pāda c Ś has dīkṣām; dakṣam would probably be better than dākṣam.

St 10. To have concord of gender it seems necessary to read ubhāu. This stanza has no exact parallel.

### 13

(Ś 14.2)

[f232b7] *yat te prajāyām [8] paśuṣu yad vā grhe niṣṭhitur aghakṛdbhir agham kṛtam. agniṣ tvā ta-[9]smād enasaḥ savitā ca pra muñcatām. | yan nārīr upavrūte pūlpā-[10]ny avṛpantikā dīrghāyur astu me patir edhantā pilaro mama | ehamāv i-[11]ndra san nuda cakravākeva dampatī | prajāvantāu svastakāu dīrgham ā-[12]yur vyaśnutām. yad āsandhyātadhāne yad vopavāsane kṛtam. vivāhe [13] kṛtyām yām cakrur āsnāne taṁ ni dadhmasi | yad duṣkṛtām yaś chamalām vi-[14]vivāhe vahato ca yat. tat sambharasya kambale mṛjmahe duritām vayam. [15] sambale malām mādayitvā kambale mṛjmahe duritām vayam. sambā-[16]le malām mādayitvā kambale duritām vayam. abhūmi yajñeyā-[17]ś śud-*

*dhāṣ prāṇān yoṣi tāriṣam. | yā me priyatamā tanū sā me vibhā-*  
*[18]ya vāsasaḥ tasyāgre tvaṁ vanaspate nīvaṁ kṛṇuṣva mā vayaṁ*  
*ruśāma | [19] kṛttrimaṣ kaṅkataś śatadanyeṣu apāśyāt keśaṁ*  
*malam upaśirṣaṇyaṁ li-[20]khā | aṅgād aṅgād yoyam asyām upa*  
*yakṣmaṁ ni dhattana | tan mā prāpat pr-[f233a]thivīm mota*  
*devān imān mām pāpam urvy āntarikṣam. apo mā prāṇān balam*  
*odad agne [2] nīmaṁ mā prāpat pitṛś ca sarvān. | san tva bāhyāmi*  
*payasā prthivyās san tvā na-[3]hyāmi payasoṣaśadhīnām. san tvā*  
*nahyāmi prajayā dhanena sā sannaddhā sā[4]nnahi vājanemam.*  
*z 7 z*

In the left margin opposite line 8 is śvā, and opposite line 10 is manti.

Read: yat te prajāyām paśuṣu yad vā gr̥he niṣṭhitam agha-  
 kṛdbhir aghaṁ kṛtam | agniṣ tvā tasmād enasaḥ savitā ca pra  
 muñcatām z 1 z iyaṁ nāry upa brūte pūlpāny āvapantikā | dīrghāyur  
 astu me patir edhantām pitaro mama z 2 z ihemāv indra saṁ nuda  
 cakravākeva dāmpati | prajāvantāu svastakāu dīrgham āyur vy  
 aśnutām z 3 z yad āsandyā upadhāne yad vopavāsane kṛtam |  
 vivāhe kṛtyām cakrur āsnāne tām ni dadhmasi z 4 z yad duṣkṛtam  
 yac chamalaṁ vivāhe vahatāu ca yat | tat sambharasya kambale  
 mṛjmahe duritaṁ vayam z 5 z sambhale malaṁ sādaitvā kambale  
 duritaṁ vayam | abhūma yajñīyās śuddhāṣ pra ṇa āyūṁṣi tāriṣam  
 z 6 z yā me priyatamā tanū sā me bibhāya vāsasaḥ | tasyāgre tvaṁ  
 vanaspate nīvaṁ kṛṇuṣva mā vayaṁ riśāma z 7 z kṛttrimaṣ kaṅkataś  
 śatadan ya eṣaḥ | apāśyās keśyaṁ malam apa śirṣaṇyaṁ likhāt  
 z 8 z aṅgād-aṅgād yūyam asyām apa yakṣmaṁ ni dhattana | tan  
 mā prāpat prthivīm mota devān divaṁ mā prāpad urv antarikṣam |  
 apo mā prāpan malam etad agne yamaṁ mā prāpat pitṛś ca  
 sarvān z 9 z saṁ tvā nahyāmi payasā prthivyās saṁ tvā nahyāmi  
 payasāuśadhīnām | saṁ tvā nahyāmi prajayā dhanena sā saṁnaddhā  
 sanuhi vājam emam z 10 z 7 z

St 2. For pāda d ś has jīvati śaradaḥ śatam; SMB, HG, and PG read for d almost as here, having jñatayo for pitaro.

St 6. Pāda d as here is given by the ms at 11.3.4d also, where tāriṣat seems necessary; here it would seem better.

St 9. In pāda b asyām is not as good as the genitive which ś has, but it is possible.

St 10. Cf. also TS 3.5.6.1.

## 14

(Ś 14. 2)

[f233a4] amo ham asmi sã tvañ dyāur ahañ pr̥thimano ma-  
 [5]nas si vākyam̐ tāv iha mam̐bhavāva prajām ā janayāvahi |  
 jayanti nogruva\* pi-[6]vaṣ pitryantu sadānugah̐ | ariṣṭām asyate-  
 mahi vṛhate vājasātaye | ye pi-[7]taro vadhūdarṣā nimam̐ vahatun  
 āgamam. | tasyāi vadhvī sampatnī prajāvaṣ carma yaśchatu |  
 [8] idam̐ pūrvāgam̐ raśanāyamānā prajām asyāi draviṇam̐ ceha  
 dhattām. | tvām vaha-[9]ntv aktasyābhi panthām virād̐ iyañ supra-  
 jātvaṣi pra vudhyasva suvakṣa vudhyamānā [10] dīrghāyutvāya  
 śataśārādāya | gr̥hān prihi sumanasyamāno dīrghan tāyus sa-  
 [11]vitā kṛṇotu | vi te muñcāmi raśanām̐ vi raśmīn yoktrāṇi pari  
 carta-[12]nāni ca | ariṣṭāsmiñ jyotiṣa śivā gr̥hapatāu bhava |  
 syonā bhava śvaśu-[13]rebhya syonā patye gr̥hebhyaḥ syonāsyāi  
 sarvasyāi viṣe syonāpatyāmyāiṣām̐ bhava z 8 z [14] z z ity athar-  
 vaṇike pāippalādāyāś śākhāyām̐ aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe [15] dvitīyo  
 nuvākaḥ z z

Read: amo 'ham asmi sã tvañ dyāur ahañ pr̥thivī tvañ mano  
 'ham asmi vāk tvam | tāv iha sam̐ bhavāva prajām ā janayāvahāi  
 z 1 z janayanti no agravaṣ putriyanti sadānugāḥ | ariṣṭāsas sacemahi  
 vṛhate vājasātaye z 2 z ye pitaro vadhūdarṣā imam̐ vahatun āgamam  
 | te 'syāi vadhvī sampatnyāi prajāvac charma yacchantu z 3 z  
 yedam̐ pūrvāgam̐ raśanāyamānā prajām asyāi draviṇam̐ ceha  
 dhattām | tam̐ vahantv aktasyābhi panthām virād̐ iyañ suprajā aty  
 ajāiṣit z 4 z pra budhyasva suvakṣā budhyamānā dīrghāyutvāya  
 śataśārādāya | gr̥hān prehi sumanasyamānā dīrgham̐ ta āyus savitā  
 kṛṇotu z 5 z vi te muñcāmi raśanām̐ vi raśmīn vi yoktrāṇi pari-  
 cartanāni ca | ariṣṭāsmiñ jyotiṣi śivā gr̥hapatāu bhava z 6 z syonā  
 bhava śvaśurebhyaḥ syonā patye gr̥hebhyaḥ | syonāsyāi sarvasyāi  
 viṣe syonāpatyāmyāiṣām̐ bhava z 7 z 8 z

ity ātharvaṇike pāippalādāyām̐ śākhāyām̐ aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe dvitīyo  
 'nuvākaḥ z z

St 1. For pāda b Ś has sāmāham asmy ṛk tvam; our pāda c  
 appears elsewhere only in ApMB 1. 3. 14.

St 2. In pāda b Ś has sudānavah, and in c ariṣṭāsū sacevahi.

St 4. In pāda c Ś has agatasyānu.

St 6. For pādas ab cf TS 1. 6. 4. 3; MS 1. 4. 1; and KS 5. 3:  
 for cd there seem to be no parallels.

St 7. This st 27 in Ś, which has in c syonā puṣṭāyāi°.

## 15

## (Ś 13.1)

[f233a15] *ud ihi vājin yo psv antar idam rāṣṭram pra viśi*  
 [16] *sūnṛtāvat. yayo rohito viśvabhṛtaṁ jajāna | sa tvā rāṣṭrāya*  
*subhṛtaṁ pipantu* [17] *ud vājagan yo psv antar viśā roha tud*  
*yonayo yā somam dadhānā | poṣadhīr gās ca-* [18] *tusṣādo dvipadā*  
*veśa eha z om yūyam ugrā marutaṣ prīśnimātara indre yu-* [20] *jā*  
*pra mṛṇīta śatṛn. ā vo rohitaś śṛnavat sudānavas triṣuptā marutas*  
*svādu-* [21] *saṁnudaḥ | ruho ruroha rohito ruroha garbho janinām*  
*janitām upastham. tā-* [f233b] *tābhis saṁrabdho anv avindat ṣaḥ*  
*urvī gātum prapaśyann iha rāṣṭram āha | yā te rāṣṭram i-* [2] *ha*  
*rohito hā sṛdho vy āsthad abhayat tehabhūḥ tasmāi te dyāvāpṛthivī*  
*revatī* [3] *bhiṣ kāman duhātām iha śakvaribhiḥ rohito dyāvāpṛthivī*  
*jajāna taṁ* [4] *tantum paramēṣṭhī tatāna | tatra śāśriye aja ekapā*  
*dr̥ṇhat tena sva stabhitām* [5] *tena nāhāḥ tenāntarikṣam vimatā*  
*rakṣāṁsi tena devā mṛtam anv avindan. | vi* [6] *rohito mṛśad*  
*viśvarūpaṁ samākṛṇvānaṣ pararuho ruhaś ca | divam rūdhvā*  
*ma-* [7] *hatā mahimnā saṁ te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā gṛtēna | yas te*  
*ruhor yās tārho* [8] *yābhir āpṛṇāsi divam antarikṣam. tāsām*  
*vrahmaṇā payasā vāvṛ-* [9] *dhānā viśa rāṣṭre jāgraha rohitasya |*  
*yās te viśas tapasas sambabhūvur va-* [10] *tsam gāyatrirm anu tā*  
*yaguḥ tās tvā viśantu manasā śivena saṁmātā va-* [11] *tso bhy eta*  
*rohitā z 1 z*

In the right hand margin of f233b opposite line 10 is pā, with indication that it corrects saṁmātā.

Read: *ud ehi vājin yo 'psv antar idam rāṣṭram pra viśa sūnṛtāvat*  
 | *yo rohito viśvabhṛtaṁ jajāna sa tvā rāṣṭrāya subhṛtaṁ pipantu*  
*z 1 z ud vāja āgan yo 'psv antar viśa ā roha tvadyonayo yāḥ |*  
*somam dadhāno 'pa oṣadhīr gās catusṣṭado dvipada ā veśayeha z 2 z*  
*yūyam ugrā marutaṣ prīśnimātara indreṇa yujā pra mṛṇīta śatṛn |*  
*ā vo rohitaś śṛnavat sudānavas triṣaptā marutas svādusaṁmudaḥ*  
*z 3 z ruho ruroha rohito ruroha garbho janinām januṣām upastham*  
 | *tābhis saṁrabdho anv avindat ṣaḥ urvīr gātum prapaśyann iha*  
*rāṣṭram āhāḥ z 4 z ā te rāṣṭram iha rohito 'hār mṛdho vy āsthad*  
*abhayaṁ te abhūt | tasmāi te dyāvāpṛthivī revatibhiṣ kāman*  
*duhātām iha śakvaribhiḥ z 5 z rohito dyāvāpṛthivī jajāna tasmin*  
*tantum paramēṣṭhī tatāna | tatra śāśriye aja ekapād adr̥ṇhad*  
 <*dyāvāpṛthivī balena z 6 z rohito dyāvāpṛthivī adr̥ṇhat*> *tena sva*

stabhitam tena nākaḥ | tenāntarikṣam vimitā rajānsi tena devā  
amṛtam anv avindan z 7 z vi rohito 'mṛśad viśvarūpaṁ samā-  
kṛṇvāṇaḥ praruho ruhaś ca | divaṁ rūḍhvā mahatā mahimnā saṁ  
te rāṣṭram anaktu payasā ghr̥tena z 8 z yās te <ruhaḥ pra->ruho  
yās ta āruho yābhir āṇṇāsi divam antarikṣam | tāsāṁ vrahmaṇā  
payasā vāvṛdhāno viśi rāṣṭrā jāgrhi rohitasya z 9 z yās te viśas  
tapasas sambabhūvur vatsaṁ gāyatrīm anu tā ihāguḥ | tās tvā  
viśantu manasā śivena saṁmātā vatso 'bhy etu rohitaḥ z 10 z 1 z

St 1. In pāda c Ś has viśvam idam; in d bibhartu, while TB has dadhātu. Our variant in d is a frequent type and often is wrong.

St 4. In pāda c Ś has saṁrabdham anv avindan, TB has °rabdho avidat.

St 6. Pāipp as edited agrees with TB in having tasmin in b and ekapād in c.

St 7. Pāda d appears as Ppp 7. 6. 1b, in another connection.

## 16

### (Ś 13.1)

[f233b11] ūrdhvo rohito dhi nāke asthād viśvā rū-[12]pāni  
janayan yuvā kaviḥ tigmenāgni jyotiṣā vi bhāsi tr̥tīye [13] cakṣe  
rajasi priyāni | sahasraśṛṅgo vṛṣabho jātavedā ghr̥tā-[14]hutis  
somaṇṣṭhas suvirāḥ gāma hisin nāthito netvā jahāji [15] goṇṣaṁ  
ca me virapoṣaṁ ca dhehi | rohito yajñasya janitā mukhaṁ ca  
ro-[16]hitayā vācā śrotreṇa manasā juhomi | rohitan devā yantu  
[17] sumanasyamānā sa mā rohāis sāmītye rohayāti | rohito yajñān  
[18] vi dadhād viśvakarmaṇe tasmāt tejānsy upa memāny āguḥ  
vocayat te nā-[19]bhīm bhuvanasyādhi majmani | ā tvā ruroha  
vṛhaty at pañktir āṅkakud varca-[20]mā viśvavedaḥ ā tvā ruroha  
rohitākṣaṁ rohito hito retasā [21] saha | ayaṁ vaste garbhaṁ  
pṛthivyā divaṁ vaste yam antari-[f234a]kṣam. | ayaṁ vradhnasya  
viṣṭapas svar lokān sam ānaśe | vācaspate pṛthivī na syonā [2] yonīs  
talpā suśevā | ihāiva prāṇas sakhye no stu tan tvā parameṣṭhi  
paryavahaṁ [3] varcasā dadhāmi | vācaspate ṛtavaḥ pañca vāiśva-  
karmaṇā parye babhūvuḥ pa-[4]ra rohito varcasā dadhātu |  
vācaspate somanasāṁ manasā ca goṣṭhe no gā rama yo-[5]niṣu  
prajām. ihāiva prāṇas sakhye no stu tan tvā parameṣṭhiṁ parya-  
vahaṁ varcasā [6] dadhātu | pari tvā dhat savitā devo gñir varcasā

*mitrāvaruṇāv abhi tvā | sarvā-[7]rātīr apakrāmann udahidam  
śṭrān kṛṇuhi mūṇtāvat. z 2 z*

Read: ūrdhvo rohito 'dhi nāke asthād viśvā rūpāṇi janayan  
yuvā kavīh | tigmenāgne jyotiṣā vi bhāsi tṛtīye cakṣe rajasi priyāṇi  
z 1 z sahasraśṛṅgo vṛṣabho jātavedā ghṛtāhutis somapṛṣṭhas suvīraḥ  
| mā mā hāsīn nāthito net tvā jahāni gopoṣam ca me vīrapoṣam  
ca dhehi z 2 z rohito yajñasya janitā mukhaṁ ca rohitāya vācā  
śrotreṇa manasā juhomi | rohitaṁ devā yantu sumanasyamānās sa  
mā rohāis sāmityāi rohayāti z 3 z rohito yajñam vy adadhād viśva-  
karmaṇe tasmāt tejānsy upa memāny āguḥ | voceyam te nabhiṁ  
bhuvanasyādhi majmani z 4 z ā tvā ruropa vṛhaty uta pañktir ā  
kakud varcasā viśvavedaḥ | ā tvā ruropa rohitākṣara <ā tvā ruropa>  
rohito retasā saha z 5 z ayaṁ vaste garbhaṁ pṛthivyā divaṁ vaste  
'yam antarikṣam | ayaṁ vradhnasya viṣṭapas svar lokān sam ānaśe  
z 6 z vācaspate pṛthivī naḥ syonā syonā yonis talpā naḥ suśevā |  
ihāiva prāṇas sakhye no 'stu taṁ tvā parameṣṭhin pary ahaṁ var-  
casā dadhāmi z 7 z vācaspata ṛtavaḥ pañca <ye no> vāiśvakarmaṇāḥ  
pari ye babbhūvuḥ | <ihāiva prāṇas sakhye no 'stu taṁ tvā para-  
meṣṭhin> pari rohito varcasā dadhātu z 8 z vācaspate sāumanasaṁ  
manas ca goṣṭhe no gā ramaya yoniṣu prajāṁ | ihāiva prāṇas sakhye  
no 'stu taṁ tvā parameṣṭhin pary ahaṁ varcasā dadhāmi z 9 z pari  
tvā dhāt savitā devo 'gnir varcasā mitrāvaruṇāv abhi tvā | sarvā  
arātīr apakrāmann ehidaṁ rāṣṭraṁ kṛṇuhi sūnṛtāvat z 10 z 2 z

St 2. See also KS 35.18 and TB 3.7.2.7; the latter varies considerably.

St 5. Ś has kakub in pāda b; insertion of tvā before kakud would improve the pāda. In c Ś has rurohoṣṇihākṣaro vaṣatkāra°.

St 7. In pāda d Ś has agnir āyuṣā in st 17, rohita āyuṣā in st 18, and ahaṁ āyuṣā in st 19.

## 17

(Ś 13.1)

[f234a8] oṁ yan tvā prṣati rathe prṣnir vahati rohitaḥ sabhā yāsya  
raṇīm namaḥ te-[9]nemaṁ vrahmaṇas pate ruhaṁ rohayottamam.  
anuvratā rohiṇī rohitasya sū-[10]ryas suvarṇā vṛṇhaspati suvarcāḥ  
mayā vācām viśvarūpām jayema [11] tayā viśyādām pṛtanābhi  
syama | idaṁ sado rohiṇī rohitasyāsāu pa-[12]panthās prṣati yena  
yāti | tamā gandharvāḥ kaśyapā vun nayantu tvaṁ rahantu [13]

*kavayo prapādam. sūryasyāśvā harayaṣ ketusantas sadā vahanty amṛtā-[14]s sukhaṁ ratham. | ghṛtapāvā rohito vājamāno divaṁ devāḥ prśa-[15]tīm ā viveśa | ayaṁ rohito vṛṣabhas tigmaśrṅgaṣ pary agniḥ pari sū-[16]ryaṁ babbhūva | ayo viṣṭabhnāt pṛthivī divaṁ ca tasmād devā ti sṛṣṭi-[17]s srjante | rohito divaṁ āruhaṁ mahataṣ pary arṇavā | sa-[18]rvā ruroha rohito ruhā vimimīdvā payasvatīm ghṛtācīm devānām [19] dhevānām dhenur anapasprg eṣāṁ. indras somo stv agniḥprśnānta vimṛdho [20] nudasva | samiddho gnis samidhāno ghṛtavṛddho ghṛtāhutaḥ abhī-[21]śāl asmi viśvāśāl agniḥ sapatnān. | hantv e mama hantv enān pra [f234b] dahantv agnir yo niṣ pṛdanyatu kravyādagninā vayaṁ sapatnān pra dahāmasi | a-[2]gne sapatnam udharaṁ pārayāssad vyathayā sujātam uta pidānaṁ vṛha-[3]spate | indrāgnī mitrā-varuṇāv adhare padyantām apratimān yūryamānā | [4] z 3 z*

Read: yaṁ tvā pṛṣatī rathe pṛsnir vahati rohita | śubhā yāsi riṣann apaḥ | tenemaṁ vrahmaṇas pate rohaṁ rohayottamam z 1 z anuvratā rohiṇī rohitasya sūris suvarṇā vṛhatī suvarcāl | tayā vājān viśvarūpān jayema tayā †viṣyādaṁ pṛtanā abhi śyāma z 2 z idaṁ sado rohiṇī rohitasyāsāu panthāṣ pṛṣatī yena yāti | tān gandharvāḥ kaśyapā un nayantu tān rohantu kavayo 'pramādam z 3 z sūryasyāśvā harayaṣ ketumantas sadā vahanty amṛtās sukhaṁ ratham | ghṛtapāvā rohito bhrājamāno divaṁ devaḥ pṛṣatīm ā viveśa z 4 z ayaṁ rohito vṛṣabhas tigmaśrṅgaṣ pary agniṁ pari sūryaṁ babbhūva | yo viṣṭabhnāt pṛthivīm divaṁ ca tasmād devā ati sṛṣṭis srjante z 5 z rohito divaṁ āruhan mahataṣ pary arṇavāt | sarvā ruroha rohito ruhaḥ z 6 z vi mime tvā payasvantīm ghṛtācīm devānām dhenur anapasprg eṣā | indras so-<maṁ pibatu kṣe->mo 'stv agniḥ prāśnātu vi mṛdho nudasva z 7 z samiddho 'gnis samidhāno ghṛtavṛddho ghṛtāhutaḥ | abhīśād viśvāśād agniḥ sapatnān hantu ye mama z 8 z hantv enān pra dahatv agnir yo naṣ pṛtanyati | kravyādagninā vayaṁ sapatnān pra dahāmasi z 9 z agne sapatnam adharaṁ pādayāsmad vyathayā sajātam †utapidānaṁ vṛhaspate | indrāgnī mitrāvaruṇāv adhare padyantām apratimanyūyamānāḥ z 10 z 3 z

St 1. In pāda b both Ś and RV 8. 7. 28 have praṣṭir va°, but it does not seem necessary to restore it. Ś and RV have only three pādas. Our pāda d is Ś 19. 24. 1c.

St 2. In pāda d Ś has viśvāḥ pṛ°.

St 3. In pāda d Ś has rakṣanti; rohayantu would be a good reading.



St 5. In pāda a Ś has yo, which we might well restore.

St 7. In pāda a TB 3. 7. 13 and ApŚ 11. 4. 14 read as here.

St 8. Pāda b = Ppp 6. 9. 11b.

## 18

(Ś 13. 1)

[f234b4] *avācīnān ava jahindra vajreṇa bāhumā | adhā sapa-*  
 [5]*tnān māmakān agnes tejobhir ā dadhe | udyan tām deva sūrya*  
*sapatnān eva ja-[6]hi | divīnān rāsmibhir juhi rātrīnān tapasā*  
*vadhīs tām hantv amdhama-[7]n tamā | vatso virājo vṛṣabho*  
*matinām ā ruropa śuklapṛṣṭho antari-[8]kṣam. ghr̥tenārkaṁ abhy*  
*arcanti vatsaṁ vrahma santaṁ vrahmaṇā vardhayantu | divaṁ*  
 [9]*ca roha pṛthivīm ca roha rāṣṭraṁ ca roha draviṇaṁ ca roha |*  
*prajāṁ ca rohāmṛ-[10]taṁ ca roha rohitena tanvaṁ saṁ spr̥śasva*  
*| ye devā rāṣṭrabhr̥to bhito yantu sū-[11]ryasya tebhiḥ te rohitas*  
*sāmvidānā | rāṣṭraṁ dadhātu sumanasyamānā | u [12] tvā yajñā*  
*vrahmapūtā vahanty abhyaktuṁ harayas tvā vahanti | tira-[13]s*  
*samudram ati rocase arṇavaṁ rohito dyāvāpṛthivī adhi śrite |*  
 [14]*vasujid gojit sandhanājitiṁ sahasraṁ yasya draviṇāni sapta-*  
 [15]*tir vocayan te nābhīm bhuvanasyādhi majmani | yaśā yāsi*  
 [16]*pradi-śo diśo nu yaśāḥ paśūnām uta carṣaṇīnām. yaśas pṛthi-*  
 [17]*vyādityā upasthe asmi savitevu cāruḥ amitra sann iha veyathe*  
 [18]*sannāna paśyati | yataḥ paśyanti rocanaṁ diva sūryaṁ vipaś-*  
 [19]*yantam. | de-vo deva marcayaty antaś caraty arṇave | samānam*  
*agnisindhatetvaṁ viduḥ ka-[f235a]vayaḥ pare z 4 z*

Read: avācīnān ava jahindra vajreṇa bāhumān | adhā sapatnān  
 māmakān agnes tejobhir ā dadhe z 1 z udyan tām deva sūrya  
 sapatnān me 'va jahi | divīnān rāsmibhir jahi rātrīnān tapasā  
 vadhīs te yantv adhamān tamaḥ z 2 z vatso virājo vṛṣabho matinām  
 ā ruropa śuklapṛṣṭho antarikṣam | ghr̥tenārkaṁ abhy arcanti  
 vatsaṁ vrahma santaṁ vrahmaṇā vardhayantu z 3 z divaṁ ca roha  
 pṛthivīm ca roha rāṣṭraṁ ca roha draviṇaṁ ca roha | prajāṁ ca  
 rohāmṛtaṁ ca roha rohitena tanvaṁ saṁ spr̥śasva z 4 z ye devā  
 rāṣṭrabhr̥to bhito yanti sūryasya | tebhiḥ te rohitas sāmvidāno  
 rāṣṭraṁ dadhātu sumanasyamānaḥ z 5 z ut tvā yajñā vrahmapūtā  
 vahanty abhy aktuṁ harayas tvā vahanti | tiras samudram ati  
 rocase arṇavam z 6 z rohite dyāvāpṛthivī adhi śrite vasujiti gojiti  
 sandhanājiti | sahasraṁ yasya draviṇāni saptatir voceyam te nābhīm

bhuvanasyādhi majmani z 7 z yaśā yāsi pradiśo diśo 'nu yaśāṣ paśūnām uta carṣaṇīnām | yaśāṣ prthivyā adityā upasthe asmi saviteva cāruḥ z 8 z amutra sann iha vetaḥ saṁs tāni paśyati | itaṣ paśyanti rocanam divas sūryam vipaścitam z 9 z devo devān marca-yaty antaś caraty arṇave | samānam agnim indhate taṁ viduṣ kavayaṣ pare z 10 z 4 z

St 2. This has appeared as Ppp 10.10.2, which should be corrected to read as here: see also Ppp 16.152.10.

St 6. In pāda b abhyaktam might be possible.

St 8. Pāda d in Ś begins aham bhūyāsam; our pāda probably needs correction.

St 9. In pādas ab Ś has vetthetaḥ and paśyasi; if we should restore vettha then we ought to read paśyasi also.

## 19

### (Ś 13.1)

[f235a1] ayaṣ pareṇa para ity ekā z ekapadī dvipadī [2] sā catuṣpady aṣṭāpadī navapadī babhūvuṣi sahasrākṣarā bhuvanasya pañktis ta-[3]syās samudrā adhi vi kṣaranti | ārohan dyām amṛtat prā vāpa badā | u tvā ya-[4]jñam vrahmapūtā vahanti ghṛtaṁ pibantaṁ harayas tvā vahanti | vedat te yamatti ya-[5]t te kramānam divi | yat te sadhastham parame vyoman. | sūryo dyām sūryaṣ prthivīm sū-[6]rya āpo ta paśyati | sūryo bhūtasyāikam cakṣur ā ruoha divam mahi | ūrvir āsam [7] paridhayo vedir bhūmir akalpata | tatrāitāv aṣṭiry ādhanta himam ghnaṁsam ca raṁhi-[8]tā | himam ghnaṁsam rādhāya yūpān kṛtyā parvatām. | varṣājyāv agnī jāte rohi-[9]tasya svarvidaḥ svarvado rohitasya vrahmaṇāgnis samāhitaḥ tasmād ghraṁśas ta-[10]smād yamas tasmād yajño ajāyuta | vrahmaṇāgnis samvidāno vrahmavṛddho vrā-[11]hmāhutaḥ vrahmeddhāv agnījāte rohitammya svarvidaḥ apsv anyas samāhi-[12]taḥ satye adbhīs samāhitaḥ yaṁ vātaṣ pari śumbhati | iyam indro vrahmaṇa-[12]s patiḥ vrahmeddhāv agnījāte rohitasya svarvidaḥ z 5 z ity atharva-[13]nikaṣ pāipalādaśākhāyām aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe tṛtīyo nuvākaḥ zz

Read: ayaṣ pareṇa para <enāvareṇa padā vatsam bibhratī gaur ud asthāt | sā kadrīcī kaṁ svid ardham parāgāt kva svit sūte nahi yūthe asmin z 1> z ekapadī dvipadī sā catuṣpady aṣṭāpadī navapadī babhūvuṣi | sahasrākṣarā bhuvanasya pañktis tasyās samudrā adhi

vi kṣaranti z 2 z ārohan dyām amṛtaḥ prāva me vacaḥ | ut tvā yajñā  
 vrahmapūtā vahanti ghṛtaṁ pibantaṁ harayas tvā vahanti z 3 z  
 veda tat te amartya yat ta ākramaṇaṁ divi | yat te sadhasthaṁ  
 parame vyoman z 4 z sūryo dyām sūryaḥ pṛthivīm sūrya āpo 'ti  
 paśyati | sūryo bhūtasyaikaṁ cakṣur ā ruropa divaṁ mahīm z 5 z  
 urvīr āsan paridhāyo vedir bhūmir akalpata | tatrāitāv taṣṭiry  
 ādhatta himaṁ ghraṇsaṁ ca rohiṭaḥ z 6 z himaṁ ghraṇsaṁ cādhāya  
 yūpān kṛtvā parvatān | varṣājyāv agnī ījāte rohitasya svarvidaḥ  
 z 7 z svarvido rohitasya vrahmaṇāgnis samāhitaḥ | tasmād ghraṇsas  
 tasmād dhimas tasmād yajño ajāyata z 8 z vrahmaṇāgni samvidānāu  
 vrahmaṇārdhāu vrahmahutāu | vrahmeddhāv agnī ījāte rohitasya  
 svarvidaḥ z 9 z apsv anyas samāhitaḥ satye anyas samāhitaḥ |  
 vrahmeddhāv ° ° ° z 10 z yaṁ vātaḥ pariśumbhati yam indro  
 vrahmaṇas patiḥ | vrahmeddhāv agnī ījāte rohitasya svarvidaḥ  
 z 11 z 5 z

ity ātharvaṇike pāippalādaśākhāyām aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe tṛtīyo 'nuvākaḥ  
 z z

St 1. This previously appeared as 16. 67. 7 (= § 9. 9. 17)

St 3. Pādas be appeared in the preceding hymn as 6ab.

## 20

(§ 13. 1 and 2)

[f235a15] *vedīm bhūmīm kalpayitvā divaṁ kṛtvā dakṣiṇā |*  
*ghraṇśan tad agniṁ kṛtvā ca-[16]kāra viśvam ātmanvad varṣeṇā-*  
*jyena rohiṭā | varṣam ājyaṁ ghraṇśo gnir ve-[17]dir bhūmir*  
*akalpata | tatrāitā sarvatān agnir gīrbhir ūrdhvān akalpayat.*  
*gi-[18]bhir ūrdhvān kalpayitvā rohito bhūmīm avravīt. | tad edaṁ*  
*sarvaṁ jāyatām ya-[19]d bhūtaṁ yaś ca bhavyam. sa yajñas*  
*prathamo bhūto bhavyo ajāyata | tasmādhva ja-[20]yajñedaṁ*  
*sarvaṁ yat kiñ cedam vi rohite | rohitena riṣaṇādbhṛtam. ud*  
*a-[f235b]sya ketavo divi śukrā bhrājanta irate | ādityasya nṛcākṣaso*  
*mahīvrata-[2]sya mīdhuṣā | yaśām prajñānaṁ svadayanto arciṣā*  
*svapakṣam āsum patayanta-[3]m arṇave | suvāma sūryaṁ bhuva-*  
*nasya gopām yo raśmibhin diśābhāti [4] sarvā | yat prām pratyaṁ*  
*svadhayā yādvi śibhin nānārūpe ahanī ka-[5]rṣa māyā | tad āditya*  
*me tat ta mayī sravodako vidvām pari bhūmi jā-[6]yase | vipaś-*  
*citaṁ taraṇīm bhrājamānaṁ vahanti yaṁ haritaḥ sa-[7]pta bahvīḥ*  
*| śrutād divam atti divam anyanāya taṁ tvā paśyema paryanti-[8]m*

*ājim. mā tvā dabhaṁ paryantam ājim sugena durgam ati yāhi śibhām. [9] divaṁ ca sūryaṁ prthivyaṁ ca devī ahorātre vimamāno yad eṣi | svasti te [10] sūrya carato rathāsi yenobhāv anto paryāsi sadyaḥ | yan te vahanti [11] harito vahiṣṭhās tam ā roha sukham āśyaśvam. z 1 z*

Read: vedīm bhūmīm kalpayitvā divaṁ kṛtvā dakṣiṇām | ghraṇsam tad agniṁ kṛtvā cakāra viśvam ātmanvad varṣeṇājyena rohitaḥ z 1 z varṣam ājyaṁ ghraṇso 'gnir vedir bhūmir akalpata | tatrāitān parvatān agnir gīrbhir ūrdhvān akalpayat z 2 z gīrbhir ūrdhvān kalpayitvā rohito bhūmim avravīt | tad idaṁ sarvaṁ jāyatām yad bhūtaṁ yac ca bhavyam z 3 z sa yajñaḥ prathamō bhūto bhavyo ajāyata | tasmād dha jajña idaṁ sarvaṁ yat kiñ cedāṁ virocate rohitena ṛṣiṇābhṛtam z 4 z ud asya ketavo divi śukrā bhrājanta irate | ādityasya nṛcakṣaso mahivratasya mīḍhuṣaḥ z 5 z tyaśām prajñānām svarayanto arciṣā supakṣam āsūṁ patayantam arṇave | stavāma sūryaṁ bhuvanasya gopām yo raśmibhir diśa ābhāti sarvāḥ z 6 z yat prāṇ pratyāṇ svadhayā tyādvi śibhaṁ nānārūpe ahanī karṣi māyayā | tad āditya mahi tat te mahi śravo yad eko viśvaṁ pari bhūma jāyase z 7 z vipaścitaṁ taraṇīm bhrājamānaṁ vahanti yaṁ haritas sapta bahvīḥ | śrutād yaṁ atrir divam unnināya tam tvā paśyema pariyāntam ājim z 8 z mā tvā dabhan pariyāntam ājim sugena durgam ati yāhi śibham | divaṁ ca sūrya prthivīm ca devīm ahorātre vimamāno yad eṣi z 9 z svasti te sūrya carato rathasya yenobhāv antāu pariyāsi sadyaḥ | yaṁ te vahanti harito vahiṣṭhās tam ā roha sukham ā svaśvyam z 10 z 1 z

This hymn is made up of stanzas which in Ś are 13. 1. 52-55 and 13. 2. 1-6. Whitney remarks that Ś 13. 1. 56-60 are well omitted.

St 6. In pāda a āśām might be acceptable: Ś has diśām prajñānām svarayantam.

St 7. In pāda a yāsi, as in Ś, would be the most acceptable emendation.

## 21

(Ś 13. 2)

[f235b11] *sukhaṁ sūrya [12] ratham aṇśumantaṁ syono sya vahnīm adhi tiṣṭha vājinam. | yan te vahanti ha-[13]rito vahiṣṭhaś śatam āśvā yadi vās sapta bahvīḥ sapta śūro hariṣṭhā-[14]ś śatam āśvā yadi vas sapta bahvīḥ | sapta śūro harito yātave ra-[15]tho hiraṇyatvacaso vṛhatīr yuñktaḥ amoti śakro rajasiḥ parastā-[16]d*

vadhūya devas tamo divasā ruhat. uta ketunā vṛhatā deva āgaṁ  
 [17] nupāyavantum avibha jyotir aśvāiḥ divyas suparṇas sthavīro  
 vyakṣann ādi-[18]tyāś putraṁ nāthagāṁ abhayāṁ atitā | udyan  
 raśmīn ā tanuṣe prajāś sa-[19]rgā vi paśyati | ubhā samudrāu  
 kratunā vi bhāsi sarvām lokā [f236a] \* \* \* \* \*  
 śiśūś kundanā paryāto adhvaram. | [2] viśvāny \*ny\* bhuv\*n\* \* \*  
 hiraṇyo \*\*\*ito vahanti z divi [3] tvā u dhārayat sūryā māsāya  
 kartavye | sa eka sudhṛtas tapaṁ svar bhūtā [4] vi cākaśat. z ubhāv  
 antāu sam ariṣati vatsas sammātaram iva | nanv e-[5]ti ṛtavaś  
 purā vrahma devyā amī viduḥ yat samudram adhi śrutam tat  
 sivyasu-[6]ta sūrya | madhvaś ca vitato mahan pūrvaś caparaś ca  
 yaḥ tvaṁ sam āpnojyo jūtibhi-[7]s tasmātmāpa jigitsati | tenā-  
 mṛtasya bhakṣaṇaṁ devānān nāva rundhate |

One upper corner of the ms is completely gone taking half of the first line of f236a and some of the second line. This hymn is accented in the ms.

Read : sukhaṁ sūrya ratham aṅśumantaṁ syonaṁ suvahnim adhi  
 tiṣṭha vājinam | yaṁ te vahanti harito vahiṣṭhāś śatam aśvā yadi  
 vā sapta bahvīḥ z 1 z sapta sūryo harito yātave rathe hiraṇyatva-  
 caso vṛhatīr ayuṅkta | amoci śukro rajasas parastād vidhūya devas  
 tamo divam ā ruhat z 2 z ut ketunā vṛhatā deva āgaṁ apāyuvan  
 tamo abhi jyotir aśrāit | divyas suparṇas sthavīro vy akhyad adityāś  
 putraṁ nāthagāmo 'bhi yāmi bhītaḥ z 3 z udyan raśmīn ā tanuṣe  
 prajāś sarvā vi paśyasi | ubhāu samudrāu kratunā vi bhāsi sarvāṁ  
 lokān paribhūr bhrājamānaḥ z 4 z pūrvāparam carato māyayātāu  
 śiśū ḥkundanā pari yāto adhvaram | viśvāny anyo bhuvanābhicaṣṭe  
 anyam hiraṇyā harito vahanti z 5 z divi tvā ḥu adhārayat sūrya  
 māsāya kartave | sa eka sudhṛtas tapan svar bhūtāvacākaśat z 6 z  
 ubhāv antāu sam arṣati vatsas sammātaram iva | nanv etad itaś  
 purā vrahma devā amī viduḥ z 7 z yat samudram adhi śritam tat  
 ḥsivyasuta sūryaḥ | adhvaśya vitato mahān pūrvaś cāparaś ca yaḥ  
 z 8 z tam samāpnoti jūtibhis tasmād nāpa cikitsati | tenāmṛtasya  
 bhakṣaṇaṁ devānaṁ nāva rundhate z 9 z 2 z

This hymn is accented in the ms.

St 2. In pāda a sūro would give an acceptable meaning.

St 3. In pāda b if apāyuvan may be accepted as pres. ppl. the rest is probably good. In c we might consider retaining vyakṣann as a pres. ppl. For d see 24. 4d.

St 4. Pāda a has occurred as Ppp 4. 16. 8a; b seems to be new. The lacunae are filled out from Ś.

St 5. Pādas abc have appeared above as 3.2abc, and they are also § 7.81.1abc. RV 10.85.18 has adhvaram as here, and so do MS and TB. The last pāda here is similar to pāda d of § 13.2.11; others are entirely different.

St 6. In pāda a ś has tvātrir, in d viśvā bhūtā°: d has appeared as Ppp 5.38.4b.

St 8. In pāda b it may be that siṣāsati as in ś is intended, or vivyāsati.

St 9. The ms gives no indication of the end of this hymn, but as the next stanza is RV 1.50.1 it seems proper to begin the next hymn with that stanza.

## 22

(§ 13.2)

[f236a7] u-[8]d u tyam jātavedasam devam vahanti ketavaḥ dṛṣe  
viśvāya sūryam. | apa tye [9] tāyavo yathā nakṣatrā yanty  
uktubhiḥ sūrāya viśvacakṣase | adṛśyann asya [10] ketavo vi  
raśmayo janān anu | bhrājanto agnayo yathā | taranir viśvada-  
[11]rṣato jyotiṣkṛd asi sūrya | viśvam ā bhāsi rocanā | pratyam  
devānām viśa-[12]ṣ pratyam ud eṣi mānuṣi | pratyam viśvam svar  
dṛṣe | yenā pāvaka cakṣasā [13] bhuranyantam janān anu | tvam  
varuṇa paśyasi vi dyām eṣi rajas prthv a-[14]hā mimāno aktubhiḥ  
paśyañ janmāni sūrya | sapta tvā harito rathe vaha-[15]nti deva  
sūrya | sapta tvā harito rathe vahanti deva sūrya | śociṣkeṣam  
vi-[16]cakṣaṇa | ayukta sapta śundhyavas sūro rathasya naptyaḥ  
tābhir yāti svayukti-[17]bhiḥ abhi sā varcasā giras siñcantir ā  
caranyataḥ abhi vatsan na dhe-[18]navaḥ tā rṣantu śubhriyaṣ  
prñcati varcasā priyaḥ jāta jātir yathā hr-[19]dā z 3 z

The ms writes accents in this hymn also.

Read: ud u tyam jātavedasam devam vahanti ketavaḥ | dṛṣe  
viśvāya sūryam z 1 z apa tye tāyavo yathā nakṣatrā yanty aktubhiḥ  
| sūrāya viśvacakṣase z 2 z adṛśrann asya ketavo vi raśmayo janān  
anu | bhrājanto agnayo yathā z 3 z taranir viśvadarṣato jyotiṣkṛd  
asi sūrya | viśvam ā bhāsi rocanam z 4 z pratyam devānām viśaṣ  
pratyam ud eṣi mānuṣiḥ | pratyam viśvam svar dṛṣe z 5 z yenā  
pāvaka cakṣasā bhuranyantam janān anu | tvam varuṇa paśyasi  
z 6 z vi dyām eṣi rajas prthv ahā mimāno aktubhiḥ | paśyañ  
janmāni sūrya z 7 z sapta tvā harito rathe vahanti deva sūrya |  
śociṣkeṣam vicakṣaṇa z 8 z ayukta sapta śundhyavas sūro rathasya

naptyaḥ | tābhīr yāti svayuktibhiḥ z 9 z abhi mā varcasā giras  
siñcānty ā caraṇyatīḥ | abhi vatsaṁ na dhenavaḥ z 10 z tā arṣantu  
śubhriyaḥ pṛñcatīr varcasā payaḥ | jātaṁ jātīr yathā hṛdā z 11 z 3 z

The first nine stanzas here are RV 1. 50. 1-9; they appear in a number of other texts, but more notable perhaps is the fact that the eleven stanzas of this Pāipp hymn are Ś 20. 47. 13-21 plus 48. 1 and 2.

St 3. In pāda a RV, Ś 20. 47, and some others have adṛśram.

St 4. In pāda c rocanā as in the ms could stand, but it would be more awkward than rocanam which most texts have; but Ś has rocana in 13. 2. 19 and it may be that something of that sort is in the Atharvan tradition.

St 7. In pāda b only Ś in Bk 13 has ahar.

St 8. In pāda b I give °cakṣaṇa with RV, SV, and TS, also Ś 20. 47. 23; here, however, as in st 4c it may be that the Atharvan tradition is °cakṣaṇam.

St 10. In pāda a Ś has tvā, and in b °yuvāḥ.

## 23

(Ś 13. 2)

[f236a19] vajra eva sādhvīyaḥ kintyaṁ śrayamāṇam ā vahām. ||  
[f236b] mahyam āru ghṛtaghṛta priyaḥ rohito \* \* \* \* \*  
[2] ni gāyitasyo jāyate namas sa devānām adhipatir babhūva | y\*  
viśvacarṣaṇi-[3]r uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt. |  
saṁ bāhubhyām dhamati [4] saspatatrāir dyāvābhūmī janayan deva  
ekāḥ | ekapā dvipado bhūyo vi [5] cakrame ta ekapadas tanvāṁ sam  
āsate | atandro yāsyām harito yad āsthā-[6]d divi rūpaṁ kṛṇuthe  
rocāmānaḥ ketumān rubhyaṁ sahamāno rajāṁsi viśvā-[7]dibhyaḥ  
pravato vi bhāvasi | baṇ mahāñ asi sūrya baḥ āditya mahāñ a-[8]si  
| mahas te mahato mahimās tvasāditya mahāñ asi | rocase divi  
ro-[9]case rocase rocase psv antaḥ | ubhā samudro ruvā vy āpita  
devo devāsi [10] mahiṣa svarvit | arvāk parastād vaco viddhāsur  
vipāścīt patayaṁ pataṅgaḥ [11] viṣṇur vicittas śavame sādhitīṣṭham  
pra ketunā sahate viśvam ejat. tigmo [12] pibhrājam tanvās śiśāno  
ruṅgamāsun dhravato rarāṇāḥ jyotiṣmān paṅkti [13] mahiṣo  
vayodhā viśvāsthās padīśas kalpamānaḥ | citras cikitvān mahi-  
[14]śas suparṇārocayan nodasīm antarikṣam. | ahorātri pari sūryam  
vasāna [15] pra pya viśvās tirato vīryāṇi z 4 z

The break on this folio has destroyed the second half of line 1 of f236b. Accents are marked on the first four stanzas. In the left hand margin of f236b opposite line 6 is *še* correcting *kṛnute*.

Read: *ugrāya †vasā dhiyaṣ kīrtim śremāṇam ā vahān | mahyam āyur ghṛtaṁ payaḥ z 1 z rohito <divam āruhat tapasā tapasvī | sa yo>nim āiti sa ū jāyate punas sa devānām adhipatir babbhūva z 2 z yo viśvacarṣanir uta viśvatomukho viśvatobāhur uta viśvataspāt | saṁ bāhubhyāṁ dhamati saṁ patatrāir dyāvābhūmī janayan deva ekaḥ z 3 z ekapād dvipado bhūyo vi cakrame <dvipāt tripādam abhy eti paścāt | dvipād dha ṣaṭpado bhūyo vi cakrame> ta ekapadas tanvaṁ saṁ āsate z 4 z atandro yāsyān harito yad āsthād divi rūpaṁ kṛṇuṣe rocamānaḥ | ketumān udyan sahamāno rajāṁsi viśvā āditya pravato vi bhāsi z 5 z baṇ mahān asi sūrya baḍ āditya mahān asi | mahāns te mahato mahimā tvam āditya mahān asi z 6 z rocase divi rocase rocase rocase 'psv antaḥ | ubhā samudrāu rucā vy āpitha devo devāsi mahiṣaḥ svarvit z 7 z arvāk parastāt †vaso vyadhva āsur vipāscit patayan patamgaḥ | viṣṇur vicittāś śavasādhitīṣṭhan pra ketunā sahate viśvam ejaṭ z 8 z tigmo vibhrājan tanvaś śiśāno †raṁgamāsun pravato rarāṇaḥ | jyotiṣmān pakṣī mahiṣo vayodhā viśvā āsthāś pradiśāś kalpamānaḥ z 9 z citraś cikivān mahiṣas suparṇa ārocayan rodasī antarikṣam | ahorātre pari sūryaṁ vasāne prāśya viśvā tirato vīryāṇi z 10 z 4 z*

St 1. This is Ś 20. 48. 3, which has *yaśaso dhiyaḥ ° indriyam °* in ab.

St 2. At the beginning of f236b2 the ms is slightly cracked and the letters may be *nimā°* instead of *nigā°* as given in transliteration. Whitney reports that Ppp reads *ākramīt* in a; the birchbark is broken and in my copy of Bm several pages are missing just here, so I cannot verify the report. This stanza is Ś 13. 2. 25.

St 3. This appears RV 10. 81. 3 and elsewhere; pāda a is given here as in Ś, bcd agree with RV.

St 5. In pāda b Ś has *dve rūpe kṛnute*.

St 6. For this stanza we surely have the same text as in Ś; RV and others vary considerably.

St 7. In ab Ś has, between the second and third *rocase*, *antarikṣe patamga prthivyām*.

St 8. In pāda a Ś has *arvān ° prayato*; at the end of d *svartvit*.

St 9. In pāda a *tanvaś* is perhaps not as good as *tanvaṁ* in Ś; in d Ś has *āsthāt*.



## 24

(§ 13.2)

[f236b15] cittran devānām katur anikaṁ [16] jyotiṣmān pradiśas sūrya udyam. divākaro tu dyumnāis tamāṁsi viśvātārya [17] duri-  
tāni sukrā | cittraṁ devānām ud agād anikaṁ cakṣur mitrasya varuṇa-  
[18]syāgneḥ āprā dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣaṁ sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuśaś ca z [19] uccā palam aruṇaṁ suparṇaṁ madhye  
divas taraṇiṁ bhrājam. paśyema tvā savi-[f237a]tāraṁ yam āhur ajasraṁ  
jyotir yad ivamdad atri divas pṛṣṭhe dhāvamānaṁ suparṇaṁ [2] nāḍityaś  
putraṁ nāthagāma bha yāma bhītā | sa nā sūryaś pra-  
tad dīrgham āyur mā [3] riṣāma sumatāu te syāma | ahorātrāṇi vi-  
dadāthi kṛṇvānaś pārthi-[4]vāñ rajaḥ navaṁ navaṁ sakhi bhavaṁ  
kṛṇuṣe dave sūrya | sahasrāhuṁ yotāvṛsya [5] pakṣāu harer  
haṁsasya haritas svargam. | sa viśvāñ devāñ tinas saptathus  
sampaśa-[6]n yāti bhuvanāni viśvā | rohito loko bhavabhū rohito  
gre prajāpatiḥ rohi-[7]to yajñānā sukhaṁ rohito jyotir ucyase |  
rohito bhūto bhavat. | rohito raśmi-[8]bhīḥ bhūmyaṁ samudram  
anu sañ cara | sarvā diśas sañ carati rohito adhi-[9]patir divaḥ  
divaṁ samudram ād bhūmyaṁ sarvān lokān vi rahati z 5 z

In the right hand margin of f237a, opposite line 3, is dathi. The ms marks accents on the first two stanzas.

Read: citraṁ devānām katur anikaṁ jyotiṣmān pradiśas sūrya udyan | divākaro 'ti dyumnāis tamāṁsi viśvātārīd duritāni śukraḥ z 1 z citraṁ devānām ud agād anikaṁ cakṣur mitrasya varuṇa-syāgneḥ | āprā dyāvāpṛthivī antarikṣaṁ sūrya ātmā jagatas tasthuśaś ca z 2 z uccā patantam aruṇaṁ suparṇaṁ madhye divas taraṇiṁ bhrājamānaṁ | paśyema tvā savitāraṁ yam āhur ajasraṁ jyotir yad avindad atriḥ z 3 z divas pṛṣṭhe dhāvamānaṁ suparṇaṁ adityaś putraṁ nāthagāmo 'bhi yāmi bhītaḥ | sa naḥ sūrya pra tira dīrgham āyur mā riṣāma sumatāu te syāma z 4 z ahorātrāṇi vidadhat kṛṇvānaś pārthivāñ rajaḥ | navaṁ-navaṁ sakhibhavan kṛṇuṣe deva sūrya z 5 z sahasrāhnyāṁ yutāv asya pakṣāu harer haṁsasya haratas svargam | sa viśvāñ devāñ tinas saptathus sampāśyan yāti bhuvanāni viśvā z 6 z rohito loko 'bhavad rohito 'gre prajāpatiḥ | rohito yajñānāṁ mukhaṁ rohito jyotir ucyate z 7 z rohito bhūto 'bhavad <rohito 'ty atapad divam> | rohito raśmibhir bhūmiṁ samudram anu sañ carat z 8 z sarvā diśas sañ carati rohito adhipatir divaḥ | divaṁ samudram ād bhūmiṁ sarvān lokān vi rakṣati z 9 z 5 z

St 2. This is RV 1. 115. 1, appearing also in a number of other texts; only Ś 13. 2. 35 has āprād in c.

St 5. This stanza is new except that a appears as RV 10. 190. 2c.

St 6. In pāda a Ś has viyatāv, in b patataḥ, and in c urasy upadadya.

St 7. Pāda a here is Ś st 40a; Ś 39a has kālo; our d has no parallel.

St 8. Pāda a has no parallel.

## 25

(Ś 13. 2)

[f237a10] *vitanyaṅstaṁ prati muñcate srja murhūte raśmīn  
aṅśaṁ vṛhantam. divā varaṣ pa-[11]śyati yat parāt param parā  
hvā pravṛṣmaṇād viśvam aprādhiraṇmayam haritaṣ ke-[12]tur  
udyam. | āroham śakro vṛhatīr yuñktor amartyāṣ kṛṇuṣe viryāni |  
di-[13]vyas suparṇo mahiṣaṁ vātaraṅhā ya | sarvāṅ lokāṅ abhi yed  
vibhāti | abhy a-[14]nyad eti sadyo yaṁ vasāvam ahorātrābhyām  
mahīṣāt kalpamānaḥ sūryaṁ varyaṁ ra-[15]jasi kṣiyante gātuvīdaṁ  
havāmahe nāthamānā | prithivipro mahiṣo [16] bādhamānāsu  
gāturadbhutacakṣuṣ pari sarvaṁ babhūva | viśvaṁ sampaśyaṁ suvi-  
[17]datro yajatri śivāyā nas tanvā śarma yaśchāt. | pary asya  
mahimā prthi-[18]vyām samudraṁ jyotiṣā bibhrājaṁ parya dyām  
antarikṣam. ahorātrābhyām saha [19] samvasānā uṣā nīyuṣ pra-  
tarād aviṣṭam. abobhy agniṣ samidhā ja-[20]nānām prati dhenum  
ivāyatisuśāsam. | yadvā iva pra vayām ujjī-[f237b]hānāṣ pra  
bhānavas sasrje nāva[m] atsva kumāraṁ mātā yuvatīr garbham  
anta-[2]r guhā dadāti na dadāti pitre | anekam asya na minaj  
janāsaṣ puraṣ pa-[3]śyanti nihitam aratāu | tam etaṁ tva yuvatiṣ  
kumāraṁ peṣi bibharsī mahiṣi jajā-[4]na pūrvān di garbhaś śarado  
vavaradhāpaśyaṅ jātāṁ yad asūta mātā | yasya tisro vanu-[5]na  
ekadhātmatō smāi balimn devajānā haranti | yasyāsāu dyāuṣ prthivy  
antarikṣaṁ [6] guhyaṁ pra tiṣṭhati madhunāsaktā | nava divo  
devajanena guptā navāntarikṣāṇi [7] nava bhūmayemām | yasmimn  
idaṁ sarvaṁ ota protaṁ yasmād anyamn aparaṁ kiṅ canāsti [8]  
z 6 z*

In the left hand margin of f237a opposite line 10 is rya, and just above that is (?)vyaṅ.

Read: †vitanyaṅstaṁ prati muñcate †srja muhūrte raśmīn

anśam vṛphantam | divāvaraṣ paśyati yat parāt param ṭparāhvā  
 pravṛṣmanādṭ viśvam āprād dhiraṇmayam haritaṣ ketur udyan z 1 z  
 ārohan śukro vṛhatīr ṭyumnktor amartyaṣ kṛṇuṣe vīryāṇi | divyas  
 suparṇo mahiṣo vātarañhā yaḥ sarvān lokān abhi yad vibhāti z 2 z  
 abhy anyad eti sadyo 'yam ṭvasāvam ahorātrābhyām mahiṣaḥ kalpa-  
 mānaḥ | sūryam vayam rajasi kṣiyantaṁ gātuvidam havāmahe  
 nāthamānāḥ z 3 z pṛthivīpro mahiṣo bādhamānasya gātur adbhuta-  
 cakṣuṣ pari sarvam babhūva | viśvam saṁpaśyan suvidatro yajatraś  
 śivāyā nas tanvā śarma yacchāt z 4 z pary asya mahimā pṛthivīm  
 samudram jyotiṣā vibhrājan pari dyām antarikṣam | ahorātrā-  
 bhyām saha saṁvasānā uṣā nīyuṣ pratarād āviṣtam z 5 z abodhy  
 agnis samidhā janānām prati dhenum ivāyatīm uṣāsam | yāhvā iva  
 pra vayām ujjiḥānāṣ pra bhānavas sasṛjre nākam accha z 6 z  
 kumāram mātā yuvatīr garbham antar guhā dadhāti na dadāti  
 pitre | anīkam asya na minaj janāsaṣ puraṣ paśyanti nihitam  
 aratāu z 7 z tam etaṁ tvam yuvatiṣ kumāram peṣi bibharṣi mahiṣī  
 jajāna | pūrvīr hi garbhaś śarado vavardhāpaśyam jātam yad asūta  
 mātā z 8 z yasya tisro ṭvanuna ekadhātmatoṭ 'smāi baliṁ devajanā  
 haranti | yasyāsāu dyāuṣ pṛthivy antarikṣam guhyam pra tiṣṭhanti  
 madhunāśaktā z 9 z nava divo devajanena guptā navāntarikṣāṇi  
 nava bhūmaya imāḥ | yasminn idaṁ sarvam otaṁ protaṁ yasmād  
 anyan na param kiñ canāsti z 10 z 6 z

St 1. This has no parallel.

St 2. Pādas acd here are somewhat similar to st 42 in Ś.

St 4. Pāda d here is new; the rest is st 44 in Ś, which has  
 nādh° in a and adadhā° in b.

St 5. Pādas cd have no parallel.

St 6. This is the last stanza in Ś 13. 2, and it appears as RV  
 5. 1. 1 and elsewhere. RV and Ś have sistrade in d.

St 7. This and the next are RV 5. 2. 1 and 2. In ab RV has  
 °tiḥ samubdham guhā bibharṣi.

St 8. In pāda a RV has kam ° ° yuvate.

St 9. This and the next stanza are new except that 10d is Vāit  
 25. 12b.

## 26

[f237b8] na tasmāt pūrvam na param nv asti na bhūtam noda  
 bhavyam yad āsit. | sahasrapā-[9]d v ekamūrdhā dvāyātmā sa  
 evaekam avarivartī bhūtim. | ekāikam ye patayas su-[10]parṇās

*sopam dipsanto hy ānibādhāt. | kas teṣām veda pitaram mātaram  
ca ko [11] nidhām vyānam eṣām. | ebhir vāta itaṣ pravāte ya dadante  
pañca daśa sadhrī-[12]cī yāhutim atimanyanti devā imām netāraṣ  
katime ta ā-[13]san. | imām eṣām prthivīm vasta eṣo antarikṣam  
pary eko babhū-[14]va | divam eṣām dadhate yo vidhartās sarvā  
diśo rakṣaty eka eṣām. [15] zz 7 zz zz ity atharvaṇiṣka pāipalā-  
dayās śākhāyām aṣṭā-[16]daśakāṇḍe caturtho nuvākaḥ zz zz*

Read: na tasmāt pūrvaṁ na paraṁ nv asti na bhūtaṁ nota  
bhavyaṁ yad āsit | sahasrapād v ekamūrdhā dvāiyātmā sa evāikam  
ā varīvarṭti bhūtam z 1 z ekāikaṁ ye patayas suparṇās †sopam  
dipsanto †hy ānibādhāt† | kas teṣām veda pitaram mātaram ca ko  
nidhām vyānam eṣām z 2 z yebhir vāta iṣitaṣ pravāte ye dadante  
pañca diśas sadhrīcīḥ | ya āhutim atimanyanti devā †imām netāraṣ  
katime ta āsan z 3 z imām eṣām prthivīm vasta eko antarikṣam  
pary eko babhūva | divam eṣām dadate yo vidhartā sarvā diśo  
rakṣaty eka eṣām z 4 z 7 z

ity ātharvaṇike pāippalādāyām śākhāyām aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe caturtho  
'nuvākaḥ zz zz

St 1. This and the next are new. In 2d it might be an improvement if prāṇam were inserted after nidhām.

St 3. This and the next are § 10.8.35 and 36, also in JUB 1.34. Ś has atyamanyanta in c, and apām in d of st 3. For 4d Ś has viśvā āśāḥ prati rakṣanty eke and JUB agrees with it except in having anye for eke.

## 27

(§ 15.1)

[f237b16] vrādyāu vā ida agra āsi-[17]t tririyamāna eva sat  
prajāpatiṁ samīrayat. | sa prajāpatir ātmanas supa-[18]rṇam  
apaśyat tad ekam abhavat tal lālāmam abhavat tan mahad bhavan  
ta jyeṣṭho bhavat ta-[19]t tayābhavat tat satyam abhavad vrah-  
mābhavat tena prajāyata | so vardhata sa macā-[20]n abhavat sa  
mahādevo bhavat sa iśāno bhavat sa devānām ekavṛatyō bhava-[21]t  
sa dhanur āt tad indradhanur abhavat. | nīlam asyodaram lohīn  
asya prṣṭhi nī-[f238a]lenāpriyam lokoti lohītena dviṣantaṁ viddhata  
itī vrahmavādīno vadanti | sa [2] prācīr diśam anu vy acalata z 7 z

In the left hand margin of f237b opposite line 17 is trya, correcting trirya.

Read: vrātyo vā id agra āsīt tīryamāṇa eva sa prajāpatirṇ sam  
 āirayat z 1 z sa prajāpatir ātmanas suparṇam apaśyat z 2 z tad  
 ekam abhavat tal lalāmam abhavat tan mahad abhavat taj jyeṣṭham  
 abhavat tat tapo 'bhavat tat satyam abhavat tad vrahmābhavat tena  
 prājāyata z 3 z so 'vardhata sa mahān abhavat sa mahādevo 'bhavat  
 z 4 z sa īśāno 'bhavat sa devānām z 5 z <sa> ekavrātyo 'bhavat sa  
 dhanur ādatta tad indradhanur abhavat z 6 z nīlam asyodaram  
 lohitaṁ asya prṣṭham z 7 z nīlenāpriyaṁ †lokoti lohiteṇa dviṣantaṁ  
 vidhyatīti vrahmavādino vadanti z 8 z sa prācīrṇ diśam anu vy  
 acalat z 9 z 1 z

St 1. The form tīryamāṇaḥ is doubtful, and perhaps we should  
 read iyamāṇaḥ with Ś.

St 5. Perhaps we should follow Ś here and read sa devānām  
 īśāṁ paryāit.

St 9. This is the first clause of Ś 15. 2. 1, with omission of sa  
 ud atīṣṭhat at the beginning.

## 28

### (Ś 16. 1)

[f238a2] atisrṣṭo apām vṛṣabho ati-[3]atisrṣṭāgnayo divyā rujaṁ  
 parirujaṁ sṛṇo apām vṛṣabho atirṣṭā-[4]gnayo divyā rujaṁ pari-  
 rujaṁ sṛṇo pasṛṇam proko manohā śano nirdahātsa-[5]dūṣis tanu-  
 dūṣi | idaṁ tvān atu sṛjāmi tāt paśavo mitrāvaruṇā ma prāṇā-  
 [6]pānāv agnir me dakṣam dadhātu vidma te svapna janitram z 6 z

Read: atisrṣṭo apām vṛṣabho atisrṣṭā agnayo divyāḥ z 1 z rujan  
 parirujan mṛṇan parimṛṇan z 2 z mroko manohā khano nirdāha  
 ātmadūṣis tanūdūṣiḥ z 3 z idaṁ tam ati sṛjāmi taṁ <mābhy ava  
 nikṣi z 4 z> paśavo <māpa stheṣur> mitrāvaruṇā me prāṇāpānāv  
 agnir me dakṣam dadhātu z 5 z vidma te svapna janitram z 6 z 2 z

St 2. Ś has pramṛṇan.

St 3. For this and st 4 cf Ppp 10. 9. 1, and SMB 1. 7. 1; also  
 Ś 10. 5. 21.

St 5. This is Ś 16. 4. 7 with omission of śakvarī stha at the  
 beginning. In Ś this stanza ends the first anuvāka of Book 16.

St 6. This is the first clause of Ś 16. 5. 1, and is the first clause  
 of all but two stanzas of Ppp 17. 24.

## 29

(§ 16.9)

[f238a6] *jītam a-[7]smākam adbhīnam asmākam abhiṣṭhām*  
*viṣtāt pṛtanā arātīṣ svabhīyāvartayā | [8] sūryasyā vratam annāvṛte*  
*dakṣiṇām anv āvṛta ma tad agnir āha tad u so-[9]mo āha loka*  
*mādhāt sukr̥tasya loke | agavda svar agavda saṁ sūryasya jyotiṣā-*  
*[10]gavda | vasyobhūyāya vasumān yajño vasuṁsiya vasumān*  
*yajño vasuṁsiya [11] vasumān bhūyāsam. z z ity atharvaṇike*  
*pāipalādayaś śākhā-[12]yām aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe pañcamo nuvākaḥ z z*

Read: *jītam asmākam udbhinnam asmākam abhy aṣṭhām viśvāḥ*  
*pṛtanā arātīḥ | †svabhīyāvartayā z 1 z sūryasyāvṛtam anvāvarte*  
*dakṣiṇām anv āvṛtam | tad agnir āha tad u soma āha loko mā dhāt*  
*sukr̥tasya loke z 2 z aganma svaḥ svar aganma saṁ sūryasya*  
*jyotiṣāganma z 3 z vasyobhūyāya vasumān yajño vasu vaṁsiṣya*  
*vasumān bhūyāsam z 4 z 3 z*

*ity atharvaṇike pāippalādāyām śākhāyām aṣṭādaśakāṇḍe pañcamo*  
*‘nuvākaḥ zz zz*

St 1. This is also § 10. 5. 36ab; I suspect that the last bit here is commentary.

St 2. Pādas ab are § 10. 5. 37ab, and Ppp 10. 10. 3ab: pāda c is of rather frequent occurrence, e. g. Ppp 2. 24. 5c and 15. 6. 5c. § has pūṣā in d.

St 3. This and the next occur TS 1. 6. 6. 1 and 2. In § this is the end of the second anuvāka and of the book.

## 30

(§ 17.1)

[f238a12] *viśamahyaṁ sahamā-[13]naṁ sahasānaṁ sahyānaṁ-*  
*saṁ sahamānaṁ sahojitaṁ | viśvajitaṁ svarjitaṁ-[14]m abhijitaṁ*  
*vasujitaṁ gojitaṁ saṁhitaṁ sandhanājitaṁ. | ūyaṁ nāma [15]*  
*bhūyā indram āyuṣmān priyā bhūyāsam. | viśasaṁhyaṁ sahamānaṁ*  
*sa-[16]hasānaṁ sahyānsaṁ sahasānaṁ mahojitaṁ. | viśvajitaṁ*  
*dhanajitaṁ sva-[17]rjitaṁ abhijitaṁ vasujitaṁ gojitaṁ saṁjitaṁ*  
*santunājitaṁ. | [18] idyāṁ nāma hūya indram devānāṁ priyo*  
*bhūyāsam. | viśasahyaṁ sa-[19]hamānaṁ sahasānaṁ sahyānsaṁ*  
*sahamānaṁ sahojitaṁ viśvajitaṁ sva-[20]rjitaṁ abhijitaṁ vasu-*

*jitam gojitam samjitam sandhanājitam. | [f238b] idyam nāma hūya indram paśūnām priyo bhūyāsam. z 1 z*

In f238a12 viśāmahyaṁ is corrected (interlinear) to °sahyaṁ: in the right hand margin of f238a about opposite line 15 is saṁśayaṁ and there is a cross under the "h" of sahamānaṁ.

Read: viśāsahim sahamānaṁ sāśahānaṁ sahīyānsam | sahamānaṁ sahojitam viśvajitam svarjitam abhijitam vasujitam gojitam samjitam samdhanājitam | idyam nāma †bhūya indram āyuṣmān bhūyāsam z 1 z viśāsahim sahamānaṁ sāśahānaṁ sahīyānsam | sahamānaṁ sahojitam viśvajitam svarjitam abhijitam vasujitam gojitam samjitam samdhanājitam | idyam nāma †hūya indram devānām priyo bhūyāsam z 2 z viśāsahim sahamānaṁ sāśahānaṁ sahīyānsam | sahamānaṁ sahojitam viśvajitam svarjitam abhijitam vasujitam gojitam samjitam samdhanājitam | idyam nāma †hūya indram paśūnām priyo bhūyāsam z 3 z 1 z

In the last sentence of each stanza Ś has hva indram; we might read huva indram here with some assurance, or perhaps hva indram as in Ś. The ms offers no excuse for restoring the stanzas which are 3 and 5 in Ś.

### 31

(Ś 17. 1)

[f238b1] *ud ihya ud e-[2]hi sūrya varcasā mābhy ud ehi | dviṣaṁś ca mahyaṁ ruddha mā cāhaṁ dviṣate ratham. [3] ma taveda viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi taṁ naṣ pr̥ṇīhi paśubhir viśvarūpāḥ sva-[4]dhāyan no dhehi parame vyoman. ud ihy ud ihi sūrya varcasā mābhy ud ihi | [5] yāṁś ca paścāmi yāṁś ca na te yuṣme | sumatiṁ gratha sumatāu te syāma staveda [6] viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi taṁ naṣ pr̥ṇīhi paśubhir viśvarūpāḥ svadhāyan no dhe-[7]hi parame vyoman. sa tvā dabhan salile psv antar ye pāśinam upa-tiṣṭhaṁty atra [8] hitvāśastiṁ divam ā ruha etāṁ sa no mṛḷa sumatāu syāma | staveda [9] viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi taṁ naṣ pr̥ṇīhi paśubhir viśvarūpāḥ svadhāyan no [10] dhihi parame vyoman. taṁ na indra mahate sāubhagāyā adabdhāiṣ pari pāhy agu-[11]bhis taveda viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi taṁ naṣ pr̥ṇīhi paśubhir viśvarūpāḥ-[12]s svadhāyan no dhehi parame vyoman. taṁ na indro adbhis śivābhis śantamo bha-[13]va | ārohaṇ tridivam divo gr̥ṇānas somapīlaye priyēdhāmā svastaye | [14] taveda viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi taṁ naṣ pr̥ṇīhi paśubhir viśvarūpāḥ svadhā-[15]yan*

no dhehi parame vyoman. | tvam indrāsi viśvavit svarvit. puruhūtas  
 tvam i-[16]ndra evaṁ svaha stomam erayasva | śivābhis tanubhir  
 abhi na vajamba taveda [17] viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi | tan naṣ  
 prṇīhi paśu viśvarūpāis svadhāya-[18]n no dhehi parame  
 vyoman. advudho divaṣ prthivyāsutāsya nu tāpun mahi-[19]mām  
 antarikṣe | advadhena vrahmaṇā vāvṛdhānas sa tvan na indra dviṣā  
 [20] śarma yaśchat. | taveda viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi tan naṣ prṇīha  
 paśu-[f239a]bhir viśvarūpāis svadhāyan no dhihi parame vyoman.  
 | tvaṁ rakṣase pradiśāś catasras tvaṁ [2] śociṣā nabhasī vi bhāsi |  
 ṛtasya pañthām anu neṣa vidvāns tam umā vi-[3]śvā bhuvanābhi  
 tiṣṭhasi | taveda viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi | tan nas prṇī-[4]ha  
 paśubhir viśvarūpāis svadhāyan no dhehi parame vyoman z 2 z

In the left hand margin of f238b opposite the interspace between  
 lines 15 and 16 is eevaṁ and below that is saṁ: in the bottom  
 margin below tan naṣ is tāṁna: in the right hand margin opposite  
 l. 7 is ntya.

Read: ud ihy ud ihi sūrya varcasā mābhy ud ihi | dviṣaṇis ca  
 mahyaṁ radhyan mā cāhaṁ dviṣate radham | taved viṣṇo bahudhā  
 vīryāṇi | tvaṁ naṣ prṇīhi paśubhir viśvarūpāih svadhāyāṁ no dhehi  
 parame vyoman z 1 z ud ihy ud ihi sūrya varcasā mābhy ud ihi |  
 yāns ca paśyāmi yāns ca na teṣu me sumatiṁ kṛdhi | taved viṣṇo  
 ° ° ° | tvaṁ naṣ ° ° ° z 2 z mā tvā dabhan salile 'psv  
 antar ye pāśinam upatiṣṭhanty atra | hitvāśastiṁ divam ā ruha  
 etām sa no mṛda sumatāu te syāma | taved viṣṇo ° ° ° | tvaṁ  
 naṣ ° ° ° z 3 z tvaṁ na indra mahate sāubhagāyādabdhāiṣ  
 pari pāhy aktubhiḥ | taved viṣṇo ° ° ° | tvaṁ naṣ ° ° °  
 z 4 z tvaṁ na indrotibhiḥ śivābhis śāntamo bhava | ārohan tridivam  
 divo grṇānas somapītaye priyadhāmā svastaye | taved viṣṇo ° ° °  
 | tvaṁ naṣ ° ° ° z 5 z tvam indrāsi viśvavit sarvavit puru-  
 hūtas tvam | indremaṁ suhavaṁ stomam erayasva śivābhis tanubhir  
 abhi nas sajasva | taved viṣṇo ° ° ° | tvaṁ naṣ ° ° °  
 z 6 z adabdhō divaṣ prthivyāṁ utāsi na ta āpur mahimānam  
 antarikṣe | adabdhena vrahmaṇā vāvṛdhānas sa tvaṁ na indra divi  
 ṣaṁ śarma yaccha | taved viṣṇo ° ° ° | tvaṁ naṣ ° ° °  
 z 7 z tvaṁ rakṣase pradiśāś catasras tvaṁ śociṣā nabhasī vi bhāsi |  
 ṛtasya panthām anu neṣa vidvāns tvaṁ imā viśvā bhuvanābhi  
 tiṣṭhāsi | taved viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi | tvaṁ naṣ prṇīhi paśubhir  
 viśvarūpāih svadhāyāṁ no dhehi parame vyoman z 8 z 2 z

Stanzas 13, 14, and 15 of Ś are omitted here, our last here being  
 st 16 in Ś: but Ś 15a is in the first stanza of our next hymn.



St 1. At the end of the refrain Ś has sudhāyām mā.

St 2. In pāda d Ś has mā for our me.

St 3. In pāda b Ś has pāsina upa°; which is rather better than ours.

St 6. Perhaps a better arrangement of bc would be °hūtas tvam indra | imaṁ °. For its d Ś has its 8d (= our 3d).

St 7. In pāda d dviṣā is probably the correct emendation, but dviṣas might be considered.

### 32

(Ś 17.1)

[f239a4] *saptabhi*-[5]ṣ *prāk tapasy cyārvāṇ ya śastim eṣā sudhine*  
*bādhamānā | tan tritan tvam pary e*-[6]ṣv *iśchaṁ taveda viṣṇo*  
*bahudhā viryāṇi tan naṣ prṇīha paśubhir viśvarū*-[7]pāis *sva-*  
*dhāyan no dhehi parame vyoman. tvam indras tvam mahendras*  
*tvam viṣṇus tvam* [8] *prajāpatiḥ tulaṁ yajño yajāyate tubhyaṁ*  
*ahvata juhvatas taveda viṣṇo bahudhā* [9] *viryāṇi tan naṣ prṇīhi*  
*paśubhir viśvarūpāis svadhāyan no dhehi parame vyo*-[10]*man.*  
*amatsva pratiṣṭhaṁ mad bhūtaṁ pratitiṣṭhitam. | bhūto ha bha-*  
*vyāhitaṁ bhavyaṁ bhūte* [11] *samāhitam. taveda viṣṇo bahu*  
*viryāṇi tan naṣ prṇīhi paśubhi*-[12]*r viśvarūpāis svadhāyan no*  
*dhehi parame vyoman. | śukro mi bhrājo si | māi*-[13]*vāhaṁ bhrā-*  
*jate bhrājyāsaṁ rcur asi loco si sāivāhaṁ prajāyā paśu*-[14]*bhir*  
*nāhmaṇavaracasena rociṣiya | udyate namā udāyate nama uditā-*  
*[15]ya namaḥ virāje namaḥ svarāje namaḥ saṁrāje namaḥ asta-*  
*myade namo* [16] *staṁṣyate namo stamitāya namaḥ virāje namaḥ*  
*svarāje namaḥ* [17] *saṁrāje namaḥ āditya nāvam āruhaṁ śatā-*  
*ritrāṁ svastaye | aha*-[18]*rṇāudy apīparod aha mātrātu pārayā |*  
*sūrye nāvam ārikṣaṁ śatāritrāṁ* [19] *svastaye | rātriṇody apīparadā*  
*ratri satrān pārayā | prajāpa*-[20]*ter āvṛto vrahmaṇā varmaṇāhaṁ*  
*kaśyapasya jyotiṣā varcasā cakāra* [21] *rṣtiṣ kratuvīryo vihāyās*  
*sahasrās sukṛtaṣ careyam. | rtena gu*-[f239b]*pto rtubhiṣ ca sarvān*  
*bhūtena gupta na ca bhavyena cāham. z mā sā prathar rṣa*-[2]*yo*  
*dāivyā yā mā mānuṣir avaṣṛṣṭā vadhāyāḥ rtena gupta rtubhiṣ ca*  
*sa*-[3]*rve bhūtena gupta na ca bhavyena cāham. sā mā prāpat mā*  
*mā nota mamṛtyur anta*-[4]*rdadhe salilenāca | agnir mā gopaṣ pari*  
*pātu viśvato viśchantir u*-[5]*ṣasaṣ parvatā dhruvā | udyamṇ sūryo*  
*nudatām mṛtyupāśām sahasraṁ prāṇā mayu*-[6]*te ramantām |*

*candramā apsv antarā duparṇo dhāvate divi | na vo hiraṇyane-*  
[7] *mayas padaṁ vindanti vidyuto vittam me asya rodasī z z oṁ*  
*vittam [8] me asya rodasī z 3 z z ity atharvaṇike pāipalādāyas*  
*śā-[9] khāyām aṣṭādaśas kāṇḍas samāptah z z*

Read: saptabhiṣ prāk tapasy ekayārvāṇ āśastim eṣi sudine bādha-  
mānaḥ | tvaṁ tritaṁ tvaṁ pary eṣy utsam | taved viṣṇo bahudhā  
vīryāṇi | tvaṁ naṣ pṛṇihi paśubhir viśvarūpāis svadhāyām no dhehi  
parame vyoman z 1 z tvam indras tvaṁ mahendras tvaṁ viṣṇus  
tvaṁ prajāpatiḥ | tubhyaṁ yajño vi jāyate tubhyaṁ juhvati  
juhvataḥ | taved viṣṇo ° ° ° | tvaṁ naṣ ° ° ° z 2 z asati  
sat pratiṣṭhitaṁ sati bhūtaṁ pratiṣṭhitaṁ | bhūtaṁ ha bhavya  
āhitaṁ bhavyaṁ bhūte samāhitaṁ | taved viṣṇo bahudhā vīryāṇi |  
tvaṁ naṣ pṛṇihi paśubhir viśvarūpāis svadhāyām no dhehi parame  
vyoman z 3 z śukro 'si bhrajo 'si | sa evāhaṁ bhrājate bhrājyāsam  
z 4 z rucir asi roco 'si | sa evāhaṁ prajāyā paśubhir vrāhmaṇavar-  
casena rociṣītya z 5 z udyate nama udāyate nama uditāya namaḥ |  
virāje namaḥ svarāje namaḥ samrāje namaḥ z 6 z astaṁyate namo  
'stamesyate namo 'stamitāya namaḥ | virāje namaḥ svarāje namaḥ  
samrāje namaḥ z 7 z āditya nāvam āruhaṁ śatāritrāṁ svastaye | ahar  
ṇo 'tyapīparad ahas satrāti pārāyā z 8 z sūrye nāvam ārukaṁ śatāri-  
trāṁ svastaye | rātrir ṇo 'tyapīparad rātriṁ satrāti pārāyā z 9 z  
prajāpater āvrto vrahmaṇā varmaṇāhaṁ kaśyapasya jyotiṣā varcasā  
ca | jaradaṣṭiṣ kratuvīryo vihāyās sahasrāyus sukṛtās Careyam z 10 z  
ṛtena gupta ṛtubhiṣ ca sarvāir bhūtena gupto bhavyena cāham |  
mā mā prāyann iṣavo dāivyā yā mā mānuṣīr avasṛṣṭā vadhāya z 11 z  
ṛtena gupta ṛtubhiṣ ca sarvāir bhūtena gupto bhavyena cāham |  
mā mā prāpat pāpmā mota mṛtyur antardadhe salilena vācah z 12 z  
agnir mā gopāṣ pari pātu viśvato vyucchantīr uṣasaṣ parvatā  
dhruvāḥ | udyan sūryo nudatām mṛtyupāśān sahasraṁ prāṇā ma  
āyate ramantām z 13 z candramā apsv antar ā suparṇo dhāvate  
divi | na vo hiraṇyanemayaṣ padaṁ vindanti vidyuto vittam me  
asya rodasī z 14 z 3 z

ity ātharvaṇike pāippalādāyām śākhāyām aṣṭādaśas kāṇḍas  
samāptah zz zz

St 1. In pāda a Ś has parāṇ and for our tritaṁ has in its 15a  
tṛtam; our ms gives no indication that we have two stanzas here.

St 2. In pāda b Ś has viṣṇus for lokas: in c Whitney reports  
a number of mss of Ś as reading jāyate.

St 4. Ś has in the second part sa yathā tvaṁ bhrājo 'sy evāhaṁ

bhrājatā °: it does not seem necessary to supply words here from Ś; nor in the next stanza either.

St 8. For this cf also SMB 2. 15. 3 and MahānU 14. 5. In a Ś has arukṣaḥ, in c māt̥yapīparo °. See comment in Vedic Variants, vol. 1, p. 199.

St 9. In pāda a Ś has sūrya, in c rātriṃ mā°; cf preceding stanza.

St 11. Pādas ab here are 29ab in Ś and they are repeated as ab in the next stanza here.

St 13. In pāda b Ś has mayy ā yatantam.

St 14. This is RV 1. 105. 1 and Ś 18. 4. 89.



# THE KITĀB AIMĀN AL-‘ARAB WA-ṬALĀQIHA FĪL-JĀHILĪYA OF AN-NAJĪRAMĪ

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LITERATURE on the oaths, vows, etc., of the Pre-Islamic Arabs, and their formularies, is rather scarce. Welcome may therefore be given to a unique little work on the subject by a famous *kātib* of a noted family of literary men of the tenth century, Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn ‘Abdullāh ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥussein an-Najīramī, of Egypt.

The text is from MS. No. 279 of the Landberg Collection of Arabic MSS. at Yale.<sup>1</sup> The Yale *Abschrift*, according to notations by Count Landberg himself, was made by his *kātib* Samīr and completed Jan. 3, 1892, from what was then the only known, and still the best, copy of the work, in the Khedivial Library in Cairo. The recopy was carefully checked by Count Landberg—although not without some examples of oversight, and several unsettled points questioned in the margin.<sup>2</sup>

Goldziher, as is told by him in his article in *Mélanges Hartwig Derenbourg*,<sup>3</sup> obtained a recopy from the same source through the courtesy of Friedrich Kern in the winter of 1899. Although Goldziher, as is evidenced by his bibliography,<sup>4</sup> never realized his expressed purpose of editing the text, he gives in his article just

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<sup>1</sup> See descriptive article by Prof. Charles C. Torrey, in *The Library Journal* (Yale), Feb. 1903. The collection, hitherto indexed only and briefly commented on in a temporary hand-written list by Count Landberg, is now being catalogued by Dr. Leon Nemoj of the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale, under direction of Prof. Torrey.

<sup>2</sup> The Yale re-copy puts Count Landberg's suggested correct readings into the text, the errors of the text in the margin. He calls it "höchst wichtig und unicum in Europa."

<sup>3</sup> Ernst Leroux, Paris, 1909, p. 221 ff.: "Notice sur la littérature des Aimān al-‘Arab (serment des anciens Arabes)".

<sup>4</sup> Bernard Heller, *Bibliographie des Œuvres de Ignace Goldziher*, Publications de l'École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris, 1927. G's. re-copy is probably with the remainder of his library in the National and University Library of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

cited the valuable assistance, on several points, of his preliminary studies. To this we shall shortly return.

The first form of the present edition of the *Kitāb Aimān al-ʿArab* of an-Najīramī was made in the spring of 1932. The writer had completed dissertation and requirements for the doctorate at Yale, as holder of the Kohut Fellowship in Semitics, under Prof. Charles C. Torrey, during his last year of teaching. He chose it as an attractive little bone to develop the teeth of a novice. And, with the highly classical meanings of many words and phrases, and with the numerous illustrative citations of verse, it proved as tough as it was attractive. Without the kind assistance of Professor Torrey and the results of the monumental labors of Lane in his *Arabic Lexicon*, it would have been impossible! \*\*

And then, just as the text, with introduction and notes, was submitted to a journal for publication, an edition came out in brochure form by Mr. Muḥibb ud-Dīn al-Khaṭīb of Cairo, editor of the journal *az-Zahrāʾ*. To an enthusiast for the now almost, and perhaps soon truly to be, renaissance culture and scholarship in Arabo-Muslim lands, it would be the least possible disappointment to find one's work forestalled by a Muslim Arab. And thus seemed the case, especially because the Cairo editor had access not only to the Khedivial MS. from which Count Landberg's copy was made, but also to another MS. since acquired by the Khedivial library from the collection of Aḥmad Tīmūr Pasha.

However, it soon became apparent that the brochure edition was not entirely satisfactory, especially for so important a work. In the first place, the editor's point of view is shown by the following quotation, based partly upon his *also* medieval author: . . .

الحلف بالله جلّ وعزّ كان رأس الايمان عند العرب لائن اكثرهم كان  
على ملّة الحنيفية إرث ايننا ابراهيم صلعم وقد ورثه آل اسماعيل واخوانهم  
من جرهم ومن هبط عليهم بطحاء مكة من بنى خزاعة وغيرهم .....  
Further, he had no opportunity to use the study by Goldziher.

Also, he not only follows the extant MSS. in a number of erroneous transcriptions but also failed to check several lacunae in his printer's or printed text. And as to the second MS. source—that now in الخزاة التيمورية, or لغة ٣٦٢—it adds little of value and contains itself a lacuna of about two pages (!) besides many shorter

\*\* I gratefully acknowledge further kindly assistance from Professor Hitti.

ones. Also the editor appears several times to have mixed his sources, saying that so and so comes from the Timūriyah copy when its presence in the Yale recopy shows it is in the older Cairo copy as well,—or instead. In absence of date or copyist’s name, the editor judges the MS. to be of the tenth century (H.).

But a sincere disclaimer to correct any impression from the above that the Cairo edition has no merit and the present has all! Mr. Muḥibb ud-Dīn has done a creditable piece of work. His preface of eight pages discusses the following: The author and citations of him in Arabic literature—with more references, indeed, than Goldziher;<sup>5</sup> discussion of his literary work; citations of two brief poems by an-Najīramī, and of another wrongly ascribed to him; statement that the death year of the author is unknown, aṣ-Ṣafādī being compelled in the *وافى بالوفيات* to leave this point of information blank, *يضا*; discussion of the author’s family; the family home or place of origin (see below); MSS. sources for the edition, and difficulties of the work of editing.

Both Muḥibb ud-Dīn and Goldziher have the correct information about the older Cairo copy, which is *مجاميع ٢٣٤* (see p. 282, Cat. of the Arabic MSS., Khedivial Library, Cairo, first edn., 1308 H.). Count Landberg’s copyist, however, seems to have written 124—confusion between the two being easy when one remembers how the 1 and the 2 are ordinarily made. The title cited by the two former is always simply *كتاب ايمان العرب*, without the additional of the Yale copy: *وطلاقيها*. Neither regards the texts as old.

From Yāqūt, Ibn Khallikān, and other sources, Goldziher and Muḥibb ud-Dīn determine that our author was a *kātib* at the court of Kāfūr al-Ikhshīdī who reigned in Egypt 336-356 H., and that the family included a number of men of letters several of whom are mentioned as being in Egypt. M. D. adds that he was also a teacher, and gives the names of some of his noted students.

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<sup>5</sup> Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-Uḍabā’* and *Mu‘jam al-Buldān*; aṣ-Ṣafādī, *al-Wāfi bi’l-Wafāyāt*; as-Suyūṭī, *Bughṭyat al-Wu‘āt*; az-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-‘Arūs*, the last saying of him: “. . . (he was) an author, the writer of *Aimān al-‘Arab*, which I possess in an old MS.” Cf. p. 4, intro., M. D.’s edition. References to an-Najīramī by Goldziher are: Yāqūt (Wüstenfeld), IV, 764; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafāyāt*, Būlāq edn., I, 547, 3; ‘Abd al-Qādir ibn ‘Omar al-Baghdādī, *Khizānat al-Adab*, III, 210, 12; Abū Bekr ibn Kheir, *Bibliothèque arabico-hispana*, IX, 374, 11. Count Landberg notes in his hand-list that *Fihrist* mentions him.

Both derive from the great references above that the family migrated to Egypt from their home which was a village near al-Baṣra, M. D. not without questioning the origin of the village name from that of a quarter of al-Baṣra, *Nijāram* or in shortened form *Nīram*. This last comes from Yāqūt (ed. Wüstenfeld, IV, 764, on نجير نجيرم), where the celebrated geographer mentions our author and his kinsman Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf, etc., as members of a قوم من اهل الادب (cf. also Ibn Khallikān). But to me it seems more likely the patronym comes from the fairly important town of Najīram<sup>6</sup> in Fars on the Persian Gulf, just northwest of the mouth of the River Sakkan (see LeStrange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, Cambridge U. Press, 1905, p. 259, with references to the history by Muqaddasī).

Goldziher goes to some length to clear up a confusion about an-Najīramī affecting several important books. In Ibn Khallikān (Wüstenfeld), No. 556, V, 58, under discussion of Kāfūr, the name is written الجيزي; and it entered, he says, in this corrupted form all editions of the *Wafāyāt*, including DeSlane's translation (II, 558). But, because a poem by the noted *kātib* in honor of Kāfūr<sup>7</sup> is also referred to by 'Alī ibn Zāfir al-Azdī in his *Badā'ī al-Badā'ih* (printed on margin of the *Ma'āhid at-Tanṣīs*, Cairo, 1316), with the name correctly النجيرمي, Goldziher could conclude the الجيزي of Ibn Khallikān was only a mistake for the name of the author of the *Kitāb Aimān al-'Arab*.

But all this excellent endeavor by Goldziher, who therefrom concludes that an-Najīramī was a *kātib* at the court of Kāfūr and that his work was composed about the middle of the fourth century, was apparently superfluous as regards some editions of Ibn Khallikān. For M. D. uses the same source without evidence of the slightest difficulty about our author's name.

The foremost praising notice of the *Kitāb Aimān al-'Arab* cited by Goldziher is this: "Cet écrit jouissait d'une haute considération

<sup>6</sup> Other references to Najīram in Yāqūt (I, 503; III, 217) show plainly the renowned geographer had also taken note of this place, mentioning it in connection with such places as Sīrāf and the home of the Zuheir and 'Umāra (see map facing p. 249, LeStrange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*).

<sup>7</sup> Judging from the matter of the poem and M. D.'s comments upon it, these are the verses quoted on p. 6 of his edition, intro. DeSlane's Ibn Khallikān transliterates: "Badā'ī l-Badāya." (I. 669.)

auprès d’un connaisseur très érudit en matière philologique, à savoir ‘Abdalqādir b. ‘Omar al-Baghdādī (mort au Caire en 1093) ; ce traite n’a pas échappé à son attention. En s’occupant de l’idole ‘Aud, il remarque qu’il n’a trouvé ‘aucun renseignement à ce sujet ni dans le *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* d’Ibn al-Kelbī,<sup>8</sup> ni dans le livre de Najīramī, ou cet auteur a réuni les formules par lesquelles les Arabes pretaient serment au nom de leurs idoles et d’autres objets. C’est, à cet égard, un bon livre, qui englobe aussi les phrases des Arabes appartenant à cet ordre d’idée.’” (Chizānat al-Adab, III, 210, 12.)

Goldziher describes the MS. and text thus: “Le *Kitāb al-Aimān* embrasse (dans 5 abwāb) tant les formules de serment que la nomenclature des synonymes entrant en compte dans ce qui concerne l’essence du serment, ainsi que la construction grammaticale des verbes et des substantifs du serment.” (Note: “Le fonds à cet effet a été fourni par Sibawaihi (edit. Derenbourg), I, 403-405.”) In a note on p. 226 he says what may be taken into consideration with remarks above on the difficulties involved: “L’éditeur devra beaucoup corriger le texte.”

After a brief indirect quotation from the work, Goldziher says this about its matter: “. . . Najīramī a réuni des matériaux considérables ; mais il ne semble pas remarquer que parmi ces serments antéislamiques se trouvent des citations textuelles du Coran. Il lui arrive même une fois de se tromper de rôle, en ce qu’il accompagne naïvement un de ces serments antéislamiques, des mots من قوله عز وجل . De la sorte, il met en pratique la théorie de la vieille école qui attribue, pour l’époque antéislamique, des pensées

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<sup>8</sup> See Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidenthums*, 2nd edn., Berlin, 1897, p. 10 f., for extensive quotations from the “remains” of *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* as preserved by Yāqūt. Also, Goldziher, in *Mélanges* . . . Derenbourg. In a note on p. 23, M. D. says Prof. Aḥmad Zakī Pasha of Cairo was undertaking an edition of this work, to be published by the press of the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyah. From this I suspected M. D.’s study of an-Najīramī was made considerably before 1927. For in the *Diwāns of Ṭufail and aṭ-Ṭirimmah*, Krenkow, Gibb Mem. Series, London, 1927, I find on p. xvii reference to an edition of *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* having appeared in Cairo. Prof. Hitti confirms this suspicion by kindly informing me Aḥmad Zakī’s edn. of *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* appeared in Cairo in 1914! In present conditions, some of this patience—or resignation—in getting things published is needed also in the West!



et des phrases coranique à des gens qui tenaient strictement à un reste de la religion d'Ismaël." (Cf. my quotation, p. 616 above, as well as with the opening lines of the work itself.)

Here it appears Goldziher has been precipitate in his criticism. For while it is true that a number of Qur'anic expressions occur in the "pagan" formulae of the work (!), the phrase *من قوله عز وجل* (present far more than *une fois*!) may here mean simply that so and so is *similar* to or connected with the sense of a *like phrase* in the Qur'an.

As Goldziher has prepared the way by his article on the literature of the oaths of the pagan Arabs, and as Muḥibb ud-Dīn has aided on material points by his brochure edition, Pedersen<sup>9</sup> has covered the wider field of oaths among the Semites in general. Pedersen gives all necessary bibliographical references. I need mention here: First, that there is a helpful review of Pedersen's monograph by Littmann, in *Der Islam*, VII, 1917, p. 136. Second, that al-Bukhārī's *كتاب الايمان والنور*, and his *كتاب كتمان الايمان*, often cited by Pedersen, are in vol. IV of the French translation of the *Ṣaḥīḥ*. Third (from Goldziher's cited article), that in the chapter *باب ايمان العرب* in as-Suyūṭī's *Muzhir*, adapted from the *كتاب المشتى والمكنتى* of Ibn as-Sikkīt (d. 243 H.), there is an "énumération des anciens serments."

The word *y* at the beginning of so many of the oath formulae, about which there has been so much discussion (including examples in the Qur'an itself), I can best pass over by reference to the note by Littmann (p. 139 in his review) to p. 19 of Pedersen. The word is of course not to be rendered in translation. On omission of the second *y* in cases such as the work contains, see Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, II, p. 305.

In only a few cases are the formulae complete with conclusions. But it will be understood that in actual usage most oaths had as their complement such an expression as: ". . . I will (or will not) do thus and so!" Or: ". . . So and so is (or is not) true!" This was always the situation when the oath was simply to strengthen such assertions.

<sup>9</sup> Johs. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten*, Heft III of *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients*, Zwanglōse Beihefte zu der Zeitschrift "Der Islam," Strassburg, Trübner, 1914.

It would be interesting to have time and space for continuation of the study by comparison with oath formulae in use in Arab lands today. But this can be done much better by such masters of folklore as Dr. Canaan of Jerusalem who has often published material on this line, especially in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*.

Goldziher wrote (p. 226, *Mélanges . . . Derenbourg*) : " Peut-être nous aurons bientôt l'occasion de publier le texte complet de l'œuvre, avec nos observations d'après le manuscrit du Caire." This renders vivid one of the ancient phrases here given: لا ولائتي نفسي القصير : يريد قصر العمر

## كتاب ايمان العرب وطلاقها في الجاهلية

صنعة ابي اسحق ابراهيم بن عبدالله النجيري الكاتب رحمه الله تعالى نقل من مجموعة محفوظة بالكتبخانة الخديوية نمرة ٢٣٤ مجاميع (١٠)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال ابو اسحق ابراهيم بن عبدالله النجيري الكاتب كانت العرب في الجاهلية على مذاهب فكان معظمهم ممن (١١) يدين الله تعالى ذكره ويتمسك بارث من ملّة ابراهيم صلعم ويحجّ ويتأثّه ويعظم الحرم والاشهر الحرم ويضع فيها اوزار الحرب وان ظفر (١٢) بعدوه فيها لم يمسه بسوء وكانوا في ذلك اخيافا فكان منهم من يستحلّ في الحرم المحلّ والمحرم ومنهم من يحرم عن المحلّ والمحرم ومنهم محلّ عن المحرم ومحرم عن المحرم . قال ابو اسحق وكان عمرو بن كلثوم التغلبي من المحلّين قال وفي كل العرب خصائص تفعل هذا ما خلا طيّثا وخشم فأنهم كانوا لا يحرمون عن محل ولا محرم ومنها طائفة تعبد الاصنام وتزعم انها تقرّ بهم الى الله عزّ وجلّ كما ذكر الله عز وجل في قوله ما نعبدكم\* الا بقرّونا (١٣)

الى الله زلفى وكما قال ايضا فيهم ويعبدون من دون الله ما لا يضرهم ولا ينفعهم ويقولون هؤلاء شفعاؤنا عند الله (١٤) ومنهم طائفة تعبد الاصنام وتقسم بها ويزعمون انها هي الضاربة النافعة كما ذكر الله (١٥) عز وجل في قصة ابراهيم عم وقومه فالطائفة الاولى تقسم بالله تعالى والقسم به عندهم اعظم الايمان ولذلك قال النابغة

حلقت فلم اترك لنفسك ريبة  
وليس وراء الله للمرء مذهب

واخبر الله تعالى فيهم بذلك فقال واقسموا بالله جهد ايمانهم (١٦) ويقولون والله فانها تملأ الفم وترفى الدم اى تبرى الظنين بالدم من الدم فيرقا اى يسكن محقونا في مسكه فلا يراق ومنه قولهم لا تسبوا (١٧) الابل فان فيها رقوء الدم اى انها تعقل في الديات فترقا بها الدماء المحقونة بالاراقة ومنها قولهم لا رقأت (١٨) اى لا هدأت وبعضهم يقول وتقطع الدم اى يبرا بها الرجل من الدم فيرقا دمه وقد قيل ان القوم اذا اصطلحوا بعد حرب وتحالفوا بالله الاجل رقأت دماؤهم اى هدأت

ومن ايمانهم لا والذي يراني من فوق سبعة اربعة اى من فوق سبع سوات خصوا السماء الدنيا بهذا الاسم والرقيع مذكر وقيل سمى رقيعا لانه رقع بالنجوم وتقول العرب لا افعل ذاك ولو نزوت في الرقيع كقولهم ولو نزوت في اللوح \* ولو نزوت في السكاكة (١٩) وفي حديث النبي صلعم انه قال لسعد بن معاذ لما حكم في بنى قريظة لقد حكمت فيهم بحكم الله من فوق سبعة اربعة ومن ايمان هؤلاء لا والذي شق الرجال للخيل والجبال للسيل والمعنى لا والذي خلق الرجال على هذه الخلقة هذا معنى شق وهنا وهو كسميتهم خروق البدن شقوا وعلى هذا المذهب انما

قولهم شقهنّ خمساً من واحدة يعني اصابع يده اذا حلف فرفع يده وفرّق اصابعه (٢٠)

ومن ايمان هو لاء ايضاً لا والذي وجهى زمم بيته (٢١) اي نحو بيته ومواجه بيته ويقال مرّ بهنّ على زمم طريقك كأنه مزمووم نحوه

ومنها ايضاً لا والذي (٢٢) يواريني منه خمر فالخمر ما وارك من شجر والمعنى (٢٢½) لا يواريني منه شيء وانما ذكر الخمر لان من شأنهم التوارى في الخمر ومثله لا والذي لا يواريني منه غيب والغيب كل ما وارك من شيء من شجر او جبل او حائط او غير ذلك

ومنها ايضاً لا والذي لا يتقى بوجاح او لا يستر منه وجاح فيتقى به والوجاح كل ما حال بينك وبين شيء من سر او ثوب او حائط او غير ذلك ومنه ثوب موجّح اي سفيق جداً (٢٣) ومنها ايضاً لا والذي اتقيه الا بمقتله (٢٤) اي كيف رمت ان اتقيه فهناك المقتل

ومنها لا والذي اخرج العذق من الجريمة والنار من الوثيمة العذق النخلة والجريمة التمرة المجرومة اي المصرومة واراد النواة (٢٥) والوثيمة فلقه اي قطعة من حجر \* تتمه اي تكسره (٢٥½) من قولك وثم يثم وثما اي كسر ومنه قول عنترة

فطس الاكام بوقع خفّ ميثم (٢٦)

يصف خف ناقةه اي ملق مكسرها

ومنها ايضاً لا والذي فلق الحبة (٢٧) وبرء النسمة فلق الحبة اي شقها في الارض حتى تنبت ثم اثمرت فكان منها حبّ كثير وكل شيء شققها باثنين فقد فلقته قال والنسمة كل نفس ذات نفس فهي نسمة وسميت نسمة لتسمها الهواء

ومنها ايضا لا والذي سمك السماء (٢٨)  
 ومنها ايضا لا والذي يرانى من حيث ما نظرت (٢٩)  
 ومنها ايضا لا وفالق الاصباح (٣٠) وباعث الارواح يريد جمع  
 روح لا ومجرى الرياح لا ومجرى (٣١) الالهة وبعضهم يقول  
 الالهة يجعلها معرفة علما وهي اسم الشمس التي تعبدها ولذلك  
 سموا عبد شمس وعبد الشارق كما سموا عبدالله وعبد الرحمن  
 ومنها ايضا لا [والذي] (٣٣) ياتمر له جدولى قال الجدول  
 الاعضاء وحدها جدل ومعنى هذا ان اعضائى كلّها جند لله تعالى  
 على

ومنها ايضا لا ومنزل القطر وبعضهم يقول لا ومقطع القطر  
 لانه ينزل (٣٤) لا ومميت الرياح لانهم يقولون باماتة الرياح  
 لا ومجرى البحر • لا ومنشئ السحاب لا والذي دحى الارض  
 اى مدّها وبسطها لا ومميت الرياح (٣٥) لانهم يقولون ماتت  
 الرياح اذا سكنت قال الراجز

انى لارجو ان تموت الرياح  
 فاقعد اليوم واستريح

لا والذي سجد له النجوم والشجر النجم (٣٦) من النبات ما  
 نجم منه وانفرش على وجه الارض ولم يرتفع عنها بساق لا والذي  
 حجّت (٣٧) له العماثر جمع عمارة وهي الحي الكبير لا والذي  
 ذأبت له الشعور لا وفاطر الاشباح يريد جمع شبح وهو الشخص  
 لا والذي يرصدني اني سلكت من قوله عز وجل ان ربك  
 لبالمرصاد (٣٨)

لا ورب الشمس والقمر (٣٩) لا ورب البيت والحجر لا والذي  
 اخرج الماء من الحجر والنار من الشجر • لا ورزاق الانام \*  
 لا ورب النور والظلام (٤٠) لا ورب الحلّ والحرام قال مهلهل

قتلوا كلياً ثم قال الا اربعوا  
كذبوا وربّ الحلّ والاحرام

لا والذي اُمنه من كل اوب امنه يعنى الابل اضمرها ولم  
يجر لها ذكر وهذا على عادتهم في مثله من كل اوب اي من كل  
مسلك ومن كل الطريق يوءوب منه الايون  
لا والراقصات بطن مرّ يعنى الراقصات بركبانهنّ لا والذي  
رقصنا ببطحائه يقال رقص وارقص لغتان والابطح والبطحاء ما  
انبطح واتسع من بطن الوادي وهو خير لا والراقصات بطن  
جمع (٤٢)

لا والذي نادى الحجيج له لا وقأتى نفسى اي الذى جعل  
نفسى قوتا لمدّة حياتي قال ويقتاته يذهب به شيئاً بعد شيء كما قال  
طفيل

يقتات فضل سنامها الرجل (٤٣)

اي ينقصه الرجل شيئاً بعد شيء فكأنه له بمنزلة القوت حتى  
يأتى عليه قال وبعضهم يقول لا ولائتى (٤٤) نفسى القصير يريد  
قصر العمر

ومنها قولهم يمين الله لقد كان ذاك وايمين الله قال نصيب  
وايم وايم ومِ والله لقد كان ذلك \* وقال فريق ايمين الله  
ما ندرى (٤٥) وقال يونس النحوى اهل اليمامة يقولون أم الله  
وقال اخرون ايمين الله وايمين الكعبة كأنه جمع يمين  
ومنها عمرك الله هل ذاك والمعنى عمّرتك الله اي سألت الله  
تعميرك (٤٦) وهو معنى قول العامة بالذي يعمرك وقال ابن  
الاعرابي عمرك الله بالرفع والنصب الوجه وعليه رواية اهل  
العربيّة وقال آخرون عمر الله ومنها ايضا قعدك (٤٦ ١/٢) الله

وقعيدك الله وقالوا ايضا قعدك لا افعل ذاك وقعيدك قال متمم بن نويرة :

قعيدك ان لا تسميني ملامة  
فلا تنكأى قرح الفؤاد فينجعا (٤٧)

ومعناه (٤٨) اخصب الله بلادك حتى تكون مقيما فيها قاعدا غير منتجع

ومنها ورافعها بغير عمد لا وسامكها لا وباسطها يعنى الارض  
لا وماهدها وداحيها (٤٩) يعنى الارض  
لا والذي امد اليه بيد قصيرة اى بسعى قصير ومنه اليد العليا  
خير من اليد السفلى

لا والذي نادى الحجيح [له] ٥٠ اى من اجله اى دعوه لا والذي  
كل الشعوب تدن له ويقال ايضا تدينه ٠ لا والذي يراني ولا اراه  
ابو زيد قال العقليون حرام الله كقولهم يمين الله

## الباب الثاني (٥١)

واما عبدة الاوثان فانهم كانوا يقسمون بها كقولهم لا واللات  
والعزى لا ومناة وربما اقساموا بما يعتر لها وقد فرغ ابن الكلبي  
من اسماء الاصنام في كتاب الاصنام (٥٢) فاغنى ذكر ذلك ههنا  
وقد اقسمت العرب بالماء والسماء والنجوم كقولهم لا والسماء  
لا والماء لا والآيات لا والطارقات (٥٤) لا والراكعات وكقولهم  
لا والسابحات (٥٥) والسابحات النجوم ومنه قول الله تعالى وكلّ  
في فلك يسبحون والآيات النجوم اذا تصوّبت للمغيب يقال منه  
آب النجم ٠ والطارقات النجوم اذا طرقت اى طلعت والراكعات  
اذا زالت من كبد السماء

لا ونفنف اللوح والماء المسفوح والفضاء (٥٦) المندوح  
والنور الموجوح (٥٧) اى المحجوب \* النفنف ههنا ما بين السماء  
والارض وكل هواء بين رأس جبل وبين اسفله فهو كذلك (٥٨)  
واللوح الهواء بين السماء والارض واضاف النفنف اليه والمسفوح  
المصبوب وعنى به البحر والفضاء يعنى الارض والمندوح الموسع  
وكأنهم عظموا هذه الاشياء لان بها قوام العالم

## الباب الثالث

يقولون قسما لأفعلنّ ذاك ويمينا وأليّة ونجبا (٥٩) وعهدا  
ونذرا وموثقا وميثاقا وحلفا (٦٠) ولحقّا ولقسما وقال آخرون  
لحقّ لا افعل يرفعون بغير تنوين مع اللام والنحب النذر وانشد  
قضيت نجبا وجعلت نجبا (٦١)

والاصر العهد ومن ايمانهم باصر وأصر ليكوننّ ذاك وانشد

باصر يتركني الحيّ يومـا

رهينة دراهم (٦٢) وهم سراع

ومعنى اصر حتم لازم (٦٣) كما قال يلزم العهد وكما يلزم  
اصرة الرحم ومنه الاصر الثقل لأن اللازم الواجب يثقل كأنه قال  
حقّا ليركنى الحي ومنه قوله

فان اكبر فلا بأطير اصر

يفارق عاتقى ذكرّ خشيب

اطير فاعيل من اطره يأطره اطرا اذا عطفه والمعنى انّ علىّ  
اصرا يعطفنى على ان لا افارق هاذ السيف وهذا كقولك اقسمت  
انما وقع علىّ الفراق فصار الفراق منفيّا والالّ (٦٤) العهد وهو



ايضا من اسماء الله تعالى وهو الرحم ايضا ويوشك ان يكون انما اشتمل على هذه المعنى الثلاثة لأن العهد سبب منوط بسبب الله عز وجل ولا أن الرحم شجرة من الله عز وجل ومعنى شجرة من الله سبب منوط من الله عز وجل

## الباب الرابع

قال ابو عبيدة اؤذم فلان يمينا اذا اوجب على نفسه يمينا واؤذم (٦٥) فلان بالحج واؤذم بحجة كأنه ناط على نفسه بحجة كانياط اؤذام الدلو وكذلك ابدع يمينا وابدع بالحج وبحجة اوجبها على نفسه وقال ابن الاعرابي لا والذي اكتم له اى احلف به ومعنى اكتم اوكد (٦٦) لآته وكّد قوله باليمين من قولهم اجمعون اكنعون

ابو عبيدة جبر في الايجاب . بمعنى \* أجل وكسرت لالتقاء الساكنين وقال غيره هى بمعنى (٦٧) نعم واجل ويمين ايضا وقالوا لا جبر بمعنى جبر كما قالوا لا اقسم الكسائي : عوض وعوض الاموى : عوض ومن ذى عوض وقال ابو عمر عوض من اسماء الدهر (٦٨) فكثر في كلامهم حتى حلفوا به

ومن ايمانهم لا وجدك اقسم بجدّه الذى هو حفظه كما اقسم (٦٩) بعمره اذا قال لعمرك وكما تقول وعيشك فاذا قال اُجدك بمعنى اُجدك (٧٠) انت كأنه (٧١) اتجدّ جدّا في هذا القول فاضاف عليه الجدّ وخرج عن باب اليمين

وقالوا صبره يمينا يصبره صبرا والصبر الجبس كأنه حبسه عنها (٧٢) وقالوا آله يمينا يآلته التا ومنه قول الله تعالى لا يلتكم من اعمالكم (٧٣) شيئا اى لا يجبس ولا يومخر وقالوا حلفوا بالغموس اى يمين تغمسه في الاثم وقالوا لا خير

في يمين لا مخارم لها اى لا مخارج لها والمخرم (٧٤) مقطع انف الجبل وهو الطريق فيه فشبها \* في التأوّل (٧٥) المخلص من اليمين به ويوشك ان يكون انما خصّوا المخرم لانهم شبها اليمين بالجبل استقالا لها فسموا مجازها بمجاز الجبل وقالوا يمين جلواء وحلقة (٧٦) جلواء وبينة جلواء اى ينجلي بها الحق وينكشف وانشد

لكل امر (٧٧) واقع احناء  
شهادة او حلقة جلواء  
به تقوم الارض والسماء  
وكل شيء غير ذا عداء

واحناء الامر اراد به اركانها اخذ من احناء الرجل الواحد حنو<sup>١</sup>  
والعداء الظلم والمعنى ان كل شيء منتصب (٧٨) مرتفع فيه تنازع  
فهذه سبيله قال زهير

فان الحقّ مقطعه ثلاث

يمين او نفار او جلواء

فاليمين معروفة والنفار المنافرة الى الحكام وهي المحاكمة اليهم ليفصلوا بالحقّ والجلواء البينة التي تجلو الشك والشبهة فتغنى عن اليمين وعن التحاكم . واذا حلف الرجل قالوا له \* حلا ابا فلان وتحلل ابا فلان (٧٩) اى استثنى اى قل ان شاء الله وربما قالوا ذلك على سبيل الاستعطاف للحالف والرفق به وربما قالوا على سبيل الهزاء منه

ويقال حلف حلفا وحلقة واحدة وقالوا اقسم بالله وأصله انه وصل بالله تعالى الى قسم من الاقسام حلف به ثم كثر هذا واتسع والقسم مذكر (٨٠) يقولون اقسم بالله قسما صادقا وقسما برّا (٨١) وقالوا آلى يوملى ايلاء

واصل اليمين انهم كانوا اذا تحالفوا وتعاهدوا تصافقوا  
بايمانهم (٨٢) ولذلك قيل اعطاء صفقة يمينه على هذا الامر ثم  
سموا الحلف يميناً على ذلك المعنى واثوا اليمين على تأييد  
اليد فقالوا حلف يميناً برة ويميناً فاجرة

قال ابو عبيد كانوا في الجاهلية الاولى اذا تحالفوا وتعاهدوا  
اوقدوا نارا (٨٣) ودنوا منها حتى تكاد تحرقهم وعددوا منافع  
النار ودعوا على ناقض تلك اليمين والناكث لذلك بحرمان تلك  
المنافع ويتصافحون عندها ويقولون الدم الدم والهدم الهدم  
والمعنى دماءونا دماءوكم وهدمنا هدمكم والهدم اسم البناء المهدوم  
اي فما هدم لكم من بناء او شأناً فقد هدم لنا وما اريق لكم من دم  
فقد اريق لنا يلزمنا من نصرتكم ما يلزمكم (٨٤) من نصرة انفسنا  
وعبروا على استعمال ذلك يتوارثونه الى ان اتى الله تعالى  
بالاسلام وكان الحليف بين رسول الله صلعم وبين الانصار فقال  
صلوات الله وسلامه عليه لهم الدم الدم والهدم الهدم

وكانوا يقولون عهدا (٨٥) لا يزيد طلوع الشمس الا شدة  
وطلوع (٦٨) الليالي الا مداً \* وما بل البحر صوفه (٧٨) وما  
اقام رضوى وربما دنوا من النار حتى تكاد تمحشهم او تكاد  
تحرقهم ويهولون (٨٨) بها على من يستخفّ بحقوقها ويتوعدونه  
بحرمان منافعها ومرافقها وفي ذلك نكد العيش وحرمان الحياة  
ويسمّون الرجل القيمّ بامر تلك النار المهول وقد ذكرته الشعراء  
قال الكميّ

كهولة ما اوقد المحلفون

لدى الحالفين وما هولوا (٨٩)

وقال اوس (٩٠) وذكر عيرا قائماً فوق نشز

إذا استقبلته الشمس صد بوجهه  
كما صد عن نار المهوّل حالف

وكان من شأنهم إذا تحالفوا أن يغمسوا أيدهم في الدم وما زالوا على ذلك إلى أن كان الحلف الواقع مشهد (٩١) رسول الله صلعم وهو حلف المطيبين وحديثه معروف وكانوا ربّما تعاقدوا وتعاهدوا على الملح \* والملح عندهم شيّان ملح الادم التي يتملّح بها واللبن وذلك انه سواء عندهم ان يجتمعوا على طعام الملح (٩٢) او على شرب لبن هذا عندهم ممالحة ولذلك سمو اللبن ملحاً فقالوا من البابين جميعاً بيننا ملح وعلى هذا قال ابو الطمّحان القيني

وانى لارجو ملحها في بطونكم  
وما بسطت من جلد اشعث اغبرا (٩٣)

اي سمّتهم هذه الابان بعد الهزال وقال شتيم بن خويلد لا يبعد الله رب العباد والملح ما ولدت خالده واما كهّان العرب فانهم كانوا يقسمون بالسماء والماء والارض والهواء والنور والضياء والظلمة وبغير ذلك مما هو موجود في اخبارهم كما اقسام سواد بن قارب الدوسى اقسام بالضياء والحلك والشروق والدلك وهي كثيرة موحودة في كتب اخبارهم

## الباب الخامس

يقال آلى فلان يوئلى ايلاء قال والاسم الالية فاذا قيل آلى يفعل وآليت افعل فهو قسم على ترك الفعل لأنّ اليمين بمنزلة النفى للفعل حتى يأتى باللام التي هي آلة للقسم كقولك آليت

لا فعلنَ وكذلك قولك والله افعل واقسمت افعل وهذا ما يغالط  
به ويجوز على كثير من الناس وعلى هذا قال المتلمس

آليت حبّ العراق الدهر اطعمه  
والحبّ يأكله في القرية السوس  
آخر (٩٤) ايمان العرب والحمد لله وحده  
وصلواته (٩٥) على خيرته من خلقه  
محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم  
تسلما كثيرا  
آمين

٢

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<sup>10</sup> Only Y has the *وتلاقيها* of the title. M.D. has *صناعة*. *Talāq* here must mean something like "asservations." See Lane, *طلق ، طلق ، طليق* (and *طَلَقُ اللسان*), eloquent, etc.

<sup>11</sup> M.D. *من Y ممن*

<sup>12</sup> Y *ظفره*, with query in margin.

<sup>13</sup> Sura 39.3; 17.59. Y repeats the words indicated.

<sup>14</sup> Sura 10.19; 21.66; 26.73; 6.69, 71.

<sup>15</sup> Sura. 26.73.

<sup>16</sup> Sura 6.109; 16.40; 24.52; 35.40.

<sup>17</sup> Lane and Freytag, under *رقاء*. Y like *اتسبوا*, with query.

<sup>18</sup> M.D. adds *عَبْرَتُهُ* from the *Timūr* MS.

<sup>19</sup> Y and M.D. *الشكالة*. See Lane, 1387. On *رقيع* see Lane, 1137, with his remarks on gender, and his authorities; also Ibn al-Athīr, *an-Nihāyah*; cf. Hebrew *raqī'ah*. Y and M.D. have *ولا*, here.

<sup>20</sup> Lane, 1576, from the *Muḥkam* of Ibn Sida: *عندى انه جعل الرجال هذه والجبال لهذه*. Lane says:

“ . . . By no means clear, but reconcilable with my rendering.” The explanation here clarifies the matter and justifies Lane’s translation.

<sup>21</sup> Lane, from the Ṣiḥāḥ, remarking, “As an Arab from the desert would say.” He also concludes the oath, *ما كان كذا وكذا*. M.D. gives four other references.

<sup>22</sup> M.D. inserts *و*; see Wright, II, 305. It may of course be in the Cairo MSS. *فألخمر*, just below, is Landberg’s chosen reading, *Y* having *فاتخمر*, relegated to the margin.

<sup>22a</sup> M.D. omits *و*.

<sup>23</sup> *Y* twice *وجاج*, correct root third occurrence and in *موجج*, queried. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, *an-Nihāyah*: *ثوب موجج غليظ جدا*.

<sup>24</sup> M.D. notes Timūr MS. has *مقلته*.

<sup>25</sup> The Timūr MS. has beginning here a long lacuna. Lane says *عندق* in the Hejaz meant a kind of date, the word being used in many species names.

<sup>26a</sup> In *Y*, both verbs, second person.

<sup>26</sup> On *مدق* see Lane. Prof. Torrey says *مكسر* is merely formed on analogy of *ميشم*. M.D. has *تطس*.

<sup>27</sup> Given by Lane as a frequent oath of ‘Ali. *حبة* is here rather seeds of plants in general. Cf. closing lines of the text.

<sup>28</sup> Sura 79. 28; 55. 6; Cf. Lane. There are several similar expressions in the Bible, especially in the Second Isaiah (e.g. 42. 5).

<sup>29</sup> M.D. deletes *ت* with two citations as authorities.

<sup>30</sup> Sura 6. 97.

<sup>31</sup> *Y* has the *و*, the copyist probably having inserted it, for M.D. adds it in brackets. M.D. omits it in *وهي* below.

<sup>32</sup> Lane gives ash-Shāriq as the name of an idol in the pagan era; but was this only another name for the sun and its idol representation? Both this word and *الشمس* are masculine when referring to the idols.

<sup>33</sup> Added here because the sense requires either the rel. pro., or participle IV. *Y* twice the root *جدل* for *جدل*!

<sup>34</sup> M.D. says he believes a word or more has fallen out here. But with verb IV the sense is complete.

<sup>35</sup> Occurs just above—from confusion in the MSS., or from its turning up twice in the author's notes for his work? Y has سكرت , just below.

<sup>36</sup> Sura 55. 5. Cf. Lane.

<sup>37</sup> Y احجت , queried.

<sup>38</sup> Sura 89. 13; cf. Genesis 25. 11.

<sup>39</sup> End of long lacuna in Timūr copy.

<sup>40</sup> Sura 55. 9.

<sup>41</sup> Marr and Jam' are valleys in the vicinity of Mecca, the latter a night-station between 'Arafat and Minā on the Ḥajj. Cf. Sura 38. 30; Lane 829. See Yāqūt.

<sup>42</sup> In Ṭufail, as given by F. Krenkow, note 32, in his *Diwans of Ṭufail and Ṭirimmah*, London, Luzac (Gibb Mem. Series, XXV), 1927, there occurs شَحَرَ instead of فضل. Lane, under قوت gives a fuller form of the oath: لا وقائتي نفسي البصير ما فعلت ذلك. He appears to have made an awkward rendering, which should be: "By the All-seeing One who taketh my spirit, breath by breath, I did not do thus and so!" The verse from Ṭufail refers to the ill effects suffered by camels in the hard service of war, raids, or long caravan marches.

<sup>43</sup> M. D. follows the Timūr MS. and other citations here, in writing ولائتي for وقائتي .

<sup>44</sup> On these forms, see Pedersen, p. 15, esp. notes 6-7. This paragraph is evidently confused in the Cairo texts, as M. D. has it the same awkward way as Y, with the words marked inserted immediately after قال نصيب .

<sup>45</sup> See Pedersen, pp. 16-18, where are discussed the different meanings of 'amr, as life, honor, religion, etc., with sources. Parallel explanations and sources are given by Lane.

<sup>46</sup> Y omits ك .

<sup>47</sup> M. D. فييجمع . On قعد see Lane; usually with accusative. Y has . . . دَوْر > قال M. D. , دار متمم ؟

<sup>48</sup> M. D. ها . . .

<sup>49</sup> Cf. a prayer phrase of 'Ali, cited by Lane: اللهم داحي المدحوات

<sup>50</sup> Y omits, M. D. adds in brackets.

<sup>51</sup> Instead of numbering the chapters, the text has for the second and third باب آخر , and for the fourth and fifth باب .

<sup>52</sup> Cf. note 8, above. Quoting this paragraph, Goldziher (or his copyist) has الإصنام as well at the beginning, for الأوثان.

<sup>54</sup> Sura 86. 1-2.

<sup>55</sup> Sura 79. 3.

<sup>56</sup> Y here القضاء but correct below.

<sup>57</sup> Y الموجه, queried.

<sup>58</sup> M. D. ... وكل هواء بين رأس جبل الى اسفله فهو كذلك .  
Y has الى for M. D.'s الى, and لذلك for كذلك . I have changed الى to بين for correlation with بين above.

<sup>59</sup> Y نجبا, line queried. جعل قضى نجبا means "he died," but here in the citation it is parallel with جعل نجبا .

<sup>60</sup> The MSS. read وحفا, M. D. changes to وحقا . I prefer وحلفا .

<sup>61</sup> M. D. ندرا .

<sup>62</sup> Y corrected in text, original درهم in margin. M. D. retains درهم . Only reference to the context in the poem could determine whether the pledge refers to house or money.

<sup>63</sup> Or, a vow without possibility of expiation, Lane 63.

<sup>64</sup> Lane 75, a synonym for عهد , حلف , جوار ; similar to Heb. 'el; Pedersen, 7, n. 6.

<sup>65</sup> Lane 880. Y has below كائناط .

<sup>66</sup> Y اوكد . Freytag gives only V of كنع as meaning iuravit; IV as prom(p)tus fuit, paratus in re paragenda. An-Nihāyah only cites some e. g.'s of اجمعون اکتعون .

<sup>67</sup> M. D. omits! jumping from one بمعنى to the second. His period after وأجل also wrong.

<sup>68</sup> On عوض see Pedersen, 163, n. 1; Wellhausen, Reste, 66; Lane 2197. Perhaps the meaning of دهر as fate is derived from its meaning of time. عوض is Heb. 'ûṣ

<sup>69</sup> MSS. يقسم .

<sup>70</sup> M. D. أمجد أنت . Pedersen, 135-6, interprets "grandfather"! vs. the sense here; cf. Littmann, rvw., Der Islam, VII, 142, "fortune, welfare."

<sup>71</sup> M. D. inserts قال .

<sup>72</sup> Hence comes to mean patience from restraint to one's desires, will. Cf. Pedersen, 181, n. 1; 192, n. 2; 202, n. 1; 222.



<sup>73</sup> Sura 49. 14; cf. 52. 21. MSS. have *يا ليتكم*; M. D. *من عن* for *من*.

<sup>74</sup> MSS. *والخمر*; but *والمخمر* is more likely; cf. below.

<sup>75</sup> MSS. order wrongly reversed.

<sup>76</sup> Y *حلف*.

<sup>77</sup> Y has *امر* in text as corrected reading, *مرء* in margin. If M. D. found the same he does not mention it.

<sup>78</sup> M. D. omits!

<sup>79</sup> All MSS. have *جلا* for *جلا*, the author or some copyist in the manuscript history having confused things from just above. Also, all have *ابو* in the first case, which should as well be *يا*, as *يا* is in both cases understood. Y has the further confusion of *تحلل* for *تحدل*. See esp. *an-Nihāyah* for an illustrative use of the phrase; also Lane; and Pedersen 204 and notes, 175, and *passim* chap. XII.

<sup>80</sup> Y *ذكر*.

<sup>81</sup> M. D. *بارا*.

<sup>82</sup> Pedersen, 70; Littmann, *Der Islam*, VII, 38.

<sup>83</sup> Also cited by Wallhausen, *Reste*, 189 f.

<sup>84</sup> MSS. *نا* - for *كم*.

<sup>85</sup> M. D. in using quotation marks wrongly begins with *عهدا*. Y has *يزيده* for *يزيده*.

<sup>86</sup> M. D. corrects(?) to *طول* from a ref. in *الحيوان* ١٥٠٤.

<sup>87</sup> One of the *اباديّات*. Y is written defectively and with a blot. M. D. reads *البحر صوفة*, but *ما بل بحر صوفة* in a citation in note.

<sup>88</sup> Y *يهوتون*.

<sup>89</sup> See Freytag and Lane, under *نار المهور*. Our text makes no mention of the crackling (*فقع*) salt thrown upon the fire. Landberg jotted here a ref. to *Lisān al-'Arab*, XIII, 238.

<sup>90</sup> M. D. inserts *بن حجر*. *Lisān*, XIII, 238, to which Landberg refers, says instead of the following, this: *يصف حمار وحش*.

<sup>91</sup> Y *مشهد*. For *المطيبون* see Lane 1902; *an-Nihāyah*, HLF.

<sup>92</sup> MSS. *وملح*. This passage is much confused in Y, the copyist having been misled by the second *عندهم*, evidently terminal and therefore a case of error from homoioteleuton. M. D. has brackets from after the first *عندهم* to after the second, noting *الزيادة من التيموريّة*. But this is a mistake;

otherwise the passage, even confused as it is, could not be in the Yale recopy from the older Cairo MS! ملح is parallel in many of its meanings with رضع, retaining in these its primary signification of to be *pleasant*, *goodly*, etc. The meaning *salt* is a derived one. It is through the deriv. ممالحة - مرضعة "the relationship of fosterbrothers," that *milḥ* and *milḥa* = *ḥurma*, *dhimam*, *ḥilf*, etc.; Lane 2732.

<sup>93</sup> Cited Lane, 2732. Abu 't-Ṭamḥān had suffered theft of his camels by a tribe whom he had given needed nourishment. Although Lane gives a different interp., the meaning seems to be the outraged owner is giving himself the satisfaction of saying they will have to remember their new prosperity and fatness comes from *his* good camels!

<sup>94</sup> M. D. هذا آخر .

<sup>95</sup> M. D. وصلاته .



## SOME NOTES ON THE FAMILY OF MERERUKA<sup>1</sup>

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IMMEDIATELY to the north of the pyramid of King Teti of Dynasty VI at Saqqārah is a group of contemporary mastabas. Among these one of the most noted is that of Mereruka. This structure contains the chapels of Mereruka, who bore the "good name" Meri (section A), of his wife Wa'tetkhetḥor, with the "good name" Seshseshet, who was "eldest king's daughter of his body" (section B), and of Meriteti, an "eldest king's son of his body" (section C), who is also shown on the walls both of the chambers of his mother, Wa'tetkhetḥor, and those of Mereruka. Section C is actually an addition to the original structure, and its entrance is cut through the wall of one of the rooms of section A.

• From the time of Daressy's publication of the inscriptions from this tomb complex<sup>2</sup> there have been put forth various theories concerning the relationships of Wa'tetkhetḥor and her son Meriteti. Daressy called Meriteti the son of Mereruka and Wa'tetkhetḥor,<sup>3</sup> but noted that in section C the name Meri (the "good name" of Mereruka) was a later addition, and that the name of Meriteti was secondary.<sup>4</sup>

Sethe, writing in 1918,<sup>5</sup> concluded that since Meriteti was called "king's son of his body," but not the son of Mereruka in the latter's chambers (with one exception which Sethe was inclined to

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<sup>1</sup> The substance of this paper was presented before the American Oriental Society in Cleveland, April 1, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> "Le Mastaba de Mera," *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien* III (1900) 521-574. The publication is not complete, nor is it always accurate.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 521.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 561. His words are, "Presque partout dans les légendes et sur le stèle le nom de Mera a été introduit après coup dans les inscriptions et le nom de Teta-meri gravé en surcharge. Des pièces auraient donc été faites pour un autre des fils de Mera qui s'appelaient [Memi] et [Teti'ankh]." The second name is a misreading of Pepy'ankh; the matter of the recutting is discussed below.

<sup>5</sup> *AZ* LIV. 55, note 1. Sethe also calls attention to the fact that Mereruka had an eldest son called Memi.

discredit),<sup>6</sup> he was not the son of Mereruka, but the child of Wa'tetkhethor by a previous marriage to a king. Drawing on Erman's incomplete collation, he points out that in the inscription in Meriteti's tomb which reads "the hereditary noble Meri, his eldest son of his body,"<sup>7</sup> the words "Meri, his son" were inserted over an earlier "king's son."

Recently Walter Federn, in an article "Die Königin Sescheschet,"<sup>8</sup> has entered into this problem in some detail. Accepting Sethe's position that Meriteti was actually the son of a king, he reinforces this contention by pointing out that Meriteti was "worthy in the presence of his father" and "lector priest of his father,"<sup>9</sup> which designations were used in Dynasty IV only of actual sons of the king.<sup>10</sup> That Wa'tetkhethor does not call herself "queen" in her tomb he attributes to her royal husband's having divorced her. From the fact that in the tomb of Meriteti the pyramid of Pepy I is named in titles 18 times, while the pyramid of Teti occurs only twice,<sup>11</sup> he judges that Wa'tetkhethor was the daughter of Teti and the wife of Pepy I. He identifies her with a Seshseshet shown on a fragment from the pyramid temple of Teti, where this woman bears a title borne in Dynasty IV by queens only.<sup>12</sup> He believes this relief was carved after Teti's death. The marriage of Pepy I to Wa'tetkhethor seems, says the author, to have been for political reasons, and he connects the supposed divorce with the secret proceedings in the harem mentioned in the autobiography of Uni.<sup>13</sup> Quoting Sethe's observations on the

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<sup>6</sup> Sethe's words are, "Ausnahme vielleicht a. a. O. [Daressy, op. cit.] S. 541, falls es sich dort nicht um eine andere Person gleichen Namens handelt oder, was noch wahrscheinlicher ist, eine Verschreibung oder Verlesung für [Teti'ankh] vorliegt, vgl. a. a. O. S. 548; Erman hat die in Rede stehende Stelle leider nicht kollationiert." But the mistake is Daressy's reading Teti'ankh for Pepy'ankh.

<sup>7</sup> *Iry-p't Mri s3.f sm3w nt ht.f.*

<sup>8</sup> *Orientalia* V (1936) 379-384. This article was called to my attention by Professor Edgerton.

<sup>9</sup> *Im3bw hr tt.f* and *hro-hbt nt tt.f.*

<sup>10</sup> H. Junker, *Giza* II. 33; W. Federn, *WZKM* XLII (1935) 178.

<sup>11</sup> Actually the name of the Pepy I pyramid occurs 33 times and that of the Teti pyramid 3 times; Federn's count is based on Daressy's incomplete publication.

<sup>12</sup> The title is "bull on a standard" with *hm(t) ntr*; cf. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1907-08* pl. LIV. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. K. Sethe, *Urk.* I. 100.

palimpsest of "Meri, his son" over "king's son" in Meriteti's chambers, Federn concludes that Meriteti was forced to renounce his claim of royal heir, and that since he appears as a youth with a sidelock in the chambers of his elders, but in his own tomb is shown as an adult invested with the highest titles of Mereruka, and has a wife and children, this renunciation took place at least twenty years after the marriage of Wa'tetkhethor to Mereruka, and probably soon before or shortly after the death of Pepy I.

None of the above treatments has had the advantage of a careful collation of the inscriptions; moreover, both Sethe and Federn have overlooked the statement of Daressy that in section C the name of Meriteti was secondary, and Federn has not dealt with the exception noted by Sethe. Before dealing with the above conclusions a precise statement of the evidence of the inscriptions is necessary.<sup>14</sup>

In the chambers of Wa'tetkhethor (section B) Meriteti appears six times, shown as a child with sidelock, with the inscription reading "her eldest son, her beloved, Meriteti, whose good name is Meri."<sup>15</sup>

In the chambers of Mereruka (section A) Meriteti appears six times. Five times he is shown as a youth with sidelock; with two of these figures the inscription is "eldest king's son of his body, his beloved, worthy in the presence of his father and in the presence of the great god, Meriteti,"<sup>16</sup> and once the "worthy" formula is missing.<sup>17</sup> Originally there followed in these three inscriptions "whose good name is Meri," but this has been erased in each case.<sup>18</sup> In each of these three reliefs the cutting, though of good quality, gives the distinct impression that the figure and the inscription were added after the original decoration of the walls. In the other two cases, in which the additional "whose good name

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<sup>14</sup> This evidence was collected during my season with the Saqqārah Expedition of the Oriental Institute. The evidence from sections B and C is from my notes; that from section A appears in *The Mastaba of Mereruka*, 2 vols. (OIP XXXI, XXXIX). References to this publication will be cited as *Mereruka*, with plate numbers.

<sup>15</sup> *S3. š šmšw mry. š Mry-ttī rn.f nfr Mrt.*

<sup>16</sup> *S3 nšwt nī ht.f šmšw mry.f imšhw hr it.f hr ntr 3 Mry-ttī*; cf. *Mereruka* 8, 23c.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* 46.

<sup>18</sup> I can give no explanation for this erasure.

is Meri " was never present, there can be no doubt that the figure and inscriptions were later additions.<sup>19</sup> In the sixth occurrence, Meriteti appears as an adult (though without beard) and with the accompanying inscription "his (i. e., Mereruka's) eldest son, Meriteti."<sup>20</sup> In this last case both the figure and the inscription are part of the original decoration of the wall.

Coming to Meriteti's own tomb (section C), we note that instead of there having been one name on the walls previous to that of Meriteti, there were actually two; i. e., the present and final version of the inscription is the third.

The person for whom the tomb was originally intended had 41 of the titles of Mereruka, and 8 others not held by the older man, including "eldest king's son of his body" and "lector priest of his father."<sup>21</sup> At the time of the original decoration the west wall and west portions of the north and south walls of chamber C 4 were left unfinished. The owner of the tomb is shown as an adult in all but one place, where he appears in a palanquin as a child with sidelock.<sup>22</sup> His name has been obliterated, but the cartouche of Teti as part of the name is still visible in places. Since the tomb connects with that of Mereruka, and the owner was "eldest king's son of his body," it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that these chambers were originally intended for Meriteti.

In the first recutting, the "king's son" of the inscriptions was erased and "Meri, his son" substituted. The name of the earlier owner was almost entirely obliterated in the majority of cases, and the name Pepy'ankh was inserted. The undecorated parts of chamber C 4 were finished in keeping with the new readings. The recutting of the name is crude, and the decoration of chamber C 4 belonging to this period consists of ragged gouges.

In the third version the "'ankh" of the name Pepy'ankh was erased, and the Pepy cartouche was incorporated into the added name of the Pepy I pyramid and titles, so that the resulting inscription read "inspector of prophets of the pyramid (-town) of

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. 48c, 177.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. 88. This is Sethe's exception, but there is no justification for his doubts (cf. above, note 6). In the same scene, in front of Meriteti, appears "his (i. e., Mereruka's) eldest son, lector priest, Memi," on which cf. below, p. 642.

<sup>21</sup> *S3 nšwt šmšw nt ht.f and hrw-ḥbt nt tt.f.*

<sup>22</sup> Chamber C 1, north wall, above doorway leading to chamber C 3.

Pepy I,"<sup>23</sup> following which was further added "king's son, count, sole companion, Meriteti."<sup>24</sup> Often it was necessary to erase part of the accompanying scene to add this inscription. The final work is quite good in execution. To this period belong both the entrance jambs and probably the majority, if not all, of the names of the servitors. It should be emphasized that all of the occurrences of the Pepy I pyramid belong to this final phase of the inscriptions.

The figure and the inscriptions of the son Ihimsaf and the wife were added subsequent to the original decoration of the walls.<sup>25</sup> Since these additions were allowed to remain, it is probable that they represent the son and wife of Meriteti. But the execution is much inferior to the third version of the inscriptions, and it is impossible to tell how long after the original decoration of the walls these figures and inscriptions were added. Over one of the figures of the son the inscription originally read, "his eldest son, worthy in the presence of his father, lector priest of his father, Ihimsaf."<sup>26</sup> Later this was changed, and the final version is merely "eldest lector priest, Ihimsaf."<sup>27</sup>

In seeking to identify Pepy'ankh we must consider the appearance in Mereruka's tomb of a person who is called "his (i. e., Mereruka's) eldest son, Memi." In five of the six places where this person is shown his name has been erased; once the name Pepy'ankh has been inserted in paint over the erasure, and in another case faint painted traces of the cartouche and the two P's of the name Pepy remain. In the instance where Memi's name has not been erased, he stands in the same scene with Meriteti, who is also here called Mereruka's eldest son.<sup>28</sup> In each case where the evidence is still extant, Memi is shown as a bearded adult.

<sup>23</sup> *Shd hm-ntr mn-nfr-Ppy.*

<sup>24</sup> *S3 nšwt h3ty-šmr-wty Mry-tt.* There are some slight variants to these forms.

<sup>25</sup> There may be an exception to this. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas* III. Taf. VIII, upper picture, shows a fragment from Meriteti's tomb giving the lower part of a scene of a man and a woman (whose figure is smaller) seated in a palanquin. This scene is from chamber C 1, east wall, and is undoubtedly part of the original decoration, but it is not possible to say that the woman is the same as the one portrayed in the later additions.

<sup>26</sup> *S3.f šmšw im3hw br it.f hrw-hbt nt it.f 'Ihy-m-s3.f.*

<sup>27</sup> *Hrw-hbt šmšw 'Ihy-m-s3.f.* In two other cases the *s3.f* of the inscription accompanying the figure was erased, and once an additional inscription was added.

<sup>28</sup> Memi appears in these places: (1) *Mereruka* 23a, name erased, with

As to the identity of Pepy'ankh, several alternatives should be considered. The first thought might be that he was Meriteti, but this seems highly improbable on several grounds. If Meriteti had changed his name, it seems hardly reasonable that he would have reverted later to the name he first held; moreover, in Mereruka's chambers the name and rank of Meriteti remain the same; Pepy'ankh was inserted only over the name of Memi. Since the changes in the C chambers are so thorough, and especially since the style of the parts of these chambers in which the decoration was completed by Pepy'ankh is in such contrast to the original, I believe these considerations point to Pepy'ankh's having been a person different from Meriteti.

Pepy'ankh could hardly have been unrelated to Mereruka, since he takes such pains to call himself "Meri's son" in the tomb in which his name has been introduced. Nor does it seem probable that he was a son originally unnamed in the tomb of Mereruka, as four other sons appear,<sup>29</sup> while only the name of Memi has been erased. It seems to me that the most probable solution is that Pepy'ankh was Memi, especially since the "eldest" of the original inscriptions was often retained in the recutting of the C chamber inscriptions, and in one case "Meri, his eldest son" is written in that part of the tomb which was finished in the second phase.

We can now return to a consideration of Federn's conclusions. Apart from the feeling that it would not have been politically expedient for any king, having married the eldest daughter of his predecessor for political reasons, and having had by her a son who would be heir to the throne, to divorce her and to allow her then to marry the chief functionary of the realm (Mereruka was vizier), at the same time letting the son retain his rank as heir, there are several concrete objections to Federn's position.

1. Junker has demonstrated that the rank of "king's son," with or without the additional "of his body," was borne not only by the king's actual child, but also by his grandchild and perhaps even

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painted traces of *Pp[y]*; the traces are not shown on the plate. (2) Ibid. 65a, name erased, here a palimpsest over an earlier name. (3) Ibid. 88, name not erased. (4) Ibid. 128, name erased. (5) Ibid. 154, name erased, and *Ppy-nb* inserted in paint. (6) Ibid. 171, name erased.

<sup>29</sup> These sons are: (1) 'Apre, *ibid.* 154. (2) Nefer, *ibid.* 158. (3) Khenti, *ibid.* 88, 158. (4) Khenau, *ibid.* 7.



by his great-grandchild,<sup>30</sup> and Federn has come to similar conclusions.<sup>31</sup> Since Wa'tetkethor was "eldest king's daughter of his body,"<sup>32</sup> perhaps the daughter of Teti,<sup>33</sup> Meriteti would be entitled to the rank of "king's son" through her.

2. Though in Dynasty IV only the actual son of a king seems to have been "worthy in the presence of his father" and "lector priest of his father," the fact that Ihimsaf originally bore these titles shows that here, at least, they did not carry the same significance.<sup>34</sup>

3. Meriteti is actually called Mereruka's eldest son in one instance.<sup>35</sup>

4. There is nothing to indicate that the original decoration of the entire group of chambers A, B, and C of Mereruka's mastaba was not done in Teti's reign; indeed, from the position of the mastaba near the pyramid of Teti it would naturally be assumed that Mereruka, as well as the others whose mastabas are nearby, lived and held office under Teti.

There is some evidence which lends support to this date. In the list of estates in Mereruka's chapel the extant portions give the names of kings Ikawhor, Unis, and Teti,<sup>36</sup> and while several names are lost, there is nothing to suggest that the name of Pepy I was among them. This would give further support to the dating of the mastaba to the reign of Teti.

Moreover, I believe that further evidence can be obtained from the mastaba of the vizier Khentika.<sup>37</sup> This mastaba, which is similar to that of Mereruka in that the whole interior is filled with rooms, appears, both from the style of its reliefs and from its posi-

<sup>30</sup> H. Junker, Giza I. 9 f., 152 f.; Giza II. 32-39.

<sup>31</sup> W. Federn, *WZKM* XLII (1935), 172-181.

<sup>32</sup> *S3(t) nlswt nlt ht.f smsw(t)*.

<sup>33</sup> G. Jéquier, in his article "Les femmes de Pepi II" *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* 11 ff., goes as far as to say that Wa'tetkethor was the granddaughter of great-granddaughter of a king; I know of no evidence to support his conclusion.

<sup>34</sup> It seems highly improbable that Ihimsaf would have been so designated in anticipation of his father's accession to the throne.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. above, p. 641 and note 20. Sethe's suggestion that this may have been another person by the same name seems highly improbable.

<sup>36</sup> *Mereruka* 49.

<sup>37</sup> To be published shortly by R. Macramallah.

tion, to be the latest of the major group so far discovered about the pyramid of Teti. This official was connected with the pyramids of both Teti and Pepy I. Khentika had a son who six times is named Tetidjedi, while a youth who may well have been the same person is called Pepydjedi on the walls of the room containing the burial pit of Khentika (where Pepydjedi occupies the same relative position on the wall as does Tetidjedi in other rooms) and on his own stele erected independently in one of the rooms of his father's mastaba.<sup>28</sup> If this belief is correct, it seems that the occasion for changing the son's name would have been the death of Teti and the accession of Pepy I. I believe that this indicates that the decoration of the tomb of Khentika was begun before the death of Teti and was finished under his successor, giving an earlier date for Mereruka.<sup>29</sup>

5. We have seen that, in Meriteti's chapel, the palimpsest "Meri, his son" was inserted, in all probability, by another person, and, indeed, Meriteti is still "king's son" (though not "eldest, of his body") in the final inscriptions.

6. Since the figures of Meriteti in Mereruka's tomb, in those cases where he is called "king's son," seem to have been introduced subsequently to the original decoration of the walls, this may indicate that he was not yet born when the cutting of the reliefs was begun. However, Wa'tetkhethor always appears with Mereruka on the walls of his chambers as part of the original decoration, showing that their marriage had already taken place before the decoration of Mereruka's chapel was begun.

7. Finally, it should be pointed out that there are three other "king's daughters" named "Seshseshet" shown in the neighboring mastabas, and that one of these was also "eldest king's daughter of

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<sup>28</sup> A block reused in the floor of the room with burial pit has the name "Teti'ankh the middle." This would probably indicate that the floor had been laid some time during the reign of Pepy I.

<sup>29</sup> Since there are approximately 100 minor functionaries named in Mereruka's own chambers, I have made careful comparison of them with the names appearing in the nearby mastabas of Kagemni, Shepesptah, Neferseshemrë, 'Ankhmaḥor, Neferseshemptah, and Khentika. Only 19 of the names, mostly common ones, are the same, and only in the case of two "ka-servants" from the mastaba of Shepesptah are the titles identical. This gives negative results in the matter of relative dating.

his body," as was Wa'tetkhethor.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, any consideration of the royal family, and especially any theory as to the political importance of the king's eldest daughter, must take account of a woman named Inti, who was "eldest king's daughter of his body (attached to) the pyramid (-town) of Teti" and "eldest king's daughter of his body (attached to) the pyramid(-town) of Pepy I."<sup>41</sup> She had the title "companion of Horus," otherwise known only as belonging to the queens of Dynasties IV and VI. This raises some doubt as to whether the title accompanying the name Seshseshet on the Teti pyramid temple fragment<sup>42</sup> actually indicates a queen. And since there were three other women, approximately contemporary, who had the same Seshseshet, the person shown on this fragment cannot be identified with Wa'tetkhethor with any certainty, apart from the consideration that it may depict a fifth woman otherwise unknown.

I believe that the cumulative weight of these observations makes it unnecessary to accept Federn's conclusions, and that the evidence points to Meriteti's having been actually the son of Mereruka and Wa'tetkhethor, as Daressy believed. The same considerations militate against the necessity of concluding that Wa'tetkhethor was a queen. Though it is somewhat difficult to form any theory concerning the history of Mereruka's tomb and the adjoining chapels,

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<sup>40</sup> They are: (1) *S3(t) ntšwt nlt ht.f Šššt*, also called *Šštl*, the wife of Shepsesptah, cf. J. E. Quibell and A. G. K. Hayter, *Teti Pyramid, North Side* 20-23. (2) *S3(t) ntšwt nlt ht.f Nb-ht-nbty rn.š nfr Šššt*, the wife of Kagemni, cf. F. W. von Bissing, *Die Mastaba des Gem-ni-kai* I. pls. XX, XXI. (3) *S3t ntšwt nlt ht.f šmšwt Šššt*, the wife of Nefersehemptah, cf. J. Capart, *Un rue de tombeau* XCVII.

<sup>41</sup> *S3(t) ntšwt šmšwt nlt ht.f (nlt) ḡd-šwt-Ttl* and *s3(t) ntšwt šmšwt nlt ht.f (nlt) mn-nfr-Ppy*. Such a designation with the name of a pyramid is usually considered to show relationship to the king whose pyramid is named; I do not know how to interpret this case. Inti's mastaba, situated southwest of the mastaba of Khentika, has not been published; the quoted passages are from the stele, side pieces, and lintel above the stele still in position. The rest of the structure is of mud brick. In the spring of 1936 there was also a lintel from this tomb in the store room within the mastaba of Kagemni.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. above, p. 639 and note 12.

<sup>43</sup> Where two "eldest" sons appear, it is usually considered that one of them has died. But in this case, at least, may it not be possible that each was the "eldest" son of his own mother?

it seems to me that the following is the most probable conclusion in view of the evidence.

At the time Mereruka began the decoration of his chambers, in the reign of Teti, he was already married to the "king's daughter" Wa'tetkhethor, who is always shown with him on the walls of the chambers of his tomb, but he had one or more sons by a previous marriage, the eldest being Memi. That Memi was not Wa'tetkhethor's son seems certain from the fact that he is not shown in her tomb, nor does he have the rank of "king's son"; he is always shown as a person older than Meriteti. Perhaps before the completion of the reliefs of Mereruka's chambers and the beginning of those of Wa'tetkhethor, Meriteti was born. His figure was then introduced in several places, and if original in that part finished later.<sup>44</sup> Soon afterwards the additional tomb for Meriteti was built, and its decoration begun, but not finished. Meriteti bore the high titles of Mereruka as his hereditary right, and was shown as an adult, it may be even in anticipation of his attainment of manhood.<sup>45</sup> That Memi was passed over and Meriteti became the heir of Mereruka was probably due to the position of Meriteti as grandson of the king. About the time of the accession of Pepy I, Mereruka probably already having died,<sup>46</sup> Memi assumed the name of Pepyankh, doubtless for political purposes, and was able to usurp temporarily the tomb of his younger half-brother. Later, however, Meriteti regained his own property, and reintroduced his name into the inscriptions.

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<sup>44</sup> The decoration of chamber A 10, where Meriteti is called Mereruka's eldest son, and where the figure is original, is decidedly inferior to that of the rest of the A section (with the exception of A 12, where the work is similar to that in A 10). In Wa'tetkhethor's chambers the relief is also of poor quality. This suggests that these were decorated by another artist and probably at another time than the other room of the A chambers.

<sup>45</sup> It is not necessary to assume that these titles required active participation in the office. For instance, Kagemni and Khentika were both "real viziers," which would seem to indicate that in some cases the title of vizier was honorific; cf. B. Gunn in *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 109, note 3. However, Professor Edgerton has pointed out to me that in *Wb.* II. 13. 22 *m*<sub>3</sub>' used with a title is taken to mean, "ein Beamter wie er sein muss," which would weigh against this conclusion.

<sup>46</sup> Mereruka was a man of middle age at the time of his death; cf. the report of Dr. Douglas Derry in *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* 28.

## EARLY PROHIBITIONS OF TOBACCO IN CHINA AND MANCHURIA

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TOBACCO began to appear in Eastern Asia about three-quarters of a century after the Columbian discovery of the Americas: in the Philippines before 1575, Japan about 1590, Macao around 1600, Java in 1601, India about 1605, Ceylon in 1610, and Korea about 1616. The earliest dates for the importation of tobacco into China (beyond the Portuguese colony on the island of Macao) and into Manchuria are not so certain. It was surely present in south-eastern China during the first quarter of the 17th century, and Manchuria probably adopted it from Korea not long after.

No sure reference to tobacco occurs in Chinese literature before 1600.<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Berthold Laufer, in *Tobacco and its use in Asia* (Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, 1924, leaflet no. 18, 57-95), cites the writings of Chang Chieh-pin 張介賓 (T. Ching-yüeh 景岳), 1563-1640, a physician from Shan-yin, Chekiang,<sup>2</sup> and indeed he may well have been the first Chinese to write on tobacco.<sup>3</sup> A contemporary author, possibly even an earlier one, Yao Lü 姚旅, a poet and essayist of the Wan-li period (1573-1620)<sup>4</sup> and a native of P'u-t'ien, Fukien, confirms Chang's state-

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<sup>1</sup> Miss E. D. Edwards, "The miscellanea of I-shan: a little known work of Li Shang-yin 李商隱 (義山) 813-858," *BSOS*, 5 (1928-30), 757-85, translated one 9th century piece of writing as follows: 對大僚食咽 [it is bad form] "to eat or smoke in the presence of superiors." (See p. 772). Dr. Lionel Giles corrected this (*BSOS*, 6, 637): "食咽 is simply 'to smoke.'" What Dr. Giles should have written was that 咽 means "to swallow, gulp down," never "to smoke." Miss Edwards has accepted Dr. Giles' correction uncritically in her book *Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period I* (London, 1937), 136.

<sup>2</sup> Correct Laufer, *idem* 59, who writes Shansi.

<sup>3</sup> See his *Ching-yüeh ch'üan shu* 景岳全書 48/24b-25b, entry no. 77a. Mr. Ts'ui Chung-hsiu 崔鍾秀 has written the biography of Chang Chieh-pin for the *Dictionary of Ch'ing Biography*, which is shortly to be published.

<sup>4</sup> I have searched in vain for the exact dates of his birth and death, and for the date of publication of his book, the *Lu shu* 露書. The Fukien provincial gazetteer 福建通志 of 1869 (213/30a), Dr. Arthur W. Hummel tells me, simply puts him in the above mentioned reign. The book is briefly

ments. He declares: "There is a plant called *tan-pa-ku* 淡巴菰 produced in Luzon. Another name is *hsiin* 醺. You take fire and light one end and put the other end in your mouth. The smoke goes down your throat through the pipe. It can make one tipsy, but it can [likewise] keep one clear of malaria. People have brought it to Chang-chou [Fukien] and planted it, and now there is more there than in Luzon, and it is exported and sold to that country. At present [my native district of] P'u has *tan-pa-ku*. It is commonly called gold-silk-smoke 金絲醺. Its leaves are like those of the lichee. After these are pounded, the juice [extracted therefrom] can kill off lice on the scalp. The leaves make the tobacco."<sup>5</sup>

Other slightly later writers are in general agreement. Fang I-chih 方以智 (chin-shih 1640, d. 1667), whom Dr. Hu Shih once called "the first phonologist of China," for example, writes in the *Wu li hsiao shih* 物理小識, completed 1664, 9/28b<sup>6</sup> that the *tan-pa-ku* smoke plant 淡把姑烟草 was brought to Chang-chou and Ch'üan-chou, Fukien province, at the end of the Wan-li period. He adds, "It was manufactured by a certain Ma 馬, and called *tan-jo-kuo* 淡肉果. It spread by degrees to the Nine borders and now everyone holds a long pipe in his mouth and lights and inhales and exhales. Some are intoxicated and fall to the ground." Père Louis le Comte (1655-1728), who arrived in China in 1687, and wrote to Paris shortly thereafter of the products of the country, asserted that tobacco was introduced through the ports of Fukien at the end of the 16th century or the beginning of the 17th.<sup>7</sup>

It was not long before prohibitions began to appear. The first recorded in China dates from 1637.<sup>8</sup> Unhappily the edict itself

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described in the Imperial Catalogue 四庫全書總目, 128/7a, but seems no longer to be extant.

<sup>5</sup> Reprinted in the *Chin ssu lu* 金絲錄, preface dated 1737, 1a. See Wang Shih-han 汪師韓, b. 1707, chin-shih 1733: *Ts'ung mu Wang shih i shu* 叢睦汪氏遺書.

<sup>6</sup> The page reference is to the manuscript copy in the *Ssu k'u ch'üan shu* preserved in the National Library of Peiping. See also W. F. Meyers, *Notes and Queries* I, 5 (May 31, 1867), 61.

<sup>7</sup> Letter to the Comte de Crecy included in the *Nouveaux Mémoires* I, Paris 1690. See Pfister, Louis, *Notices Biographiques et Bibliographiques sur les Jésuites de l'ancienne mission de Chine* I, 422.

<sup>8</sup> Dunhill, *The Pipe Book*, 105, refers to an imperial edict of 1612, which I have not been able to track down.

seems not to have come down to us;<sup>9</sup> so we must depend upon a contemporary report. Shen Han-kuang 申涵光, 1619-1677, a native of Yung-nien, Chihli province, wrote as follows: "In the year *ting-ch'ou* [1637], when I was at the capital, I saw an edict forbidding [the use of] tobacco 烟. I did not know what tobacco was. In the year *wu-yin* [1638], after the defense of the city,<sup>10</sup> I gradually noticed a few people in my district using it, but they were attendants, people of the lower classes, and soldiers. After a while many people of the upper classes 士人 took it. Now I hear that even among the occupants of the women's quarters there are some who use it. This is remarkable. There is more than one variety of tobacco 烟. [Fu] *chien yen* 建烟 and *Man* 滿 [chou] *yen* 烟 are especially expensive. It also grows where I live. The leaves are of the same sort as palm leaves, but smaller. One must strip [each plant] of all but six or seven leaves. When they have been dried they have to be chopped up. When one drinks it, one becomes terribly confused to the point of collapse. I have not seen anything written on this plant. I do not know when it began; most probably not more than thirty years ago."<sup>11</sup>

The Japanese-Chinese Encyclopaedia, *Wakan Sansai Zue* 和漢三才圖會<sup>12</sup> 99/21a, records a second decree, issued 1638, which read: "Those who hawk clandestinely Tobacco, and sell it to foreigners, shall, no matter the quantity sold, be decapitated, and their heads exposed on a pike." A third is mentioned by Mayers

<sup>9</sup> The *Shih lu* 實錄, or Authentic Record, of the Ch'ung-ch'en period, 1628-1644, where such an edict would most probably have been preserved, is not extant, nor are the archives of these closing years of the Ming house. They were either accidentally destroyed in the fighting about Peking in 1644, or wilfully done away with by the conquering Manchus.

<sup>10</sup> The Manchus raided the two provinces of Chihli and Shantung in 1638, from T'ungchou to Tsinan. See E. H. Parker, "The Manchus in China," *The China Review* XV, 5, 264.

<sup>11</sup> From the *Ch'ih-shan-t'ang fu shih* 遲山堂臆史, reprinted in the *Chin ssu lu* 3a.

<sup>12</sup> This work is by Terashima, Ryōan 寺島良安, a physician and native of Osaka. The preface is dated 1713. The sources cited, *Pen ts'ao tung ch'üan* 本草綱目 by Shen Mu 沈穆 (fl. 1644-1662), the *P'eng-ch'i* (Sze.) *lei chi* 蓬溪類記, and the gazetteer of Chang-chou (Fukien) 漳州府志, presumably the one of 1628, are not at my disposal. This particular passage has been translated by Gustave Schlegel in *Notes and Queries* I, 7 (July 31, 1867), 93.

(*op. cit.*), dated 1640.<sup>13</sup> Wang P'u (or Pu or Fu) 王浦, a native of Tsui-li, Chekiang, mentions another, three years later, as follows: "Tobacco leaves 烟葉 first appeared in Fukien. The people beyond the [northern] border are subject to diseases caused by extreme cold, and cannot be cured without tobacco. People in Manchuria reach the place where they will exchange a horse for a catty of tobacco. In Ch'ung-chen *kuei-wei* [1643] an edict was issued: 'A sentence of banishment will be passed on those people who secretly sow.' But the penalty was light and the gain great. The people paid no heed to the command. Whereupon an order was issued [changing the penalty to] execution. But not long after, because the soldiers on the northern border could not be cured of sickness due to cold, the edict was withdrawn. When I was a child, I did not know what tobacco was. At the end of the Ch'ung-chen period our country was planted everywhere with tobacco. So there are not even youngsters of two feet [high] who are not smoking it. How suddenly (disastrously fast?) customs change!"<sup>14</sup>

It was no wonder then that Fang I-chih, another contemporary (cited above), who was in Peking taking the palace examinations in 1640 and continued on for a short while at the Hanlin Academy, should have written: "It [tobacco] was severely prohibited in the period of Ch'ung-chen, but this did not stop [its use or production]." <sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile similar prohibitions were being enacted in nearby Mukden, then under Manchu control, one of which has fortunately been preserved in two copies in its original form, in Manchu and Chinese.<sup>16</sup> It is dated Ch'ung-teh 4/6/26 (July 26, 1639), and reads (in translation) as follows:

<sup>13</sup> Mayers makes it the 13th year of Tsung Cheng (= Ch'ung-chen)—A. D. 1641—which is a slight miscalculation, or a misprint.

<sup>14</sup> See *Yin an so yü* 蚓菴瑣語, 3b-4a, reprinted in the *Shuo ling* 說鈴, 冊 10, compiled by Wu Chen-fang 吳震方, chin-shih 1679.

<sup>15</sup> *Wu li hsiao shih* 9/28b. Cf. also the remarks of Li Shih-hung 黎士宏 (or 仕弘), 1618-1697, quoted by Kuo Po-ts'ang 郭柏蒼 in *Min ch'ian lu i* 閩產錄異 1/24, publ. 1886. (For translation of them, see Swingle, *Orientalia added*, Library of Congress, 1932-1933, 12-13).

<sup>16</sup> One is in the Palace Museum, Peking 內閣大庫, and the other is in the private collection of Mr. Lo Chen-yü 羅振玉, Hsinking, Manchoukuo. The first is reproduced in *Wen hsien ts'ung pien* 文獻叢編, no. 12, and in Walter Fuchs, *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur* (Tokyo, 1936).



## PROCLAMATION OF THE BOARD OF REVENUE

To officials and citizens 民人; be it known: Tobacco may not be eaten 吃 or sold. The board has prohibited it several times already. Recently the princes, *bei-le* [princes of the third order], and *bei-tzu* [princes of the fourth order] have put a stop to it, but there are people who are recalcitrant or ignorant, who do not heed orders, and who still plant, consume, and sell it. Do they not consider this, that in former times when there was no tobacco,—what harm had we? From now on it must certainly be prohibited. If there are those who disobey regulations and are caught in the act, they shall be treated as though they were bandits, and shall be sentenced to the cangue for eight days, and made to walk through the eight gates [i. e. Fengtien]. Besides being beaten by the whip and having their ears pierced, they shall also be fined nine ounces of silver, which shall be presented to the one who apprehends them. If someone sees [an offender] at an earlier time, but does not seize him, let another arrest him together with the first mentioned and both shall be treated according to the same law. If there are those who plant tobacco, the captain of a company and the lieutenants, even though they express ignorance of the same, are incriminated and must share in the penalty. A lieutenant in a village must suffer fifty strokes of the lash. In case a slave informs on his master, and his information is correct, he is a free man. The captains of every banner must copy this proclamation and post it in their areas, that every one may be informed. A special proclamation.<sup>17</sup>

Another edict, issued under the same Manchu emperor, dated 1641, is referred to by A. F. in *Notes and Queries*, no. 7 (July 31, 1867), 93, as follows: He "totally forbids tobacco smoking, and declares that the practice is a more heinous crime than even that of neglecting archery, attention to which was to the warlike Manchus the first of duties."

Intelligent people were confused in their minds about this new plant. Chang Chieh-pin, who was a doctor, records the very interesting observation: "When the Chinese army penetrated the region [of Yünnan] and suffered from malaria, all except one battalion became seriously ill. It turned out that those who seemed

<sup>17</sup> The words for tobacco used throughout this order are respectively

*tan-po-kuei* 丹白桂 and *dambagu* 𦵏. Dr. George A. Kennedy of Yale

University, who has given me some aid in the translation of this bi-lingual text, informs me that the Manchu and Chinese renderings are not exactly parallel.

to be immune from the disease had the habit of using tobacco.”<sup>18</sup> He, therefore, says Laufer, recommended it highly “as a remedy in expelling colds, for malaria caused by mountain mists, for reducing the swellings brought about by dropsy, and for counter-acting cholera.” Others were not so sure. Hsü Shih-chi 徐石麒 (1578-1646), president of the board of punishments in the closing months of 1642, remarked—perhaps because his was the official viewpoint—on the ancient treachery of wine, and the modern peril of tobacco.<sup>19</sup> Fang I-chih wrote: “It can drive away rheumatism, and break up a cold, but if one continually [smokes], one’s lungs will be dried up and can be cured by no medicines; when there are signs of a patient suddenly coughing up yellow water he will die.”<sup>20</sup>

These were some of the horrified comments of the first to meet with tobacco. A decade or two later the opinion of writers was beginning to veer in favor of the weed. Wrote the fine scholar Shih Jun-chang 施閏章, 1618-1683, “A certain Chang Hsün 張荀 (T. Chung-shu 仲淑) of Shan-yin, Chekiang, says, If one stops smoking while suffering from dysentery the disease will cease. But later your dysentery is all the worse. A countryman to the south [of my district], belonging to the clan of Meng 孟, is a cultivator of bees. Near his farm is land which grows tobacco. When the bees suck the tobacco blossoms they die immediately, and the honey is ruined. So we know that tobacco is poisonous. Hence we should not be in close companionship with it. Those who are interested in length of days say: If you keep on swallowing your saliva you will gain eternal life. Have you not noticed that the character *huo* 活 [live] is made up of *ch’ien* 千, *k’ou* 口, *shui* 水 [thousand, mouths, water]? But now if you burn your throat and fill your lungs with smoke, can you keep on living and use this poisonous fire? A friend of mine who is a tremendous smoker, and smokes over a hundred times a day, fell into a strange ailment. His head became as large as a peck basket, his gums developed sores producing a pint of pus, making neighboring rooms malodorous, and he nearly perished, but recovered. This tobacco

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Laufer, *op. cit.*, 59.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted by Ku Yen-wu 顧炎武 (1613-82) in his *Jih chih lu* 日知錄. (Reprinted in the *Chin ssu lu*, 2b-3a.)

<sup>20</sup> *Op. cit.*

originally came from abroad. But now it has been acclimated everywhere until it is a native product, and its poison has disappeared.”<sup>21</sup>

A younger contemporary of note, Wang Shih-chen 王士禎, 1634-1711, included the following yarn in his *Fen kan yü hua* 分甘餘話:<sup>22</sup> “Han T’an 韓炎 (T. Mu-lu 慕廬 [1637-1704]) loved to smoke tobacco and drink wine. In K’ang-hsi *mao-wu* [1678], when the throne appointed him and me to go to the [chü-jen] military examination halls as examiners, he would not let his hand be separated for a moment from his wine cup and his tobacco pipe. I jokingly remarked: ‘These two things are for you as bear and fish were to the ancients.’<sup>23</sup> That I know. But if as a last resort you have to give up one, which will it be?’ After long thought Han replied: ‘I’ll give up wine.’ Everybody laughed. Later I looked into the *Lu shu* of Yao Lü which records that the tobacco plant was a product of Luzon. Its original name was *tan-pa-ku* 淡巴菰; so I informed Han. At this time Han was director of the Han-lin Academy<sup>24</sup> and was instructing the Han-lin bachelors. Whereupon he ordered his students to make a song about *tan-pa-ku*.”

It would appear from the above that there was no ban against smoking in the first decades of the Ch’ing. But hear these words, addressed to his sons, by the famous second emperor (K’ang-hsi era, 1662-1722): “I am superior to all men. I desire that my orders be heard everywhere; so I must first heed them myself, then others will follow. Take, for example, the smoking of tobacco 吃烟. Although it is not a matter of importance [in itself], conflagrations nevertheless spring most from this source. I have therefore constantly prohibited it. It is not because I do not know how to smoke. While a small boy, in the dwelling of my nurse 在養母家 I became well acquainted with smoking. Now with a prohibition against smoking, but wanting to do so myself, how can I make others wish to serve me. For this reason I never use [tobacco].”<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Chü chai tsa chi* 矩齋雜記, reprinted in the *Yen p’u* 烟譜 compiled by Ts’ai Chia-wan 蔡家琬 of Ho-fei, Anhui.

<sup>22</sup> See Yao Ying 姚瑩, 1785-1852, *Shih hsiao lu* 識小錄 5/28.

<sup>23</sup> Mencius said, “I like fish, and I also like bear’s paws. If I cannot have the two together, I will let the fish go, and take the bear’s paws.” Translation by Legge, *Chinese Classics* II, 411.

<sup>24</sup> He became such in 1695.

<sup>25</sup> These remarks are taken from a collection made by his fourth son, who became the next emperor, 世宗憲皇帝御纂庭訓格言, and are reprinted in the *Ts’ung mu Wang shih i shu*, 9b-10a.

The only prohibition that I can find is contained in one of the first issues of the Statutes of the Ch'ing house, *Ta Ch'ing li li* 大清律例, dated K'ang-hsi 15, or 1676.<sup>26</sup> It reads in part as follows: "Both civil and military officials will be discharged if they smoke in the forbidden city granaries, altars, and temples; banner attendants will be given two months of the cangue and one hundred strokes [of the bamboo]; Chinese forty strokes and exile to a distance of three thousand *li*." Even this emasculated ban was apparently allowed to lapse, for it was not repeated in succeeding issues of the Statutes. Within a very short while after the death of the second emperor a Chinese, Li Ê 厲鶚, 1692-1753, was to write an ode to the heavenly perfume 天香詞, which contained the following introduction: "The way to consume this fragrance is to cut it up as finely as shreds, put it in a pipe, light it, and then inhale. It makes a man seem drunken. It causes cold to disappear, and loneliness to evaporate. The bouquet [of tobacco] is superior to that of wine. Powerful men and young girls—there are no people who do not use it. I especially love it. I am angry because so few have sung of it, thus hiding the strange plant in obscurity. In my leisure, in a transport of delight, I have taken up my brush and dashed off an ode in praise thereof."<sup>27</sup> Tobacco had come to stay in China. Human perversity had broken the imperial will.

Only one prohibition remained to be enacted and enforced: a regulation against smoking in a library. It appears where one might expect it, in the greatest private collection in the empire, the T'ien I Ko 天一閣 of Ning-po. How far back this rule goes it is hard to say. The first notice appears in the *Tung chai ts'o yü* 東齋脞語, 2, of Wu I-feng 吳翌鳳, 1742-1819.<sup>28</sup> It is repeated in the preface to a catalogue of the collection, 天一閣見存書目, 1b, by Juan Wen-ta 阮文達, dated 1808.

The Chinese and Japanese were succumbing to tobacco at about the same time as occidentals were. The series of prohibitions around the Euro-Asiatic continent runs as follows: James I of England, 1604; the Bakufu, Japan, 1607, and the emperor in 1616;

<sup>26</sup> See *T'u shu chi ch'eng* 圖書集成 XXXI, 57/20b.

<sup>27</sup> See *Fan hsieh shan fang chi* 樊榭山房集, reprinted in Yao Ying, *Shih hsiao lu* 5/29a. Satow has translated the ode in his "Introduction of tobacco into Japan," *Tr. As. Soc. of Japan* 6 (1878), pt. 1, 73.

<sup>28</sup> In the *Chao tai ts'ung shu* 昭代叢書 81.

Sultan Ahmed I of Turkey, *ca.* 1611; Shah Abbas of Persia, sometime during the years 1587-1629; Jahangir, Mughul emperor of India, 1617; Christian IV of Denmark, in 1632; Gustavus II of Sweden, about the same year; Czar Mikhail Federovitch, 1634; the Viceroy of Sicily, in 1640; Pope Urban VIII, 1642; the Elector of Cologne, in 1649; the Elector of Wurttemberg, 1651; town councils in Switzerland, from 1653 on; Austria, Hungary, parts of France, and Bhutan after 1650.<sup>29</sup> The prohibitions all date roughly in the half century following King James' *Counter-bluste*. They were issued for a variety of reasons, and weak sinners were punished with varying degrees of severity, but the results were everywhere about the same. The Chinese and Manchu prohibitions of 1637 and later are all part of an almost world-wide animus on the part of certain members of the ruling class which in a few short decades wore itself out. Truly 四海之內皆兄弟 all within the four seas are brothers.

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<sup>29</sup> See Brooks, Jerome E., *Tobacco, its history illustrated by the books, manuscripts and engravings in the library of George Arents, Jr.* I, 1507-1615 (New York, 1937), *passim*. For Japanese prohibitions, see Hiraide 平出 and Fujioka 藤岡, *Nihon Fuzoku-shi* 日本風俗史 III, 154, and *Dokushi-biyo*, 讀史備要 364, compiled by the Bureau of Historiography of Tokyo Imperial University (Tokyo, 1933). For the prohibition in Bhutan, see Bell, Sir Charles, *The People of Tibet*, Oxford 1928, I, 242-3. The Secretary to Sir Charles, Mr. H. M. Lloyd Browne, has kindly informed me under date of October 4, 1938, that the *Lho-hi Chō-jung* (or History of Bhutan), in which the law prohibiting the importation, sale, and smoking of tobacco may be found, has never been printed. The first Dharma Raja, who enunciated this law, flourished in the latter half of the 17th century.

## SUPPLEMENT

Herewith are given the various expressions, used in Eastern Asia (the Philippines excluded), which approximate in sound the European word tobacco:

Source	Term	Pronunciation
Chinese:		
Yao Lü (Wan-li period)	淡巴菰	tan pa ku
Manchu edict, 1639	丹白桂	tan po kuei
Fang I-chih (d. 1667)	淡肉果	tan jo kuo
do.	淡把姑	tan pa ku
do.	擔不歸	tan pu kuei
Wang Shih-chen (1634-1711)	澹巴菰	tan (t'an) pa ku
Wakan Sansai Zue (citing two Chinese sources of the 17th century)	淡婆姑	tan p'ō ku
	淡芭菰	tan pa ku
Manchu		
edict, 1639	ᡳᡵᡠᡳᡤᡠ	dambagu
Korean		
Yi Ik 李翼 (b. 1629) <sup>30</sup>		tam bak ko
do.		tam pai
Cho Keuk-sun 趙克善 (1598-1658)		tam bak kwai
Japanese		
Ko-ji rui-en 古事類苑 (Tokyo, 1902) <sup>31</sup>	痰發粉	tan ba ko
do.	打破魂	da ba kon
do.	太婆古	ta ba ko
do.	太羽古	ta ba ko
do.	多波古	ta ba ko
do.	多葉粉	to ba ko
do.	丹波粉	tan ba ko
do.	答跋菰	to ba ko
Hayashi, Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657) <sup>32</sup>	佗波古	ta ba ko

<sup>30</sup> J. S. Gale, "History of the Korean People," *The Korean Mission Field*, July 1924-Sept. 1927, especially Dec. 1926, p. 257; and E. T., "Tobacco in Korea," *The Korea Magazine*, I (1917), 248-54. (Dr. Esson M. Gale informs me that E. T. was the nom de plume of J. S. Gale, standing for Esson Third.) Characters unfortunately are not always supplied.

<sup>31</sup> This Encyclopaedia of Antiquities was compiled by Hosakawa Zhun-zhirō 細川潤次郎 and others. The reference is to 12/542-3. I owe this reference to Dr. Shio Sakanishi of the Library of Congress.

<sup>32</sup> In his *Razan Bunshu* 羅山文集, preface dated 1661 by his third son Hayashi, Shunsai 春齋 (1618-1680). Cited in *Wakan Sansai Zue* 99/20b.

## ARAB GEOGRAPHERS ON KOREA

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ARABIA has long been known to the Koreans through the Chinese histories as "Tai Sik Kuk" or "Ta-shih."<sup>1</sup> But so far as we know there is no description of that land or of the Arabian people recorded by ancient Korean scholars. On the other hand certain Arab geographers ranging in time from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries give brief accounts of Korea: these form our subject.

During the early centuries of the Christian era three rival kingdoms are to be found occupying Korea: Paikchei in the west, Shilla in the east, and Kokuryu in the north, extending beyond the peninsula into the Manchurian country. Shilla maintained an alliance with China which enabled her in the eighth century to become the dominant state in the peninsula and, in the latter half of the same century, to unite the whole of it. Subject to fluctuations this unity was maintained until the tenth century; during this period Shilla continued to cultivate close relations with the T'ang dynasty of China, and freely absorbed Chinese cultural influences. The kingdom was finally overthrown in A. D. 935 by the resurgent Koryu power. From this dynasty, which lasted until 1392, the modern name "Korea" is derived: but the name "Shilla" persisted in general use as a designation for the whole country for several centuries after the end of the old kingdom of Shilla. It is this name which the Arab geographers always use, both before and after 935, under the form "al-Shila" or "Al-Sila."

Their reports begin in the middle of the ninth century. The account of Sulaymān the merchant of his travels in the Far East, written down in 851, ends as follows:<sup>2</sup>

On the sea side [of China] are the islands of al-Sila, whose inhabitants are white;<sup>3</sup> they send gifts to the lord of China and say that if they did not do so the heavens would not send them rain. None of our companions

<sup>1</sup> From Pahlawi "Tājik," modern Persian "Tāzi," meaning Arab—probably going back to Ar. "Ṭayyi," a North Arabian tribe.

<sup>2</sup> *Silsilat al-Tawārikh*; ed. Langlès and Fr. transl. J. T. Reinaud, both in *Relation des Voyages faits par les Arabes et des Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, etc. (Paris 1845); Book I. p. 59 of text, 60 of transl.

<sup>3</sup> يبيض — possibly in the sense of "pale."

has reached their country to bring back reports about them. They have white falcons.

Sulaymān's contemporary ibn-Khurdādhbih, a postal administrator of al-Jibāl in northern Iran, wrote as follows in the geographical work which he published in 846: <sup>4</sup>

At the furthest limit of China near Qānṣu are many mountains and many kings, and this is the land of al-Shila in which there is much gold. He who enters it of the Moslems settles in it because of its excellence. No one knows what is beyond it.

This statement is copied by the early tenth century geographer ibn-Rustah.<sup>5</sup> Al-Mas'ūdi writing in about 947 in *Murūj al-Dhahab* <sup>6</sup> evidently also follows ibn-Khurdādhbih in part:

Beyond China on the side of the sea there are no known kingdoms nor any country that has been described except the country of al-Sila and its islands. Foreigners from al-'Irāq or any other land who go there seldom depart, because of the health of its air, the softness of its water, the fertility of its soil, and the abundance of its resources. Its people are on good terms with the Chinese and their kings, to whom they send gifts almost ceaselessly. It is said that they are a part of the descendants of 'Āmūr who settled there in the same manner as we described the Chinese settling in their country.

Again in *al-Tanbih w-al-Ishrāf*, not long before 956, al-Mas'ūdi writes: <sup>7</sup>

The last inhabited country in the east is the furthest boundary of China, and al-Sila to where that country ends at the wall of Gog and Magog which Alexander built.

And again: <sup>8</sup>

The seventh nation is China and al-Sila and the adjoining abode of the descendants of 'Āmūr <sup>9</sup> son of Japhet son of Noah; these have a single king and a single language.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Masālik w-al-Mamālik*, ed. C. de Goeje (Leyden 1889), p. 70. Cf. p. 170.

<sup>5</sup> *Al-A'lāq al-Nafisah*, ed. de Goeje (Leyden 1891-2), p. 83.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. with Fr. transl. C. de Meynard and P. de Courteille (Paris 1861), Vol. I. p. 346.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. de Goeje (Leyden 1893-4), p. 26.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

<sup>9</sup> This 'Āmūr is presumably the biblical Gomer, first son of Japhet in Gen. x, 2.



No further description is found until the time of al-Qazwīni in the thirteenth century. This geographer's account<sup>10</sup> evidently follows al-Mas'ūdī in part; no less evident are the embroideries which have accumulated in the course of the centuries. Remote and little known, al-Shīla lent itself easily to description as an Earthly Paradise:

Shīla is a country at the furthest limit of China and of the utmost excellence. Afflictions of the body are unknown there because of the health of its air, the sweetness of its water and the excellence of its soil; its people are unequalled in handsomeness and freedom from disease. It is said that when the water is sprinkled in their houses it exhales the odour of ambergris. There are few plagues or diseases and few flies or lions; sick people from other countries are brought here and their sickness ceases. Muḥammad ibn-Zakariyā' al-Rāzi<sup>11</sup> said that whoever enters this land settles in it and does not depart, because of its excellence, its abundant resources, and its plentiful gold.

Lastly al-Maqrīzi (1364-1442) writes:<sup>12</sup>

At the side of this eastern sea beyond China there are six islands also, known as the islands of al-Sīla; some of the 'Alids who fled in fear for their lives in the early days of Islam came and settled here.

Such are the reports of Arab writers about al-Shīla or al-Sīla. The description of this place as "islands" in Sulaymān and al-Maqrīzi led Reinaud in the forties of the last century to identify it with Japan; but all the rest of the evidence points to Korea, as later scholars have generally recognized. In the first place, the Arabic name can hardly be anything but a transcription of the Korean "Shilla." Then the statements of ibn-Khurdādhbih, al-Mas'ūdī and al-Qazwīni give the impression that the country is joined to China by land. Ibn-Khurdādhbih's description, "near Qānṣu," is of little help because of its vagueness and because Qānṣu itself is difficult to locate exactly; but at least it is plain from his account<sup>13</sup> that his "Qānṣu" or "Qānṭu" is on the Chinese coast to the north of the Yangtse river, possibly as far north as the southern coast of the Shantung peninsula. The only question is

<sup>10</sup> *'Ajā'ib al-Makhlūqāt wa Gharā'ib al-Mawjūdāt*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen 1848), Pt. II. p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> The famous doctor al-Rāzi.

<sup>12</sup> *Al-Mawā'iz w-al-I'tibār fī Dhikr al-Khiṭaṭ w-al-Āthār*, ed. G. Wiet (Cairo 1911), p. 59.

<sup>13</sup> *Al-Masālik*, p. 69.

how al-Shīla came to be described in some of our sources as "islands." The answer may lie in the journey from the Shantung peninsula by which travellers would naturally approach Korea across the sea.

Korea is certainly a land of "many mountains," and has a temperate and healthy climate. The soil is generally fertile and the land well-watered. The belief of ibn-Khurdādhbih that there was much gold may be merely due to the fact that the country was remote and semi-legendary; but modern excavations have brought to light many gold crowns, gold trinkets, gold ear-rings and other objects in Kyungju, the ancient capital of Shilla.<sup>14</sup> The "many kings" of ibn-Khurdādhbih appears to contradict both the known facts and the statement of al-Mas'ūdi, but may perhaps be understood in the context as referring loosely to all the lands beyond Qānṣu, or to local chiefs. The close ties with China mentioned by Sulaymān and al-Mas'ūdi are characteristic of Shilla at this period: here we are on the most solid historical ground.

Of the Moslems in Korea several mentions are found in Korean histories. There are records<sup>15</sup> of Moslem merchants in the tenth century, Yaraza (al-Rāzi?), Hasen Laza (Ḥasan al-Rāzi?), and Burakah (Barakah?) and their associates, who came to Korea on different occasions with presents for the king; when they left, the king presented them with golden gifts. In the early eleventh century a certain Moslem named Minabo (Munabbi'?) became mayor in Pyengyang.<sup>16</sup> Finally it is recorded that at some date unknown Moslems came from a part of China called Yuan to Korea, and settled in one town, there remaining until the time of the Yi dynasty (after 1392). They wore their own type of clothing and headgear; and maintained their religion unchanged, building a mosque and observing the Moslem festivals.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> A. Eckardt, *History of Korean Art* (Leipzig 1929), Eng. transl. J. M. Kindersley (London 1929).

<sup>15</sup> *Chosen Yuksa* (Seoul 1932), No. 3, Vol. I, p. 222.

<sup>16</sup> *Idem.*, No. 3, Vol. V, p. 382.

<sup>17</sup> Yi Neung-Wha, *History of Korean Buddhism* (Seoul 1917), Vol. II p. 605.

## BRIEF COMMUNICATIONS

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### *A Note on the Etymology of the Word Checkmate*

BOTH THE Webster and the Oxford dictionaries derive the word *checkmate* ultimately from the Arabic *al-shāh māt*, meaning "the king died." There are several objections to this etymology.

1. Every single word connected with the game of chess in Arabic is either borrowed from the Persian and Arabicised or translated from the Persian into Arabic.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, all chess terms in Persian are native and not a single one is borrowed from the Arabic. As the term *shāh-māt* is used in both Persian and Arabic (in the latter sometimes the def. art. *al-* prefixed to *shāh*), we would expect the term to be a borrowing on the part of the Arabic and not vice versa.<sup>2</sup>

2. Furthermore, the *shāh* in chess is *not* killed and does *not* die. The game is terminated when the *shāh* is *pressed to a position from which he cannot escape*. This is in line with all the good traditions of chess playing and back of it the tradition of capturing the king in war rather than slaying him whenever this could be accomplished. Thus in Webster: "Checkmate. An exclamation by a player when he makes a move that puts the opponent's king in check from which there is no escape." And the word is used in this connotation outside the game of chess.

On the other hand, the Persian word *māt*, literally meaning "left (without a way to escape)," or "at a loss," or "perplexed"; hence "pressed" and "defeated," fits in quite satisfactorily. This use of the word *māt* in Persian is not confined to the game of

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<sup>1</sup> For example Ar. *bayāḍhaq* and *fil* are the Arabicised forms of Persian *piāde* and *pīl*; and *faras* the translation of Pers. *asb*, and so forth.

<sup>2</sup> N. Bland in his *Persian Chess*, London 1850, p. 55, says: "It is hardly probable that the Persians would have borrowed a foreign word to express one of the most familiar points in the game, for which they must have had a corresponding symbol in their own language, or might have easily arranged a more simple and intelligible expression." If *shāh-māt* actually meant "the king died," we would expect the Persian expression to be *shāh mord* and not such an unfamiliar expression as the Ar. *māta*.

chess, but is used on all occasions and usually means "surprised" or "at a loss."<sup>3</sup>

That it has nothing to do with the Ar. *māta* is further proved by the evidence in the older Persian manuscripts about chess, where the word used for "being checkmated" (*māt shodan* or *shāh-māt shodan*) is given as *dar-māndan*, *māndan* being the root of the word *māt*.<sup>4</sup>

3. Moreover, if the word *māt* in Persian is a loan word from Arabic, it must preserve some trace of its original meaning, "died." But the word in Persian is never associated with death and we should therefore look elsewhere for its etymology.

The correct etymology of the word *māt* was pointed out as long as two and a half centuries ago by the learned Oxford scholar, Thomas Hyde. In his *Mandragorias*<sup>5</sup> he doubted the popular etymology (from Ar. *māta*) and derived *māt* from the verb *māndan*.

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<sup>3</sup> M. Kazem Beg in *Journal Asiatique*, 1851, ii. 585, suggested that the word *māt* is of Turkish origin, basing his argument on the assumption that outside the game of chess the word *māt* is used with a Turkish auxiliary verb in the sense of "being surprised," while, he claimed, in Persian it is not used in this sense. He was of course mistaken and ignorant of the very frequent use of the term in Persian. Furthermore there is no Turkish element in the game of chess or its vocabulary.

<sup>4</sup> See Bland, *Pers. Chess*, p. 58. In the Ms. belonging to the Royal As. Soc. (Persian, no. 211), probably of the 16th century, containing a work on chess which probably goes to the 14th century (for the description of the Ms. consult H. J. R. Murray, *History of Chess*, Oxford 1913, p. 177, and Bland, pp. 2 *seq.*), the terms *shāh-mānd* and *mānd* are regularly used for *shāh-māt* and *māt*. Says Bland (p. 54) "The general tendency of authorities in Persian works is to confirm the opinion that *mānd* or *mānad*, and not *māt*, was originally used . . . It is remarkable that throughout the whole of the Persian treatise (referring to the above mentioned Ms.), the term *shāh-māt*, or *māt kardan*, is never once used, but that the expression for the King in that situation is, on every occasion, *shāh mānd*, and the same is also used in many other works." The verb *māndan*, "to remain" (cf. Avestan *mān-* in Barth. Altir. Wört. 1124) when prefixed with the prepositions *dar* or *vā*, and often without any prefix, means "to be perplexed," "to be at a loss," or "to be exhausted." *Shāh mānd* means "the king is at a loss" or "has exhausted his resources." *Māt* is the abbreviated form of *mānd*, and such abbreviated forms are not at all unusual. For other illustrations of such abbreviated forms consult the reference to Hyde's work in the following footnote.

<sup>5</sup> *Mandragorias seu Historia Shahiludii*, Oxford 1694, i, pp. 148-154. He also pointed out that the King in chess does not *die*.

This etymology was accepted by Gildemeister (in *ZDMG* 28. 696) and after him by Dozy in the *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* and by H. J. R. Murray. In his *History of Chess* <sup>6</sup> Murray says: "The old view of the pre-scientific philologists that *māt* was the Ar. verb *māta*, 'to die' — a view which began to be current at an early period in the life of Muslim chess — has been abandoned by modern scholars."

Undoubtedly what happened was this: the Arabs borrowed the game and its terminology from the Persians. The first element in the compound *shāh-māt* was already familiar to them, and to it they prefixed the def. art. *al-*; the second element was unfamiliar. They observed, however, that when the *shāh* was made *māt*, the game terminated. They naturally concluded that the *shāh* was *dead*, and by the familiar methods of popular etymology connected it with their own verb *māta*. Then through the Arabic the word was introduced into the European languages.

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*The History of the Tamil ɾ*

In *JAOS* 57. 411 f. Mr. Edwin H. Tuttle has expressed his reactions to my views on Tamil ɾ. I do not wish to start a controversy regarding the merits or otherwise of my views on this subject; but I desire to point out here, for the benefit of those readers who may be interested in Dravidian, certain facts (known to all students of this language-family) which disprove or undermine some of the theories propounded by Mr. Tuttle in the course of the aforesaid paper.

In paragraph 11 of his paper, Mr. Tuttle reconstructs a basic \**asan* "he" on the strength of what he regards as the "correspondence" of Kurukh *asan* to Tamil *avan* (there). This correspondence is illusory. The element *san* of Kurukh *a-san* "that side or direction" is a borrowing from foreign Santali, and not native Dravidian at all. For Santali *sen* "direction, side," with a low-front-narrow (or wide) *e*, see Bodding, *Materials for a Santali*

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<sup>6</sup> Page 159, footnote 1.

*Grammar*, II, p. 74; Bodding, *Santali Dictionary*, V, p. 253. Grignard too marks off *-san* in his *Oraon-English Dictionary*, p. 36.

Mr. Tuttle's proposition of an ancient Dravidian *\*asan* "he" thus crumbles to the ground.

Mr. Tuttle postulates a prehistoric "nominative ending" *uṇṭu* in para 10 and a "suffix" *uṇṭu* in para 13. *uṇṭu* or *uṇḍu* does *not* exist as a "nominative ending" or as a "suffix" in the Dravidian Sprachgut available today. If he has in mind the comparatively modern colloquial constructions like Tamil *ittalai-y-uṇḍu tarugirāyā?*, the form *uṇḍu* here is neither a "suffix" nor an "ending."

In para 13, Mr. Tuttle says that the origin of Tam. *oru* "becomes clear by comparison with the forms of 'two.'" That Mr. Tuttle himself is not sure of his position is abundantly clear from his former reconstructions *iraṇḍu* < *\*irunḍu* "two," *\*mutrā* "three," and his present suggestions *\*rāuṇṭu* "two" and *\*mūruṇṭu* "three." This shows on what slippery ground Mr. Tuttle is working.

In para 9 Mr. Tuttle says, "To my mind this development ["Tamil *l* becomes *R* in contact with *p, c, k*"] proves clearly that voiceless *r* was the ancient value of *R*." He explains further in para 15: "Evidently *l* became voiceless in contact with the voiceless sound, and then changed to voiceless *r* because the latter sound already existed in the language, for example as the derivative of *rs*: cp. Brāhūi voiceless *L* derived from *rs* (*JAOS* 56, 358)." Here are a number of unproved assumptions to justify a theory!

Mr. Tuttle admits that *ḷ* becomes *ṭ* when in contact with *p, c, k* as in Tam. *kēṭpēṇ*; what is there unreasonable in postulating a parallel change of *l* to an alveolar occlusive in Tam. *karpēṇ*?

In para 15 he says, "Tamil *val* or *valla* means 'strong'; *vallinam* is the class of strong sounds, that is, voiceless ones." Let me point out here that the Tam. division of sounds into *vallinam* (*k, c, p, t, r*), *mellinam* (*ṇ, ṇ̄, ṇ̄, ṇ̄, ṇ̄, m*), and *iḍaiyinam* (*y, r, l, ḷ, v, ḷ*) is based according to the grammatical tradition (dating back to at least a thousand years ago), not on the distinction between voiced sounds and voiceless ones, but on the effort (*muyarci*) involved in the process of phonation, with particular reference to the passage of air: in the production of the members of the *vallinam*, air is expelled strongly through the oral chamber during the process of

the forcible release of contact in the mouth; when the mellinam sounds are produced, air escapes through the nose, and the release of contact in the mouth follows it and is "soft"; and in the phonation of the idaiyinam sounds, air is allowed to pass through the oral chamber even while a certain degree of consonantal friction is entailed in the speech-organs of the mouth.

Apart from these, there are a few other data furnished by Tamil grammatical tradition, which one cannot lightly dismiss in estimating the value of the "strong *r*" of Tamil. (1). The ancient Tamil grammar Tolkāppiyam, Eḷuttu, describes the sound as being produced through the contact of the tip of the tongue with the mouth-roof, while the trill *r* is described as arising from the "rubbing" of the tongue-tip. The distinction is clearly brought out by the use of *orra* "being in contact, forming a stoppage" (in the case of the so-called "strong *r*" in sūtra 94), and of *varuḍa* "rubbing, oscillating with a slight friction" (in the case of the trill *r*, in sūtra 95). 2. The "strong *r*" is never an absolute consonantal final in Tamil, while the post-dental trill is (sūtra 78 of Eḷuttadigāram).

I admit, as I have already in my *History of the Alveolar Plosive*, that a number of points regarding the "strong *r*" remain obscure; but Mr. Tuttle's suggestions are hardly helpful in dispelling the obscurity.

In para 12 of his paper, Mr. Tuttle propounds a theory. "The stem *avaRR-* represents *\*awastr-* <*\*awastl-* <*\*awaskl-* <*\*awaskal*, and is thus a doublet of its variant *avaikal* <*\*awaskal*." I do not want to comment on the series of extraordinarily complicated phonetic stages postulated here; but I would like to draw attention to the fact that Mr. Tuttle's theory conflicts with what is revealed to us by the history of the evolution of the Tamil forms; the earliest Tamil known as Saṅgam Tamil shows only *avai* as the nominative and *avar-r-* as the inflexional stem; *avaigal* is a double plural form occurring only in the Middle Tamil stage.

Mr. Tuttle's theory that the Tamil *āydam* (which, let me observe here, had in the ancient stages a voiceless spirantal value depending on the stop following, but which later assumed a voiced glottal fricative value) is derived from an *\*s*, rests on Mr. Tuttle's unproved theory of an ancient Dravidian *\*s*.

In para 3 Mr. Tuttle observes that my use of the symbols *t'* and

*d'* for the alveolars and of *ñ* for the dental is a "criss-cross arrangement hard to keep in mind" and he makes a gratuitous guess that I have followed Chatterji in this respect. This standpoint arises from his ignorance of the fact that the spread-blade dental nasal has a phonemic individuality only in colloquial and literary Malayālam and in Old Tamil, while in most other Indian languages (both Dravidian and Indo-Aryan) what is described as a "dental *n*" is purely a point-nasal except when in contact with a dental plosive following. Hence arises the imperative necessity for a distinctive symbol to represent the phonemically different spread-blade dental of Malayālam, just as distinctive symbols are also necessary for the alveolar plosives. I admit that my improvisation of *ṭ*, *ḍ*, and *ñ* does offend symmetry; but I had to be content with these, as the symbols *ṭ*, *ḍ* (for the alveolar stops) and *ṇ* (for the homorganic alveolar nasal) are not available in Indian printing presses.

A propos of Mr. Tuttle's reference to Brugmann towards the end of para 1, I have to observe that no Indoeuropeanist worth the name would speculate on hypothetic forms, if the material available were only that supplied by a few spoken speeches like modern English and modern Armenian and by a classical language like Latin or Greek. To attempt, as Mr. Tuttle too often does, to dogmatise on prehistoric Dravidian bases through confrontations of sporadic modern forms of non-literary speeches like Kūi, Gōṇḍi, Kurukh, and Brāhūi with ancient forms of the south Indian literary speeches is, I venture to submit, the negation of all true linguistic methodology. The success that has attended the discussion of Indo-European linguistic origins is due to (i) the existence of a large amount of material, much of which has been historically worked out, and (ii) the availability of numerous and exact correspondences which yield regular rules of change, spontaneously as it were. These favourable circumstances do not obtain for Dravidian. The Dravidian speeches of central India and north India, which have presumably suffered considerable influence of foreign language-families, are non-literary and entirely lacking in any past speech-material that might enable us to trace the history of the widely divergent forms of these speeches. It would be most hazardous, therefore, to draw forcible conclusions from comparisons of isolated forms of these central Indian and north Indian speeches with



those of the south. Except where the equations are so numerous and obvious as to yield general rules, one cannot leap over a dark chronological gap of two millenia with impunity. Nothing better illustrates the hazardous nature of Mr. Tuttle's method than his dogmatism in regarding as native Dravidian a form like *Kurukh a-san* "that side or direction," which owes its *san* to foreign Santali.

Again, no Indo-Europeanist of reputation would today lay down postulates of complicated prehistoric changes. The object of comparative grammar is nothing more than "l'examen méthodique des coïncidences entre les langues attestées"; and sounds and forms are "starred" only as convenient signs "par lequel on exprime en abrégé ces correspondances." Speculative reconstructions or restitutions have been discredited in Indo-European long ago.

Finally, let me point out here that the term *Kēlan* used by Mr. Tuttle in para 1 does *not* denote the Malayālam language. Caldwell, the authority invoked by him to justify his meaning, adverts (*Comp. Grammar*, third edition, p. 17) only to *Kēraḷam* "the land of Kerala," and to *Kēlan* and *Kēlu*, which are personal names signifying "a native inhabitant of *Kēraḷa*."

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### *Conversion of Vikrama Samvat Dates*

The conversion of dates from the Vikrama Samvat (V. S. or V. E.) into the Christian Era is really very simple, yet it seems to present difficulties not only to Europeans, but even to Indians who apparently do not know that there is a V. S. beginning in Kārttika, as well as one beginning in Caitra, though the Kārttikādi V. S. is used in Bombay, Gujarat, and Kathiawar.

Errors in current writings by Europeans that have come under my observation are in connection with Jain dates in western India, where the Kārttikādi is concerned. The new year begins with the first day of the bright half of Kārttika, Kārttika Śukla Pratipadā. As the year is lunar, the corresponding month and day of the Christian Era vary considerably. The usual equation of Kārttika with October-November is somewhat misleading. V. S. Kārttikādi

1993 began November 15, 1936 and Kārttika ended with December 13 inclusive. V. S. 1994 began November 4, 1937 and V. S. 1995 will begin October 24, 1938. (These dates are from Indian almanacs.) Therefore, to convert the date one subtracts 57 up to the time of the New Year A. D. and 56 for the rest of the time. If the month of the V. S. year is unknown, obviously one can not be sure whether to subtract 56 or 57; but considering the proportion of about 10 months to about 2 months, it is safer to subtract 56 in such a case.

Prof. Winternitz gives 1089 A. D. as the year of Hemacandra's birth.<sup>1</sup> Now, the exact date of Hemacandra's birth, the full moon-day of Kārttika, V. S. 1145, is undisputed. This would, of course, be 1088 A. D.

In discussing<sup>2</sup> a date in the colophon of a Ms. of the Kalpasūtra Prof. Brown converts Divāli V. S. 1125 (*vikramasaṃvat 1125 dipamālādine*) into 1068 A. D. Divāli comes at the end of the old year (e. g. on October 22, 1938), not on a new moon-day, as Monier-Williams says.<sup>3</sup> Hence, Divāli of V. S. 1125 would be in 1069.

Prof. Barnett speaks of the V. S. beginning with "the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra according to the northern calendar; but it originally began with Kārttika."<sup>4</sup> He says nothing about the Kārttikādi calendar still being in widespread use. The V. S. Kārttikādi begins with the bright fortnight of Kārttika and each month begins with the bright fortnight. Hence it is śuklādi. The V. S. Caitrādi also begins with the bright fortnight (of Caitra), but the *months* begin with the dark fortnight. Hence it is kṛṣṇādi. V. S. 1995 Caitrādi began with the bright half of Caitra, which was April 1, 1938. But Caitra itself started with the kṛṣṇapakṣa, though this belonged to the end of the old year. The terms śuklādi and kṛṣṇādi are sometimes misinterpreted as applying to the year instead of the months.

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<sup>1</sup> History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, p. 482.

<sup>2</sup> JAOS 57. 118.

<sup>3</sup> In his Dictionary, s. v.

<sup>4</sup> Antiquities of India, p. 95.

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

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*The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible.* Edited by ELIHU GRANT. New Haven: AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, 1938. Pp. 245. \$2.00.

The volume before us aims to give an up-to-date account of the present status of studies dealing with the Near East and the Bible. An incidental purpose is to commemorate the interest in biblical studies which generations of Haverfordians have attested; it is not mere coincidence that of the nine contributors to this volume, four have been connected, at one time or another, with Haverford College.

The scope of the volume is best indicated by the list of abridged chapter headings: I. Syro-Palestinian Archaeology (W. F. Albright). II. Old Testament Studies (G. A. Barton). III. New Testament Studies (H. J. Cadbury). IV. History of Writing in the Near East (J. W. Flight). V. Anatolian and Hittite Studies (A. Goetze). VI. Mesopotamian Studies (T. J. Meek). VII. Arabian Studies (J. A. Montgomery). VIII. Egyptian Studies (J. A. Wilson). The volume closes with (IX) A Supplement illustrating ancient Babylonian Business, about 2000 B. C. (the Editor).

It is obvious that a single reviewer cannot be in a position to comment with equal authority on all the subjects surveyed in this volume. It is equally clear that in a book to which nine scholars have contributed, the respective contributions cannot all be alike in approach, treatment, or the degree of emphasis given to individual topics, quite apart from external inequalities caused by inherent differences in subject matter. This reviewer might point out a number of passages which in his opinion could bear improvement. But there is little to be gained from such "picking." The fact remains that the present *Symposium* is exceedingly valuable on the whole. We hope that it will be repeated periodically and at not too long intervals.

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*The Pottery of Palestine from the Earliest Times to the End of the Early Bronze Age.* By G. ERNEST WRIGHT. New Haven: AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH, 1937. Pp. ix + 106, with two tables and four plates. \$1.00.

Perhaps the most notable composite achievement of Near East archaeology in recent years is the extension of our knowledge of early civilizations up to the end of Neolithic times, and the consequent establishment of relative chronology to cover the long Chalcolithic period. The bulk of the stratified material required has come from Mesopotamia, with Tepe Gawra in the north and Warka/Uruk in the south furnishing the longest series of archaic levels. Egypt has given us numerous proto-historic deposits, but no single sustained vertical accumulation of archaic occupations. For the present, therefore, important links in the relative chronology of proto-historic Egypt must be founded on outside synchronisms. Of late, Palestine has been proving unusually productive of remains antedating the Early Bronze Age. The material is very extensive in that it takes us back well into Neolithic times. It is also diffuse, however, so that a guide to bring us down to the end of Early Bronze has to draw its support from a number of Palestinian centers. To provide such a synthesized guide is the principal task which Dr. Wright has set himself in the study before us. That he has attained his objective with marked success is a tribute to his industry, ingenuity, training, and a sound appreciation of the potentialities as well as limitations of comparative archaeological method. In short, the book will be an indispensable source of information and reference for all students of the subject.

A pioneering work is exposed to criticism in proportion to the amount of territory which it covers. But criticism in that case is merely an indication of the scope and originality of such an effort. The few observations which follow are made in just this spirit; and they do not convey the full importance of the book any more than they exhaust the number of debatable items which Dr. Wright has brought up.

The ample, and exceedingly valuable, documentation will not mislead many to believe that Wright's work rests entirely on mechanical correlations. A lively enthusiasm for his subject can be detected easily on a number of pages. It is inevitable that such

enthusiasm should lead to occasional mild excesses. A second thought might have caused the author to question the claim of the excavators of Jericho that pottery was invented on that site (p. 8); to hesitate before disproportionate stress was laid on such features as the thickening of a rim (e. g., p. 26); or to utilize with greater precision some of the sources cited (e. g., Ghassûl-Gawra VI, pp. 32-3; the problematical nature of this correlation is indicated plainly in *Excavations at Tepe Gawra* I. 174-5).

The author's main concern is with pottery, as the title indicates. But his two Tables at the end of the book present an attempt to synchronize related deposits. Such a synchronization has to be based on remains other than pottery alone, and Dr. Wright has failed to consider a very important criterion relevant to this particular purpose. I am referring to the technological level of metal work. We know now that proto-historic civilizations were by no means isolated; otherwise, the present book could not have been written. It follows that vital technological innovations could not be long in spreading over areas known to have been in contact with one another on independent grounds. Now metal technique is perhaps the most important criterion of proto-historic and early historic progress. The main divisions of the author's Tables (Chalcolithic, Early Bronze, with their several respective subdivisions) are an eloquent, though tacit, endorsement of this criterion. Yet the obvious consequence of the resulting correlations is ignored.

To give a specific illustration, the Ḫalâf period is now known from such well-stratified sites as Arpachiya, Gawra, and Chagar Bazar, not to mention Nineveh or Tell Ḫalâf itself. Conclusions based on the evidence from so many sites are therefore well established. With regard to the use of metals in the Ḫalâf age the evidence is very instructive. Definitely associated with this period are a copper bead from Chagar Bazar and a piece of lead from a late Ḫalâf deposit at Arpachiya. That is all.<sup>1</sup> The most that this meager evidence entitles us to construe is that Ḫalâf witnessed the beginning of the Chalcolithic age.

Wright, influenced by a definitely ambiguous correlation of Ghassûl and Ḫalâf, lists the latter culture after the Amratian, which in turn is post-Badarian. We know, however, that at Badari

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. E. L. Mallowan, *Chagar Bazar* 27; *Arpachiya* 103-4. The other metal objects from Arpachiya are assigned to the 'Obeid period.

copper was worked and that the technological level of that work is superior to the available Ḥalâf examples. It would follow that Ḥalâf is, at the latest, contemporary with Badari; it cannot possibly be post-Amratian. A technological and typological study of the earliest metal objects is urgently needed at this stage. The results of such a study should add considerably to the value of many current discussions, and improve even such a careful and methodical contribution as the present work.

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*The Excavations at Tall Chagar Bazar, and an Archaeological Survey of the Ḥabur Region, 1934-5.* By M. E. L. MALLOWAN. London: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1936. Pp. 59 + 29 plates. \$4.00.

The new material which has come to light in the Ḥabur region has completely altered our former estimate of conditions in Mesopotamia in the third millenium B. C., and has provided evidence for the existence in this region of peoples concerning whom there have heretofore been but the vaguest hints. It is now apparent that the Ḥabur region was open to various influences which were felt to a lesser extent in Sumer; these influences emanated from the East Highland zone, both preceding and following an interim period which marked the extension of the power of the Third Dynasty of Ur. This interim period is represented at Chagar Bazar only by a few vase types derived from Sumer, and the sequel is characterized by the incursion of a Highland group whose pottery shows a definite relationship to that of Nineveh 5 and Giyan. The date of the arrival of this people has now been established by a cache of tablets from early Level 1; the relation of the tablets to other evidences for the chronology of Western Asia in the third millenium has been pointed out by Albright in *BASOR* 69, p. 20 and note 8. The bulk of the painted ware is later than the tablets, and has been divided by the excavator into three phases: early intermediate, intermediate, and late, with concentration of the objects in the intermediate phase. This would place the pottery in the twentieth to eighteenth centuries, contemporary with Billa IV B and C, with which it has many features in common. It is interesting

to note that bowls which bear a family resemblance to those of Chagar Bazar 1 have been found at Tarsus and Judeideh (VIII?), and Tarsus has also produced a jar of Ḥabur shape but with Anatolian decoration. The lower limit of Level 1 is indicated by the complete absence of Hurrian ware; Albright (*AJA*, 1937, p. 500) has already noted that the sherd described by Mallowan as Hurrian belongs in reality to the caliciform ware of North Syria, in the last phase of which painted bands and wavy lines supplanted string-cutting and burnishing.

Ninevite 5 or Billa ware is represented at Chagar Bazar by the monochrome incised variant, the painted ware being for the most part degenerate. The handmade bowls in fig. 19, 5-8, designated by Mallowan as degenerate Ḥalâf ware, have now been satisfactorily explained by Speiser (*BASOR* 68, 7 ff.) in connection with similar pots from Gawra XII. This would indicate that the mound was not entirely deserted during the period represented by the gap between levels 5 and 6, during which the Ḥabur region as a whole seems not to have been settled.

With level 6 begins the Ḥalâf ware, mixed in levels 13-15 with Samarra as well as burnished sherds. As the position of Samarra ware at the end of Ḥalâf and contemporary with 'Obeid ware has been demonstrated by Speiser (*Asia*, September 1938), while the burnished wares belong to the earliest in Mesopotamia and Syria, there seems to exist some inconsistency in recording the finds. Incidentally, on p. 52 Pl. III, 8-10 should read 15 (possibly 14)-17.

The catalogue method used in describing the finds is to be commended, as it eliminates verbosity and makes it a simple matter to locate in the text the objects in the illustrations. The comparisons, however, are often superficial: the tripod bowls, fig. 10: 12, 15, cannot be related to those from Aḥmar and Ḥammam, which do, however, connect with a figurine found in a later campaign at Chagar Bazar. The Ḥammam ware as a whole cannot be considered a counterpart of Chagar Bazar 1 ware; for, like the solitary chalice fragment from Level 1, it belongs to the caliciform period, its latest phase, in which banded ware appears, probably overlapping the early level of Chagar Bazar 1, in which appear local survivors of the Third Dynasty of Ur, with which Ḥammam ware was contemporary.

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*Relief und Inschrift des Koenigs Dareios I am Felsen von Bagistan.*

VON FRIEDRICH WILHELM KÖNIG. Mit 2 Tafeln, 5 Skizzen und 1 Karte. Leiden: E. J. BRILL, 1938. xii + 97 pages.

König gives us an intensive study of the Darius sculptures and inscriptions on the Rock of Behistan. His first conclusion (p. 12) is that the sculptures are not cut from the rock itself, but are of a different material, carried up and inserted into the face of the cliff. Then, from the traces of frame-lines, from hints in the texts themselves, and from some other scattered arguments, he draws up (pp. 30-2) an elaborate schedule of the work, which he considers to have been begun about 519 B. C., and completed about 485. Thus this memorial was under construction through the entire reign of Darius.

If we did not have knowledge to the contrary, we should assume that a scholar who would undertake these tasks had examined the subject in situ; but no, König tells us frankly that he has worked from published accounts and descriptions, plates and photographs, examined under the microscope when this might be helpful. For my part, then, I feel distrustful of his results: notably as to the extreme duration of the construction. It has long been agreed that Column V of the OP text, and the relief of the Scythian Skunkha, were later additions; but how much later? A date ante quem non is given in V, lines 2-3, but unhappily the crucial characters have been destroyed. King and Thompson (*Sculptures and Insc. of Darius*, p. 79) give the text as

- (2) *ima* : *t[ya : ada]m : aku[navam : . . . ]<sup>t</sup>aiy<sup>a</sup> : a[ ++ ]*  
 (3) *m<sup>a</sup>c<sup>a</sup>* : [ + + + + + : ] *θardam* : [ . . . *pasāva* : *ya* ] *θā* : *xšāya-*  
 (4) *θiya* : [ *abavam* : ]

"This is what I did in the —th year after I became king." But what numeral is to be supplied? Or are there two numerals, since the *c<sup>a</sup>* at the start of line 3 looks as though a defectively written *-cā* "and" stood there? It is to be noted that there are several uncertainties in our data: KT do not tell us the length of the second gap in either line. I have therefore transcribed their dots faithfully in these two places, but in the other gaps have followed their statements of the probable number of characters, by using the same number of + - signs. KT state also that the traces of the first lost character in 3 are possibly those of *ç<sup>a</sup>* (*ç* = *θ<sup>r</sup>*: two hori-



zontals above two short verticals) or  $p^a$  (three horizontals above two short verticals); and that those of the first character in the second gap in 3 are the heads of three horizontals. Since this may begin  $p^a$ , possibly there is no gap between *θardam* and *pasāva*. Possibly also the second gap in 2 is to be filled with  $p^a$ , making *pa]tiy*. Now König (pp. 33-4) fills the remaining gaps *a[štā]mca* : [*visām* : ] “28th,” and this is the main support for his extended dating. The difficulties in accepting this text are serious. Both Avestan and Mod. Persian lead us to assume, for the OP form here needed, *aštamām* “8th” and *visastamām* “20th,” though Vedic Skt. has, as König states, *vimśa*- “20th.” There is also the problem of *-ca*: this must be *-cā* “and” (defectively written), but I do not accept the use of *-cā* on the prior only of the two words which it connects. The instances cited by Bartholomae in the AiW are very few, and not free from suspicion. Thus, despite König’s insistence on the correctness of his restoration, I cannot accept it, and with this goes his basis for the extended dating.

On the other hand, I am unable to make a satisfactory restoration of the passage myself. The restrictions laid down by KT’s description make it impossible, short of the assumption that KT misread or the engravers erred in the work. The restoration which seems to me most likely is that given by Tolman (*Cuneiform Supplement, autographed*, p. 39), based on reinterpretation of two of KT’s word-dividers as a horizontal hasta with a vertical hasta beneath its head: *duvi]tiyām* [ : *θarda*] *mcā* [ : ] *ç[itiyām* : ] *θardamc[ā* : *pasāva*, “during both the second year and the third year after,” without a preceding *patiy*.

The second part of the volume consists of a translation of the inscription into German (pp. 35-59), notes on words and passages (pp. 60-78), a brief chapter on the politico-religious background of the fourth column (pp. 79-83), another on the meter of the inscription (pp. 84-92), and indexes of topics and words (pp. 93-7). The translation is arranged in short lines of free verse, corresponding with the metrical units which König posits in the OP text. I therefore turn to these phenomena of meter.

In addition to certain alliterative formulas, notably in Col. IV (and none too frequent there, even including such dubious examples as 4. 38 *avam* : *ufrac̥tam* : *parsā*, where he counts *v f p* as an alliterative unit), he finds (pp. 87-9) that much of the text can be

arranged in groups of 8 syllables, a familiar unit in the Avesta, with an iambic rhythm. He finds another arrangement in the passages where a judicial sentence is pronounced: mixed trochaic and dactylic units, catalectic, with some explanatory material in prose. Thus he gives § 64 (4.67-9), the units being set off by vertical lines in my transcription: *tvām kā xšāyaθiyā | hyā aparām āhiy |* [now prose] *martiya hya draujana ahatiy hyavā zurakara ahatiy |* [now verse] *āvaiy mā dauštā biyā | úfraštādiy parsā.* In this there are some linguistic impossibilities. *Tuvam* is dissyllabic, and not *tvam*, as he takes it, for *tv* became *θw* in Iranian, as, e. g., in OP acc. *θuvām* = Skt. *tvām*. *Xšāyaθiya* has 3 syllables, being in pronunciation *xšāyaθya*, with Median *θy* = OP *šy* (written *šiy*), and not 4 as König here (and elsewhere) assumes. While he here rightly takes *āhy* as dissyllabic *āhiy*, he in the next two §§ of the OP makes *āhy* a monosyllable and *vaināhy* a dissyllable, both being impossible measurements. The same is to be said of his *pāribārāhdiš*, for *paribarāh<sup>a</sup>diš* 4.74, which is a conventional writing for *paribarāhy* + *diš* (-i is written -iy, but -i- is omitted after *h* in OP orthography) and represents the pronunciation *paribarāhidiš*; and of his *ufrāsatām* 4.38, of which he makes 4 syllables instead of the 3 belonging to *ufrāštam*.

Therefore, without denying the possibility of metrical units in the OP text, I am skeptical of König's interpretations, and pass to his notes on words and phrases (pp. 60-78). In numerous instances he finds Median terms; in others he seeks their primary meanings, which he uses as a basis for his translation. The question may be raised whether the primary meanings were still felt by the users of the words at the time of the inscription. Of such I take the phrase *avam : ubartam : parsā* "him well borne bear thou up," which König (p. 69) takes as from the idiom of house construction, where the wall or the column "bears" the crossbeam. *Vazra-ka* (p. 60) is he who holds the *vazra* or double ax. The name *Uvaja* is still three syllables for him (pp. 62-3, cf. p. 36, § 6), though the Susa inscription describing Darius's palace gives us *Ujaiy* "in Uja," that is, *Hūja*, whence modern *Huz*. For *agar*[++] 1.21 (Tolman's *agartā*), König (p. 65) proposes *āgr*[mata] "treubesorgt," to correspond with Akk. *pitqudu*. He is right (p. 65) in taking *yātā* not as "until," but as "so that" in 1.25 (§ 9), but he should do so also in 1.69 (§ 14). He derives

*hadugām* 5. 55, 57 "proclamation" (pp. 67-8) as borrowed from Hittite *halugu* "message," but Benveniste *BSLP* 30. 73 has a good IE etymology from (the cognates of) Skt. *sam* + root *duh*- "press, milk, express."

König makes a good point (pp. 70-1) on 1. 86 (§ 18), where we read "the army of Nidintu-Bel held the Tigris, there it halted; and *abiš nāviyā āha*." The usual interpretation of the last words is "thereby was a flotilla," but the Akk. and Elam. versions have "the river was full." König takes the OP as "the river was navigable," i. e., to be crossed only by boats; *abiš* is then in his opinion a miswriting for *āpiš*, cf. 1. 95-6. While accepting his view in principle, I should prefer to normalize *abiša* (abl. adv. like *avadaša*) "from opposite" and understand *Tigrā* from the preceding (or possibly an haplography for *a-ba-i-ša* : *a-pa-i-ša*?).

That the form *amānaya*, varying with *amāniya*, is from two roots *man*- "wait" and "think" (p. 72) seems to me very unlikely, as also that *citā* 2. 48, 63 means "thoughts." For *[ata]r* : *didām* : *frāhajam* 2. 78, König (p. 73) proposes *[upa]ra* : *didām* : *frāhajam* "up on the castle I flayed him," that is "flayed him and hung his skin (stuffed with straw) on the castle battlements." For *far-ha<sup>n</sup>j*- "flay" he cites NPers. *hänjīdān* "to pull, flay." I accept the interpretation, but not the emendation, since a preposition is needed and *upara* can be only an adjective. In 4. 6-7 *adamšim* : *ajanam* : *utā* : *IX* : *xšāyaθiyā* : *agarbāyam*, König (p. 76) regards the order of the clauses as reversed by error, and translates "I seized 9 kings and slew them"; but he does not explain the singular form *šim*—I refer to my remarks *JAOS* 35. 344-50. In 4. 44 he rejects (pp. 76-7) Tolman's *Auramazd[ām* : *upāva]rtaiy(aiy)* "I turn to, appeal to Ahuramazda" (with dittography; or is the form perhaps *upāvartiyaiy* with a *ya*-suffix?) and proposes, after the Elamite "Ahuramazda is my witness," *Auramazd[āmai* : *v]rtiyaiy*, connected with Skt. *vrata*- "vow," another evidence for which in Iranian he finds (p. 75) in the province-name *Harauvatiš*. But the latter is clearly the equivalent of Skt. *sarasvati*, the form *vrtiyaiy* is not explained, and I therefore reject both.

The normalized orthography used by König is very misleading; thus for *taumā*, *Dārayavauš*, *Gaubruva*, *arika*, he uses *tōmā*, *Dāre-jawōš*, *Gōbarwa*, *anrika*. For precision one must employ a strictly

uniform style, which can be at once turned back into the cuneiform. Even the word-dividers should be indicated, for clarity in connection with gaps. I have accordingly in this review changed all citations into the method which I employ, which agrees in all but minor details with the styles used by Schaefer, by Meillet and Benveniste, by Jackson, Tolman, and Gray.

Another unpleasant feature of the book is the excessive use of exclamation points to emphasize some statement of the author, which disagrees with the view of another scholar or points out another's (supposed) error. Thus pp. 8-16 have at least 15 such outbursts.

The volume is none the less an interesting study, and the points made in connection with Darius's political and ethico-religious views are worth serious consideration, as well as many of the comments on individual words and phrases.

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*What was the Original Gospel in Buddhism?* By MRS. RHYS DAVIDS. London: EPWORTH PRESS, 1938. Pp. 143.

This volume conveniently summarizes the conclusions Mrs. Rhys Davids has reached as to the nature of the "original" Buddhist teaching. The Buddhist scholar nowadays sees Buddhism in its setting, and no longer as though it were something entirely new and alien to the Indian Weltanschauung; it is largely the result of her work that Buddhism is now seen to have been far less heterodox than was once thought. And this is a great service. At the same time it provokes the curious reflection that the suspicious popularity of "Buddhism" in Europe has rested upon a very thorough misunderstanding of what Buddhism really was. The essential doctrines of Buddhism, like those of all orthodox traditions, are in radical opposition to our modern individualism.

Mrs. Rhys Davids now maintains, and I am in full agreement with her here, if not on many other points, that the Buddha never denied the *attā* (*ātman*), and that *attā* is primarily "spirit." It is because the spirit is Everyman's true being (*esse*) as distinguished from the accidents (*nāma-rūpa*, *saviññāna-kāya*, psycho-physical operation) of this being, that *ātman* in reflexive usage

acquires the secondary meaning of "self," and when the "higher self" is meant has been rendered by Self with the capital. This "Self" is unsatisfactory for two reasons, first because it leaves out the basic concept of spiration, and second because our notion of a "self" in any form does not exclude the psycho-physical ego which the *puthujana* naturally and the *natthika* deliberately identifies with "himself." Perhaps the only way to avoid these dilemmas is to retain "self" in reflexive usage, and to render by "spiritual essence" elsewhere, or simply by "spirit," assuming that it is understood that the spirit is our veritable being. It is hardly necessary, though sometimes convenient, to distinguish *my* spirit from *the* Spirit, since *jīvātman* = *paramātman*, just as "Whoever is joined unto the Lord, is one spirit" (I Cor. VI. 17). It would be a mistake to render *ātman* by "soul" in any context.

Mrs. Rhys Davids, then, renders (as I have done) the Buddha's last words by "Be ye such as have the spirit for their lamp and refuge" (*atta-dīpā, atta-saraṇā*), cf. Dh. 236 *So karohi dīpam attano*, "Make a lamp of the spirit" (not as translated, "for the spirit"), and Sn. 501 *ye attadīpā vicarante loke akimcanā*. It is when the "Eye in the world" has been quenched that the injunction *attadīpā viharatha* applies; the doctrine is indistinguishable from that of BU. IV. 3. 6 where when all other lights have gone out and the fires are quenched (*śāntayām*), it is the spirit by which one sees, etc. The equation *dīpa* = *attā* emerges again if we collate Mahāvagga I. 23 *attānaṃ gaveyyesātha* with Dh. 146 *andhakāreṇa onaddhā<sup>1</sup> padīpam na gavessatha?* Incidentally, Mrs. Rhys Davids' rendering of *gaveyyesātha* by "that you hunted for" is admirable; but "hunting for lost cattle," which she says "is a feature in Buddhist Suttas" is a "feature" throughout the Vedic tradition (e. g. RV. X. 46. 2: it is represented in Christianity by the doctrine of the *vestigium pedis*; Eckhart speaks of the soul as "following the spoor of her quarry, Christ"), and at this point it would have been helpful to point out that the very word for "Way" (*magga*: Dh. 298 has *gavesati* = *maggana*) derives from *mrg*, to "hunt," especially in the sense of "track." It is only from this point of view that the cult of the Buddha's footprints can be understood.

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<sup>1</sup> *Andhakāreṇa onaddhā*, "ye in the bonds of darkness," makes it certain that *padīpam* is "lamp." *Dīpa* as "island" (Dh. 25 and Sn. 1145) is not equated with *attā*.

The Buddhist denial of *attā* is always exclusive and never inclusive; the error of the *puṭhujana* consists in the delusion "that there is spiritual-essence in what-is-not-spirit" (*anattani . . . attā*, A. II. 52). It is always at the close of passages analysing the psycho-physical self that the expression recurs, *na me so attā*, "That is not my spiritual-essence" or *n' eso 'ham asmi n' etam me*, "That's not *me*, they're none of *mine*." The method is that of the *via remotionis* or *negativa*, so well-known in Christian contexts, where too "there are certain things which our intellect cannot behold . . . we cannot understand what they are except by denying things of them" (Dante), and "What He is not is clearer to us than what He is" (St. Thomas Aquinas), "He cannot be reached except by negations" (Nicolas of Cusa). It would be impossible for us to *understand* the nature of our own being: "Thou couldst not think the thinker of thinking, or know the knower of knowing" (BU. III. 4. 2); that can only be *erlebt* in knowledge—as (*jñāna*, etymologically and semantically "gnosis"), it cannot be known-of (*viññāna*) except "as if" (*yathā*). "God himself does not know what He is, because He is not any what" (Erivgena).

Man has two "selves," which may be at war with one another (S. I. 91-92 = BG. VI. 5-7), of which we speak when we say "'I' acted in spite of 'myself'" or "against my better nature," and which are the *anima* to be lost and *anima* to be saved of Luke XVII. 33, etc., which first *anima* (ψυχή, "soul") a man must *hate* "if he would be My disciple," Luke XIV. 26. In this sense "All scripture cries aloud for freedom from self" (Eckhart); *our* "unselfishness" being, of course, merely a symptom of this freedom, and not the liberty itself. The Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads abound in references to the two "selves." Mrs. Rhys Davids says (p. 40) "Only once have I found the distinction patently drawn where in the same Sutta (A. I. 249) we have 'Great Self' (*mahattā* = *mahātmā*) and 'little self' (*app'ātumo*)."<sup>1</sup> But the fundamental question of the Upaniṣads, "Which is most the self?" (*katama ātmā*, BU. IV. 3. 7), "Which one is it?" (*katama*, MU. II. 1) is certainly reflected in Sn. 508 "By which self (*ken'attanā*) does one attain the Brahma-world?" (Buddhism does not disdain to speak of the *summum bonum* thus nor even to make Brahmahood. The two selves are certainly clearly distinguished in Dh. 160 where a synonym of Buddhahood (S. III. 83-84 *brahma-bhūtā . . . buddhā*; *Itivuttaka* 57, *bhāvitattaññataram brahmabhūtaṃ tathāgatam bud-*

*dham*). The two selves are certainly clearly distinguished in Dh. 160 where "Self (spirit) is the Lord of self (ego)" (*attā hi attano nātho*);<sup>2</sup> and in S. I. 71-72 where *attā* is opposed to *attā* in the same way that S. I. 57 speaks of the childish as having "self as foe to self" (*amitten-eva-attanā*), while in Dh. 103 the man who conquers self (*jeyya attānam*) is certainly not the self that is conquered. The three last mentioned texts together are virtually identical with BG. VI. 5-6 where the spiritual-self (*ātman*) is the friend of one in whom the self-will (*ātman*) has been conquered (*jitaḥ*), but the enemy of-what-is-not-the-spirit (*anātmanaḥ* = Pali *anattano*). In the same way S. I. 169 *ajjhatam* (= *adhyātmikam*) *eva jalayāmi jotim . . . hadayaṃ jotitṭhānaṃ, joti attā sudanto*, "I kindle a flame within me, the heart the altar, the flame the dompted self" is nothing but the "internal Agnihotra" of ŚB. X. 5. 3. 3. and ŚAr. X.

The reinterpretation of Buddhist *attā* doctrine bears on the questions of "reincarnation" and *karma*. By "reincarnation" (a poor translation of Indian terms that mean "springing up again" or "continued becoming"), as distinguished from metempsychosis, transmigration, regeneration and resurrection, we mean always the belief in a rebirth on this earth, whether in a human or a lower form. The two doctrines are by no means inseparable. The doctrine of *karma* (essentially that everything done has an immediate or a delayed effect, and that nothing happens without a cause) is indistinguishable from the Christian doctrine of "mediate causes," without which, as St. Thomas Aquinas says, "the world would have been deprived of the perfection of causality," and in agreement with which are St. Augustine's words "the human body preexisted in the previous works in their causal virtues,"<sup>3</sup> identical with S. II. 65 "This body . . . should be regarded as the product of past works." The denial of essence to component things, which are not beings but operations, necessitates the view that

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<sup>2</sup> The same relation is involved wherever we meet with the expression *attānaṃ dameti* in any form, since it is impossible for one and the same substance to function in one and the same connection both as ruler and as ruled. This is commonly overlooked in our use of the words "self-control" and "self-rule."

<sup>3</sup> *Gen. ad lit.* VII. 24 as interpreted by St. Thomas Aquinas, *Sum. Theol.* I 91. 2 ad 4.

there is no *thing* that can pass over from one "habitation" (*nivāsa*) to another; nor does the repeated simile of the lighting of one lamp from another allow us to read into Buddhist doctrine any assertion of the transmission of an essence from one life to another: it is just as when one billiard ball strikes another, no thing, but only a directed motion is transmitted, the motion of the second ball is its "life," and this life has been transmitted, but it could not say "*I was the former ball*" (of which the "dead stop" corresponds to the *thānam* of Buddhist doctrine regarding the chain of births, and past which it is so difficult to go when one tries to follow back the sequence of former habitations). So far as I know, the only scholar who has pointed out that "Buddhists deny the transmigration (i. e. 'reincarnation') of a soul" is B. C. Law (see review of *Concepts of Buddhism* by Keith in *IHQ.* XIV. 182). Law in fact writes (p. 45) "the Buddhist freely entertains the popular belief in rebirth . . . (But) it goes without saying that the Buddhist thinker repudiates the notion of the passing of the ego from an embodiment to an embodiment."<sup>4</sup>

In other words, "we" both are and reap the consequences of what-has-been-done, but not as a consequence of what "we" have done. Mrs. Rhys Davids cites (p. 89) the question asked in S. II. 75 etc., "If deeds are done without a doer, that is, a self, who is it that experiences the results of them?" (John IX. 2, "Who did sin, this man or his parents, that he is born blind?")<sup>5</sup> and thinks it a very reasonable one. And so in a certain common sense it is. But the doctrine of causal origination (*paṭiccasamuppāda*) is "deep" (*gambhīro*, S. II. 92): deeper than the range of "common

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<sup>4</sup> But he is not correct in implying that the simile of the land-leech in BU. IV. 4. 3 refers to the passage of a soul from one body to another. The "land-leech" is the "deathless, bodiless Spirit" that "takes up its stand" in one body after another (CU. VIII. 12. 1). In the same way the *dehin* of BG. II. 22 is by no means a *psychic* substance but the Unborn Spirit "not come from anywhere nor become anyone" of the parallel text KU. II. 18, the *ātman* of BU. IV. 4. 13 *asmin saṃdehye gahane praviṣṭaḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> The remarkable answer attributed to the Christ, "Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents: but that the works of God should be made manifest in him" is in complete accord with JUB. I. 5. 2 and all traditional teaching. It is the Buddha's answer in S. II. 18-23, 75 and III. 103, etc., where it is neither true that one sows and himself reaps nor that one sows and another reaps.



sense." The Brahmanical doctrine of recurrent becoming is self-consistent and invariable from the Ṛg Veda to Śaṅkarācārya (whatever the contemporary or modern *pulhujana* may or may not have believed). It is a part of the transcendental Person (i. e. that part of infinite possibility that is a possibility of manifestation) that "becomes again here" (*iha punar abhavat*, RV. X. 90. 4): there is no other round-about-goer but the Lord (*neśvarād anyah saṁsāri*, Śaṅkara on Br. Sūtra I. 1. 5).<sup>6</sup> The reincarnation of the psycho-physical self, "myself" in the common sense, is progenitive (RV. VI. 70. 3 *pra prajābhīr jāyate*; JUB. III. 27. 17 *prajā me punas sambhūtīr me*; CU. III. 17. 5 *asoṣṭeti, punar utpādanam evāśya*).<sup>7</sup> It is also Brahmanical doctrine that this man So-and-So is not the doer of anything (JUB. I. 5. 2; BG. V. 8), nor is his being in a given way (Pali *itthatā*) his veritable *essence* (SB. I. 9. 3. 23, where the return to "oneself" when the rite is relinquished is to return "from the truth to the lie," *satyam* to *anrtam*). It is the Spirit alone, the Inner Man that sees, hears and acts within and through us (*ātmā . . . ato hi sarvāṇi karmāṇi uttiṣṭhanti*, BU. I. 6. 3): and this Spirit does not suffer the consequences of its acts, but only surveys them *yathābhūtam* as they are adventitiously, the product of mediate causes (*karma*): the spirit is impassible. The *arhat*, being "in the spirit," accordingly sees events, not as affects, but as effects. And if this were impossible, if the command to be

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<sup>6</sup> Among other texts might be cited also AV. X. 8. 13 *prajāpatīś carati garbhe* and Muṇḍ. Up. II. 2. 5-6 *ekam ātmānam . . . sa eṣo 'ntaś carate bahudhā jāyamānaḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> Among other pertinent texts may be cited AA. II. 5 where it is "himself" (*ātmānam eva*) that the father "makes become" (*adhibhāvayati*) in the mother, and this is called his "second birth" (*tad asya dvitīyam janma*). At the same time "that other self of his" (*so 'syāyam itara ātmā*) having done its work (*kṛtakṛtyaḥ* = Pali *katakkicco, kataṁ karāṇīyam*) enters into the Gale and departs (*praiti*) when its time comes, to be born again (*punar jāyate*), which is his "third birth": and Manu IX. 8, where the husband, entering into his wife, becomes an embryo, and is "thereupon born" (*iha jāyate*), the wife (*jāyā*) being so-called "because he is born again of her" (*yad asyām jāyate punaḥ*). What should be noted here is that that *punar janma* in which there is a reconstitution of psycho-physical character is not post mortem, but takes place while the man is still living. The "third birth" is not in this world, nor indeed, if he be really *kṛtakṛtyaḥ* (as is taken for granted), in any world; implying, not the rebirth of a "character," but a release from individuality.

"perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect" could not be obeyed, there could be no escape from pain and mortality<sup>8</sup> (as I would render *punar mṛtyu*). If for Mrs. Rhys Davids this is not even "remotely possible" (*Uddāna: Verses of Uplift*, p. xiii) this amounts to a denial of the goal to which the Buddhist and all traditional doctrine unwaveringly points, and deprives the texts of any but a "literary" value. If the Buddha had not in fact "overcome death" (*mārābhibhū*) how could he have opened the "Doors of the Deathless" (*amatassa dvārā*)?

And if all these doctrines (except, of course, the last in its specific application to "Gotama") are not only ancient Brahmanical doctrine, but have also been universally taught (as could easily be shown), how can we attribute their presence in the Pali canon to a "late monastic" perversion of "original gospel"? They are the inevitable corollaries of the *ātman* doctrine itself of which all the ramifications are implicit in RV. I. 115. 1. The Buddha in fact does not merely refrain from any denial of the *ātman*, but is himself the *ātman*; as is explicitly affirmed in UdA. 67 (*tathāgata* = *attā*), surely a "late" and "monastic" text. Incidentally, is it not perhaps high time to abandon the anti-monastic prejudice by which our reading of religious history is so often discolored? In any case, it must be admitted that the Buddhist, like the Christian scriptures, pierce "even unto the dividing asunder of soul and spirit" (Heb. IV. 12).

A consequence of our better understanding of the Buddhist doctrine of the Spirit will be the recognition of a much closer correspondence between Buddhism and Christianity than has hitherto been thought of. It must, however, also be realised (1) that almost all that Buddhism has in common with Christianity is of pre-Buddhist derivation, and that it is accordingly rather with the Vedic than the Buddhist tradition that Christianity should be compared by those who are interested in the historical problem, and (2) that the correspondence of Indian and Christian doctrine, however close, affords no proof of borrowing or influence on either side; as Sir

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<sup>8</sup> "If there were not this Unborn, Unbecome (*ajātam abhūtam*, cf. KU. II. 18 *na babbhūva kaścit, ajah*), Not-effected (*akātam*, cf. Muṇḍ. I. 2. 12 *nāsty akṛtaḥ kṛtena*), Incomposite (*asamkhatam*), there would be no way out of this world of birth, coming into being, effectation and composition" (Ud. 80).

Arthur Evans once remarked in another context, "The coincidences of tradition are beyond the scope of accident." It will also appear that those who are concerned for the survival of religion or of the *philosophia perennis* are defeating their own ends when they identify "religion" with this or that religion, or the *philosophia perennis*<sup>9</sup> with a particular philosophy. It is perfectly true that there cannot be more than one true or (in the proper sense of the word) catholic religious philosophy. It does not follow that any one religious philosophy must be branded as heretical from the standpoint of another; heresy, properly speaking, will be an opinion (*ditṭhi*)<sup>10</sup> contrary to the basic truth in which all are founded (as examples of such heresies might be cited pantheism, monophysitism, patripassianism, and the "asura doctrine" of CU. VIII. 8 that one's very self is seen in the flesh). At the same time there must be stylistic distinctions of one religion from another, for the simple reason that nothing can be known except in accordance with the mode of the knower, i. e. in a given way. And if all roads lead to the same goal, it is also true that we can hardly follow any one that does not start from somewhere in our own neighbourhood. In other words, a thorough knowledge of the Vedānta, Islam, or Buddhism may enable a man to better understand the Christian dogma, but need not by any means (or only with very rare exceptions) persuade the man who is already a Christian in some sense to become a Hindu, Muhammadan, or Buddhist, or vice-versa. Tolerance must not be confused with indifferentism; tolerance should be a consequence of the recognition of common truths expressed in various ways, indifferentism or latitudinarianism implies an indifference to error and puts the *philosophia perennis* on a level with any man's "opinions"

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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<sup>9</sup> "Perennis" cannot be thought apart from "universalis," i. e. "catholic."

<sup>10</sup> *Ditṭhi* (*dṛṣṭi*) as "private view" should be distinguished from *darsāna*, "point of view" in the sense of "angle or level of reference." Thus chemistry and physics would not be two *ditṭhis* but two *darsānas*, both equally "scientific." *Ditṭhis* may be incompatible; *darsānas* are complementary.

*Chinese Prose Literature of the T'ang Period.* By E. D. EDWARDS.  
London: PROBSTHAIN, 1937. 236 pages.

This is the first of two volumes devoted to a study of the *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*, consisting in Chinese of 144 *chüan*, an anthology of short prose works believed to have been produced during the T'ang period. There are introductory chapters dealing with the anthology, with prose composition, history, the arts, science, religion, and drama. The main body of the work consists of "Bibliographical and Biographical notes on, and Translations from, Books 1-85 of The *T'ang tai ts'ung shu*." There are European and Chinese bibliographies, a general index, a bibliographical index, and an index of proper names. Generous footnotes are provided, with Chinese characters. Dr. Edwards does not seem to know of the Harvard-Yenching series of indexes to the *ts'ung shu*.

The author's primary interest is in fiction, and it will probably be as a study of pre-Sung fiction that these volumes will have their greatest value. She acknowledges her indebtedness to the late Lu Hsün and other modern Chinese critics. Apparently she does not know that Lu Hsün was the pen name of Chou Shu-jen, whose correspondence was recently published in Shanghai, as well as a volume devoted to his memory. Although Vol. II will be devoted to fiction, a good deal of the translation in Vol. I might be classified under that head. Like the late Professor Giles, Dr. Edwards has a flair for interesting stories and anecdotes, and this makes the book fascinating reading—so much so, that one forgets the great amount of careful scholarship that has gone into the notes and biographies.

The chapter on the drama, based on Wang Kuo-wei, and to some extent on Arlington, is excellent. The other introductory chapters are not so good, and contain some imperfect generalizations. While the science of the *tsung shu* may be limited to medicine and agriculture, the T'ang period saw work done in other scientific fields, and Dr. Edwards' knowledge of the medical literature of the time is not exhaustive. The chapter on religion might better be entitled magic, and here the author might have known Feng and Shryock, "Black Magic in China" (*JAOS* 55. 1-30). In referring to the *fu*, or prose-poetry, she should have referred to Clark's *The Prose-Poetry of Su Tung-p'o* (Shanghai, 1935), which has a good historical section. While she commences her historical accounts very properly

with the Han or earlier, she does not seem to know the literature of the Six Dynasties period well, and this has led her into a few mis-statements. For example, she says that from the Han to the T'ang period, literature followed Han models; but the authors of the Three Kingdoms and Chin periods reacted against Han precedents. She does not mention the peculiar Six Dynasties style, and she does not realize that the rhythm and balance of prose sentences is not merely for elegance, but is also a great aid in punctuation and in understanding the meaning. The two bibliographies might be much fuller.

But even without the second volume, Dr. Edwards has produced a valuable work. Perhaps there might be less attention to amusing anecdotes, and more to serious compositions, although the reader would be sorry to miss any of the stories. The book will be essential to any course given in English on Chinese literature, and particularly Chinese fiction.

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*Studies in Early Chinese Culture*, First Series. By H. G. CREEL.  
Baltimore: WAVERLY PRESS, 1937. 266 pages, 1 plate.

This volume is No. 3 of the *Studies in Chinese and Related Civilizations*, published by the American Council of Learned Societies. The series is a memorial to the late C. J. Morse through Margaret W. Parker, who desired that the gift remain anonymous until after her own death.

The manuscript of this volume was prepared before Dr. Creel's more popular book, *The Birth of China* (New York, 1937), but delays in publication resulted in its later appearance. The present volume is more scholarly, and contains the basis for many of the generalizations in the popular work.

This book deals with broader generalizations resting upon detailed researches in pre-Chou culture, and while there is a wealth of detail given in the text and notes, such detail is taken from the intensive work of Black, Andersson, etc., as well as from a host of Chinese scholars. The author is particularly to be praised for his familiarity with the results of Chinese scholarship in his field, and for his use of it. There are also many references to European works, but here the author might have been a little fuller; the most noticeable absence is the lack of any reference to Maspero. While Dr. Creel

shows familiarity with the research in his field, his own contribution is primarily the correlation of the work of others and making of hypotheses based upon this correlation. These hypotheses are often original and brilliant, and in general show good commonsense. In particular, the reviewer agrees with the author's criticism of chronologies based on the *Bamboo Books*, of Karlgren's theories of phallic symbols and of the relation between the spoken and written language, and of the literature attributed to the Shang period.

In treating the Shang Sung section of the *Shih*, Dr. Creel might have mentioned that the Shang sacrifices, as well as the ancestral line, were continued in the state of Sung during the Chou period, so that it was natural to consider Sung as the representative of the Shang. He might have mentioned the bibliography of works on the oracle bones by Bounakoff (Leningrad, 1935). Sometimes Dr. Creel states hypotheses as if they were facts, as when (p. 41) he says, speaking of the Shang bones, "A literature of quite another sort existed alongside of them; it was written on perishable materials and has vanished." This is quite reasonable, but since such literature admittedly no longer exists, it ought not to be stated as a fact. While the author's critical methods are usually sound, it might be noticed that to assume, even on fairly good evidence, that certain terms—for example, *t'ien* and *wu hsing*—are late, and that their appearance proves a late origin, is a dangerous principle.

Dr. Creel wisely avoids a discussion of social organization, and says little about the origins of specific cultural traits. His general conclusions concerning the *Hsia* are sound, and his location of the *Hsia* and *Shang* cultures toward the east would support the position of Maspero, but he does not go so far as the latter in assigning the characteristic Chinese culture a southern origin. As a matter of fact, some of the Chinese cultural traits point to the north, some to the south, and Dr. Creel is to be commended for avoiding too sweeping generalizations. From the point of view of the ethnologists, there are many questions the author does not discuss, such as the non-use of milk and the relations of Chinese with other languages.

As a whole, the book may be described as a criticism of the theories of pre-Chou culture on the basis of recent archeology. It will be of great value, and will form a stepping-stone to the final reconstruction of early Chinese civilization. But necessarily the

book will be temporary, for Chinese archeology is only beginning, and when conditions permit of such work being resumed, much new light may be shed upon the past, which may require a reshaping of hypotheses. It might be wise, in future work, to look more carefully for analogies and relations both with the cultures of south-eastern Asia, and with those of north-eastern Siberia.

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*Seven Hundred Chinese Proverbs.* By HENRY H. HART. Stanford University: STANFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1937. 83 pages.

This is admittedly a popular book, "not written for Sinologists, nor for advanced students of the comparative proverb." Since Chinese characters are not given, no criticism is possible. The proverbs are classified, there is a good bibliography and an index, a foreword by the deputy consul of China in San Francisco, and an interesting essay on the proverb in Chinese life. The author has endeavored to avoid quotations from literature in his selection. The proverbs make interesting reading, and the book should be popular. Scholars should at least know that the book exists, for it could be used advantageously in courses on China of a general nature.

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*China at Work.* By RUDOLF P. HOMMEL. New York: DAY, 1937. 366 pages; profusely illustrated by photographs.

There is a growing, and a very healthy tendency, to discount works on the Far East by men who have not mastered the appropriate languages. But it is also true that the mastery of a language is not in itself enough for the investigation of a technical subject, and a man who has mastered such a technique, if he is willing to accept and acknowledge help, can sometimes produce fine work that would be impossible to the mere language student. This is well illustrated by Mr. Hommel's volume.

The late Dr. Henry C. Mercer founded a museum in Doylestown, Pa., which houses a collection of 25,000 tools. Mr. Hommel went to China under the direction of Dr. Mercer, for the purpose of investigating Chinese tools, handicrafts, and industrial processes.

He remained there for some time, and in all, spent eight years in the east. He does not pretend to have mastered the language, but consulted those who had. This volume is the result of his investigations, which were mainly in the Yangtse Valley as far as Hankow, and in Hunan, Shantung and Chihli provinces.

It is difficult to avoid speaking of this book without becoming too enthusiastic. There are five chapters, on tools for making tools, for procuring food, for making clothing, for providing shelter, and for enabling transport. Under the fourth are fifty sections. Each section is illustrated by Mr. Hommel's photographs. It is impossible to go into detail concerning the wealth of information that is offered, or the insight into Chinese material culture. But it will be enough to say that no library containing works on the Far East should be without this volume, while it will be invaluable to anyone who lectures upon Chinese culture.

It might be noticed that there are many western works on his subjects of which Mr. Hommel apparently has not heard, including Wittfogel's *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Chinas* (Leipzig, Vol. I, 1931), which seems to list them all. And where Mr. Hommel gives an historical sketch, he is naturally in the hands of his friends, and should not be relied on too implicitly. For example, he credits the tradition of the invention of gunpowder during the Three Kingdoms Period. However, artifacts offer an excellent opportunity for an investigation without language training, and this volume will be of great value to all who are interested in the development of civilization.

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*Chinese Women Yesterday and To-day.* By FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.  
Boston: HOUGHTON MIFFLIN, 1937. 324 pages; many illustrations.

This book is easily the best account of Chinese women in English. It is charmingly written, profusely illustrated with Chinese drawings, and contains many translations both of prose and poetry. While it is a popular book, it is founded on a scholarly background and a familiarity with Chinese custom. Mrs. MacNair has made a very effective contrast between the lives of modern Chinese women, such as the Sung sisters and Ch'iu Chin, and the Chinese women of older times. Among the latter she gives accounts of Pan Chao,



Pan Chieh-yü, Hua Mu-lan, Li Ch'ing-chao, and Kuan Fu-jen. The women Mrs. MacNair selects have received attention from western scholars, but no one has worked the material into one volume which compares and illustrates the old and the new cultures. The author is also to be thanked for her generous translations.

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*Vocabularies to the Intermediate Chinese Texts used at Harvard University.* By JAMES R. WARE. Cambridge: HARVARD-YENCHING INSTITUTE, 1937. 160 pages.

Dr. Ware has done a very careful and painstaking piece of work with this second volume of vocabularies. There is an excellent preface, including accounts of the texts to which the vocabularies refer, a good article on dictionaries, and a table of Chinese Rimes. The texts include passages from the *T'ung-chien chi shih pen-mo*, the *Tzu chih t'ung-chien*, the *Shih chi*, the *Tso chuan*, the *Kung-yang chuan*, and from Liang Ch'í-ch'ao and Hu Shih. There is a glossary, an index and a table of the 214 classifiers. There would be no point in trying to find minute flaws in such a work, and Dr. Ware will eventually find all such mistakes himself. The notes appear to have been made with great care and detail, and the whole volume is a very creditable piece of work.

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*Grammaire Laotienne.* By J.-J. HOSPITALIER. Paris: GEUTHNER, 1937. 270 pages.

M. Hospitalier is in charge of the instruction in the Laotian language in the École Nationale des Langues Orientales Vivantes, and is the author of an earlier work on Laotian writing, published in 1931. This grammar is divided into three parts. The first is concerned mainly with phonetic transcription and the analysis of sounds—vowels, consonants, and diphthongs. The second part is concerned with tones. These two sections appear to be very well done. The third part deals with words and phrases, and whether this is to be regarded as satisfactory will depend upon the point of view. M. Hospitalier simply fits Laotian into French grammar. There are sections on articles, nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs,

adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions, and interjections; there are passages on active and passive verbs, on transitive and intransitive verbs, on moods, on participles and auxiliaries. Without knowing anything of the language of Laos, one suspects that it can hardly fit so exactly into the categories of French grammar, and that what M. Hospitalier is really doing is showing how Laotian should be translated into French, rather than writing a grammar of that language.

It may be noticed that Laotian writing is alphabetic, and that there are words of two and more syllables. The linguistic connections appear to be with Siamese rather than with Annamese and Chinese. The author says nothing about infixes.

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*Beiträge zur mandjurischen Bibliographie und Literatur.* By WALTER FUCHS. Tokyo: DEUTSCHE GESELLSCHAFT FÜR NATUR- UND VÖLKERKUNDE OSTASIENS, 1936. 146 pages, 17 illustrations, 8 tables.

This is supplementary volume No. XIV to the "Mitteilungen" of this society. Herr Fuchs is a well-known scholar who has previously published work in this field (*Asia Major*, vol. vii, pp. 469-82). The earlier work of such scholars as Laufer, von Zach, Watanabe, Haenisch, Goodrich, Hauer, Naito, Giles, and Chinese authors like T'ao Hsiang and Hsieh Kuo-chen is considered. The reviewer was unable to find any reference to Tagoutchi's *Catalogue des livres de la Mandchourie et de la Mongolie qui existent à Dairen bibliothèque de Chemin de Fer Sud-Mandchourien*, Dairen, 1934. There are chapters on Manchu printing and translators before 1661, on old Manchurian documents, on catalogues of the Ch'ing dynasty, on Manchu-Chinese collections of special phrases, dictionaries, etc., on Manchu seal writing, and on Manchu biographies in Peking and Tokyo collections. The volume, although not large, contains a great mass of information which will be valuable to scholars working in Manchu.

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*A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms.* By W. E. SOOTHILL and L. HODOUS. London: KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER, 1937. 510 pages.

A work of this kind is always a collaboration, and in addition to the two scholars who appear as authors, Dr. Lionel Giles, Dr. F. W. Thomas, Dr. LeRoy C. Barret, and other scholars, are to be felicitated upon the publication of this volume. The only book in English remotely resembling it has been Eitel's old *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, which was out of print and hopelessly inadequate. The scholar has had *Hôbôgirin*. In addition to the actual dictionary, there are prefaces, lists of radicals, and of difficult characters, and indexes of Sanskrit and Pali with reference to the Chinese, and of non-Sanskrit (Tibetan etc.) terms.

The authors recognize that their work is not final, and publish in order to encourage the study of Chinese Buddhism. The Chinese words are given, then the Sanskrit where necessary, and the meaning in English. There do not appear to be any romanizations of the Chinese words. It would have been a great help if the Chinese could have been romanized both in its modern pronunciation, and in Karlgren's reconstruction of the ancient pronunciation. For instance, there is nothing in this dictionary to indicate why a word now pronounced *fo* or *fu* should have been used to transliterate the Sanskrit *budh*. Since many transliterations occur, this is a serious omission. An even worse one is the omission of exact references to sources, and it is not possible to tell in what passages a phrase occurs, or what the authority for a given definition is. How difficult this makes the work of a careful scholar may be shown by one or two instances.

*Shih* 識 is given as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *vijñāna*, and a long and confusing definition is quoted from Monier Williams. There is then a discussion of its use in the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra*. Nothing is said to indicate that there are other uses. Now Hamilton and La Vallée Poussin have shown that *shih* was used by Hsüan Tsang both for the Sanskrit *vijñāna* and for *vijñapti*. In the former case it would be translated "consciousness," and in the latter "representation." The usage of the *Laṅkāvatāra sūtra* would be very misleading if applied to the idealism of Vasubandhu.

*Hsin* 心 is defined as "mind, soul, the heart as the seat of thought." Six kinds of mind are given. But in the *Wei Shih*

philosophy, the word is also translated "general consciousness," including the five senses, and three other forms of consciousness.

*Shen* 身 is given as the equivalent of the Sanskrit *kāya*; *tanu*; *deha*. It is not said that Hsüan Tsang uses *shen* to translate *saṃtānas*.

In general the definitions in the dictionary appear to follow the *Laṅkāvatāra* and the *Lotus sūtras*. This would not be so bad if we could tell exactly what the authority for a given usage was. A western authority like Monier Williams is certainly not enough. As it is, this dictionary must be used with great care by any scholar desiring to be exact, and must be checked with *Hôbôgirin* and other sources.<sup>1</sup>

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*Two Lamaistic Pantheons.* Edited with introduction and indexes by WALTER EUGENE CLARK. Two volumes. Cambridge: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1937. Vol. I, xxiv + 169 pages; Vol. II, 314 pages, consisting entirely of illustrations.

These two beautifully prepared volumes are devoted to two Lamaistic Pantheons. Materials for the study of four such collections were presented to the Harvard College Library in 1928 by Baron A. von Staël-Holstein. One has been already fully described by Eugen Pander, and another has been used considerably by Grünwedel. The present volumes contain the material of the two remaining collections, one in a manuscript called the *Chu Fo P'u-sa Sheng Hsiang Tsan*, and the other a pantheon found in a Lama temple, the Pao-hsiang Lou, located in the Forbidden City.

The second of these volumes is devoted entirely to photographs; the first contains an introduction by Professor Clark, and Sanskrit, Tibetan, and Chinese indexes. In most cases the Chinese and Tibetan names were given, but the Sanskrit names are reconstructions, based chiefly on the Tibetan. The reviewer suggests that as Professor Clark is doubtful about some of these reconstructions, it might be possible to check them by giving the Chinese words the ancient phonetic values listed by Karlgren in his *Analytic Dictionary*. With regard to the Pao-hsiang Lou, it would probably be

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<sup>1</sup> The reviewer acknowledges his indebtedness to Prof. C. H. Hamilton for the use of his manuscript on the *Wei shih erh shih lun*.

found that the Peiping gazetteer would give a full account, and might shed light on the history of the statues.

Professor Clark has done a great amount of painstaking work, much of which must have been drudgery. The volumes are a credit to everyone concerned with them, and the illustrations are excellent.

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*Apostle of China: Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky.* By J. A.

MULLER. New York and Milwaukee: MOREHOUSE, 1937. 279 pages, 8 illustrations.

A word of explanation is needed for reviewing a popular biography of a missionary in a learned journal. The world of scholarship looks askance at missionaries and missionary literature, and the reviewer confesses that he shares this prejudice. There seems little place for real learning in the missionary world today, while missionary literature is nearly always propaganda which bears about the same relation to the real situation as an advertisement of an automobile does to the actual car. But it is well for both scholars and missionaries to realize that this has not always been so, and this excellent book by Dr. Muller is a good illustration.

Schereschewsky was born in Tauraggen, Lithuania, in 1831, a Jew, and died in Tokyo in 1906, a bishop of the Episcopal Church. Between these two dates lay a life full of interesting vicissitudes and amazing labors, the greater part of which were philological. In 1881 he was stricken with sunstroke while at Wuchang, China, and for the last twenty-five years of his life he was a hopeless cripple. During those years when he could not even walk alone he worked day after day at his typewriter, which he was obliged to operate with only one finger. Nine of those years he spent in America, in poverty, without assistance, and without a library, working on his translation of the Bible into Chinese.

Western orientalists are interested almost exclusively in making available to the west the cultural achievements of the east. But the development of cultural unity demands that the achievements of the west should be made available to the east, and to this task the missionaries have dedicated themselves. That modern missionaries do not recognize their need of philological discipline and training does not alter the fact that both scholars and missionaries

are engaged upon different aspects of the same task. Schereschewsky was a great missionary, and had he done nothing but found St. John's University, Shanghai, he would deserve a place in the history of the diffusion of culture. But he was also a great philologist, a master of many languages, and his greatest work was in translation from western sources into Chinese. Sinologists who speak of the ease with which Chinese may be acquired should consider his receipt for learning that language—nine hours a day for five years. Perhaps no westerner, not even Legge, ever acquired so complete a mastery of Chinese. Schereschewsky was a hero, not merely of the missionary enterprise, but of the world of scholarship.

While Dr. Muller's work is popular in the sense of being easily read, it is scholarly in the sense of being accurate, properly critical, and founded upon research. The story of his difficulties in securing material is a sad commentary both on the lack of historical sense of the modern Church, and on the neglect by scholarship of what is after all a great chapter in the history of culture, the modern expansion of Christianity. The book includes an index, and a list of Schereschewsky's publications.

Philadelphia.

J. K. SHRYOCK.

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## NOTES OF THE SOCIETY

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Since the last issue of the Journal went to press, the following have been elected to membership in the Society:

Rev. A. B. Bedikian	Mr. Daniel H. H. Ingalls
Prof. Floyd V. Filson	Mr. Owen Lattimore
Mr. Richard N. Frye	Miss Elizabeth Lindnueller
Major Fletcher Gardner	Mr. Edwin O. Reischauer
Dr. Bernhard Geiger	Dr. Gustav von Grunebaum
Rev. Prof. W. E. Griffiths	

Not all of those elected have as yet qualified for membership.

We have learned that Professor Jacob Wackernagel, honorary member of the Society since 1931, has died at Basle.

A membership committee consisting of Professor O. R. Sellers, chairman, and Professors C. C. McCown, H. Louis Ginsberg, James R. Ware, Z. S. Harris, C. H. Hamilton, and W. H. Dubberstein, has been appointed by the Executive Committee. Please bring to the attention of the chairman the names of any persons in your acquaintance who should be invited to join the Society.

The Program Committee, which is preparing the general framework of the sessions to be held in Baltimore, April 11-13, held a meeting recently at Philadelphia and is preparing a program with interesting features, including an address by Owen Lattimore, editor of *Pacific Affairs*, at the subscription dinner, and a symposium on The Beginnings of Civilization in the Ancient World.

The attention of members is called to the fact that four new monographs are being added to the American Oriental Series. For their titles, consult the rear cover of this issue. These volumes are available to members of the Society at special prices for one year from date of publication as follows: Volumes XII, XIV, \$1.50; Volumes XIII, XV, \$1.00.

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## NOTES OF OTHER SOCIETIES

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### FONDATION DE GOEJE

Depuis sa dernière communication le Conseil n'a pas subi de modifications; il est donc composé comme suit: MM. A. J. Wensinck, président; Tj. de Boer; J. L. Palache; Paul Scholten et C. C. Berg, secrétaire-trésorier.

La fondation vient de publier le texte arabe du *Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭār*, ouvrage traitant la géographie de l'Espagne au Moyen-âge, avec une introduction et une traduction française par M. E. Lévi-Provençal, de l'université d'Alger. Les exemplaires de ce beau livre sont en vente au prix de 15 florins. Le Conseil a accordé une subvention à la nouvelle édition de l'ouvrage géographique d'Ibn Ḥawḳal par M. J. H. Kramers.

Des onze publications antérieures de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation chez l'éditeur Brill, Leyde.

Leyde, November, 1938.

### INDIO STUDIES AT THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A department of Indic Studies was opened at the Library of Congress on November 16, 1938, with Dr. Horace I. Poleman as Director. The development of the department is being financed for an initial period by the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The first function will be to explore the existing Indic materials in the Library of Congress, and to coöperate with the several Divisions of the Library in filling the gaps. The range of interests covered by Indic Studies will be literature, language, history, philosophy, art, anthropology, economics, and in short all phases of human activity in ancient and modern India. The term "Indic" indicates not only India proper, but also all the outlying regions noticeably affected by Indian civilization, such as Tibet, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java, and others. The researches of the department will be available to other government bureaus and agencies, to libraries, scholars, journalists, and other duly interested institutions and individuals.

## LIST OF MEMBERS

The number placed after the address indicates the year of election.

List corrected to November 1, 1938.

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### HONORARY MEMBERS

- Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Rathfarnham, Camberley, Surrey, England. Corporate Member, 1889; Honorary, 1905.
- M. FRANÇOIS THUREAU-DANGIN, Membre de l'Institut de France, 11 Rue Garancière, Paris VI, France. 1918.
- Sir ARTHUR EVANS, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, England. 1919.
- Prof. V. SCHEIL, Membre de l'Institut de France, 4 bis Rue du Cherche-Midi, Paris, France. 1920.
- Prof. FREDERICK W. THOMAS, University of Oxford, Oxford, England, 1920.
- Prof. PAUL PELLIOU, 38 Rue de Varenne, Paris VII<sup>e</sup>, France. 1924.
- Sir JOHN MARSHALL, Kt., C.I.E., Litt.D., Avondale, Sydney Road, Guildford, Surrey, England. 1928.
- Sir FLINDERS PETRIE, Kt., D.C.L., University College, London, England. 1928.
- Sir AUREL STEIN, Litt.D., c/o Indian Institute, Oxford, England. 1928.
- Prof. WILHELM GEIGER, München-Neubiberg, Germany. 1929.
- Prof. CARL BROCKELMANN, Wettinerstrasse 15, Halle a/d Saale, Germany. 1931.
- Prof. HEINRICH LÜDERS, Sybelstrasse 19, Berlin-Charlottenburg, Germany. 1931.
- Prof. HENRI MASPÉRO, Collège de France, Paris, France. 1931.
- Prof. MASAHARU ANESAKI, 117 Hakusangoten, Tokyo, Japan. 1934.
- Prof. GEORG STEINDORFF, Prendelstrasse 2, Leipzig, Germany. 1934.
- Prof. D. GUSTAV DALMAN, Universität Greifswald, Greifswald, Germany. 1936.
- Prof. REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON, 12 Harvey Road, Cambridge, England. 1936.
- Prof. STEN KONOW, Ph.D., Kirkeveien 114 C, Oslo, Norway. 1937.
- Prof. DAVID SAMUEL MARGOLIOUTH, D.Litt., F.B.A., Romney, Boar's Hill, Oxford, England. 1937.
- Prof. HANNS OERTEL, Pienzenauerstrasse, München, Germany. Corporate member, 1890; Honorary, 1937.
- Prof. ALAN HENDERSON GARDINER, M.A., D.Litt., 9 Lansdowne Road, Holland Park, London W. 11, England. 1938.
- Prof. ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH, D.C.L., D.Litt., LL.D., 4 Crawford Road, Craigmillar Park, Edinburgh, Scotland. 1938.
- Dr. VISHNU SITARAM SUKTHANKAR, M.A., Ph.D., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona 4, India. 1938. Corporate member, 1921; Honorary, 1938.
- R. P. LOUIS HUGUES VINCENT, D.D., P. O. Box 178, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1938.



## HONORARY ASSOCIATES

- Hon. CHARLES R. CRANE, 655 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Pres. Emeritus FRANK J. GOODNOW, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.  
 Hon. CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of the United States, Washington, D. C. 1922.  
 Hon. HENRY MORGENTHAU, 417 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1921.  
 Hon. SAO-KE ALFRED SZE, Chinese Legation, Washington, D. C. 1922.

## CORPORATE MEMBERS

Names marked with \* are those of life members.

- Mr. MARCUS AARON, 5564 Aylesboro Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.  
 SHAIKH YASSIN AL BASHAYAN AL ABBASSI, Basrah, Iraq. 1937.  
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HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA, India House, Aldwych, London, W. C. 2, England. 1928.
- Prof. WILLIAM BANCROFT HILL, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. 1921.
- Dr. HERBERT W. HINES, 1112 S. Sixth St., Springfield, Ill. 1938.
- Prof. PHILIP K. HITT (Princeton University), 106 FitzRandolph Road, Princeton, N. J. 1915.
- Prof. LEWIS HODOUS (Hartford Seminary Foundation), 92 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn. 1919.
- Dr. FORREST R. HOLDCAMPER, 1630 R St., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1937.
- Mr. HOWARD C. HOLLIS, Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio. 1936.
- Prof. CLARK HOPKINS, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1931.
- Mrs. LYNN HAROLD HOUGH, Drew Forest, Madison, N. J. 1932.
- Prof. HARRY N. HOWARD, Ph.D., Dept. of History, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. 1938.
- Rev. QUENTIN K. Y. HUANG, American Church Mission, Nanchang, Kiangsi, China. 1927.
- Mr. PAUL E. HUFFMAN, 1948 W. North Ave., Baltimore, Md. 1936.
- Mr. GEORGE R. HUGHES, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Pres. EDWARD H. HUME, 464 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1909.
- Prof. ROBERT ERNEST HUME (Union Theol. Seminary), 606 West 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Dr. WILSON M. HUME, Y. M. C. A., Lahore, India. 1935.
- Dr. ARTHUR W. HUMMEL, Chinese Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1928.
- Dr. WILLIAM F. HUMMEL, 802 North Edgemont St., Los Angeles, Calif. 1932.
- \*Dr. ARCHER M. HUNTINGTON, 3 East 89th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- The Rt. Rev. D. T. HUNTINGTON, D.D., 281 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1933.
- Dr. H. PAGE HURD, 43 Hecker St., Newark, N. J. 1937.
- Prof. MARY INDA HUSSEY, Mt. Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass. 1901.
- Prof. J. PHILIP HYATT, Ph.D., Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1936.
- \*Mr. JAMES HAZEN HYDE, 67 Boulevard Lannes, Paris, France. 1909.
- \*Prof. HENRY HYVERNAT (Catholic Univ. of America), 3405 Twelfth St., N. E. (Brookland), Washington, D. C. 1889.
- Prof. YAMATO ICHIHASHI, Ph.D., 523 Salvatierra, Stanford University, Calif. 1937.
- Mr. DANIEL H. H. INGALLS, 19 Longfellow Road, Cambridge, Mass. 1939.
- Prof. W. A. IRWIN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1927.
- Dr. WITOLD JABLONSKI, Warszawa, Kazimierzowska 85, Poland. 1937.
- \*Mrs. A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, 600 West 116th St., New York, N. Y. 1912.
- Mr. MAURICE JACOBS, 225 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1937.
- Miss VIVIAN JACOBS, 295 Tremont Ave., Orange, N. J. 1938.

- Dr. THORKILD JACOBSEN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1938.
- Dr. HARALD W. JACOBSON, 5243 N. Christiana Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1935.
- Mr. HORACE H. F. JAYNE (Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum), Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, Pa. 1930.
- Rev. Prof. ARTHUR JEFFREY, Union Theological Seminary, Broadway at 120th St., New York, N. Y. 1923.
- Dr. DOROTHY CROSS JENSEN, Hunter College, Box 121, 2 Park Ave., New York, N. Y. 1935.
- \*Prof. JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. 1887.
- \*Dr. HELEN M. JOHNSON, Osceola, Missouri. 1921.
- Dr. JOTHAM JOHNSON, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa. 1935.
- Dr. OBED S. JOHNSON, 105 Vernon Court, Crawfordsville, Ind. 1930.
- Mrs. JEANNETTE HENKEL JOHNSON, Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis. 1928.
- Rev. SHERMAN E. JOHNSON, Ph.D., Nashotah House, Nashotah, Wis. (1935). 1938.
- Dr. WILLIAM C. JOHNSTONE, JR., George Washington University, Washington, D. C. 1937.
- Prof. S. L. JOSHI, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn. 1927.
- Mr. J. STILLSON JUDAH, JR., 1631 Walnut St., Berkeley, Calif. 1937.
- Dr. EDWARD J. JURJI, 60 Murray Place, Princeton, N. J. 1936.
- Dr. ALBERT E. KANE, LL.B., 630 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1934.
- ERVAD M. F. KANGA, F.C.I., F.R.Econs., Cusrov Bang. D-10, Colaba Causeway, Fort Bombay, India. 1938.
- Rev. Dr. CLARENCE E. KEISER, Lyon Station, Pa. 1913.
- Dr. CHARLES PENROSE KEITH, Litt.D., 5219 Germantown Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1929.
- Mr. CARL T. KELLER, 80 Federal St., Boston, Mass. 1928.
- Mr. ROBERT J. KELLOGG, 415 South Cedar St., Ottawa, Kans. 1926.
- Prof. FREDERICK T. KELLY (Univ. of Wisconsin), 2019 Monroe St., Madison, Wis. 1917.
- Mr. EASTON T. KELSEY, Department of State, Washington, D. C. 1930.
- Pres. JAMES A. KELSO, Western Theological Seminary, 731 Ridge Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1915.
- Prof. JAMES L. KELSO, D.D. (Pittsburgh-Xenia Theol. Seminary), 616 W. North Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1921.
- Rev. JOHN M. KELSO, Methodist Episcopal Church, Marshallton, Del. 1938.
- \*Prof. ELIZA H. KENDRICK, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass. 1896.
- Mr. GEORGE A. KENNEDY, 318 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1935.
- \*Prof. ROLAND G. KENT, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1910.
- Mr. J. A. KERNS, New York University, Washington Square, New York, N. Y. 1936.
- Mr. H. KEVORKIAN, 24 East 81st St., New York, N. Y. 1927.
- Mr. EUGENE KLEIN, 200 S. 13th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1920.

- Rev. WALTER C. KLEIN, Th.D., 1206 Green St., Norristown, Pa. 1932.
- Prof. CARL S. KNOPF (Univ. of Southern California), Box 33, 3551 University Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1929.
- Rev. Dr. RAYMOND C. KNOX, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1928.
- Mr. E. A. KRACKE, JR., 16 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. 1937.
- Prof. CARL H. KRAELING (Yale Univ.), 67 Ridgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1925.
- Prof. EMIL G. H. KRAELING (Union Theol. Seminary), 531 East 18th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1920.
- Prof. CHARLES F. KRAFT, Ph.D., McKendree College, Lebanon, Ill. 1934.
- Rabbi MARCUS KRAMER, LL.B., M.H.L., 343 High St., Pottstown, Pa. 1937.
- Dr. S. N. KRAMER, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1936.
- Mr. BERTRAM S. KRAUS, 1707 Preyer Road, Cleveland Heights, Cleveland, Ohio. 1937.
- Rev. Prof. T. W. KRETSCHMANN, Ph.D., Selinsgrove, Pa. 1937.
- Mr. HAROUTIUN KURDIAN, 1308 E. Douglas Ave., Wichita, Kans. 1934.
- Mr. H. M. G. LABATT-SIMON, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Dr. ERNEST R. LACHEMAN, 131 Grove St., Torrington, Conn. 1937.
- Mr. THOMAS E. LA FARGUE, 87 Howe St., New Haven, Conn. 1937.
- Mrs. SILVA LAKE, 522 Oakley Road, Haverford, Pa. 1937.
- Prof. JOHN L. LAMONTE, Ph.D., 2712 Digby Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1938.
- Mr. KENNETH PERRY LANDON, Trang, Siam. 1932.
- \*Prof. CHARLES ROCKWELL LANMAN (Harvard Univ.), 9 Farrar St., Cambridge, Mass. 1876.
- Mr. AMBROSE LANSING, Associate Curator, Egyptian Dept., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1921.
- Mr. EMMANUEL S. LARSEN, Room 2722, Navy Dept., Washington, D. C. 1935.
- Prof. KENNETH S. LATOURETTE, Yale Divinity School, 409 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 1917.
- Dr. BIMALA C. LAW, Ph.D., 43 Kailas Bose St., Calcutta, India. 1927.
- Mr. SIMON LAZARUS, c/o Prof. J. Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1921.
- Prof. SHAO CHANG LEE, University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1928.
- Mr. WILLIAM ROCKWELL LEETE, 383 Winthrop Ave., New Haven, Conn. 1937.
- Dr. SAMUEL H. LEGER, American Board Mission, Fen Yang Hsien, Shansi, China, 1937.
- Dr. KURT F. LEIDECKER, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy, N. Y. 1928.
- Dr. FREDERICK LENT, D.D., LL.D., 64 Munn Ave., East Orange, N. J. 1935.
- Prof. FERDINAND D. LESSING, Ph.D., 417 University Library, Berkeley, Calif. 1937.
- Miss IRENE LEWISOHN, 133 W. 11th St., New York, N. Y. 1936.
- Prof. JULIUS LEWY, 420 Kasota St., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1935.
- Prof. FANG-KUEI LI, Ph.D., Dept. of Oriental Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1937.

- Dr. ILSE LICHTENSTÄDTER, D.Phil. (Oxon.), 2153 78th St., Brooklyn, N. Y. 1938.
- Miss EDA W. LINDQUIST, Hotel Moody, Claremont, N. H. 1936.
- Dr. PAUL A. LINEBARGER, Dept. Political Science, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1937.
- Prof. ENNO LITTMAN, Ph.D., D.D. (Univ. of Tübingen), 50 Waldhäuserstr., Tübingen, Germany. 1927 (1902).
- Capt. MORRIS U. LIVELY, 1035 Bewick St., Fort Worth, Texas. 1931.
- Mrs. C. F. LO (*née* Earnshaw), Hua Chung University, Kweilin, Kwangsi Province, China. 1937.
- Rev. EDWIN CARLYLE LOBENSTINE, D.D., Room 5413, 49 West 49th St., New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Mr. JOHN ELLERTON LODGE, Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. 1922.
- Dr. FERN LONG, 1939 East 70th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1938.
- Prof. LINDSAY B. LONGACRE, 2273 S. Fillmore St., Denver, Colo. 1937.
- Dr. ALBERT P. LUDWIG, 1939 Berryman St., Berkeley St., Berkeley, Calif. 1937.
- Prof. HENRY LUDWIG FR. LUTZ, Ph.D., D.D. (Univ. of California), 1147 Spruce St., Berkeley, Calif. 1916.
- Prof. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER, Ph.D. (Univ. of Illinois), 808 S. Lincoln Ave., Urbana, Ill. 1917 (1909).
- Dr. D. WILLARD LYON, D.D., 220 W. 12th St., Claremont, Calif. 1937.
- Prof. WILLIAM H. MCCLELLAN, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1922.
- Mr. HARDIN T. MCCLELLAND (School of Chinese Studies), 6202 Carleton Ave., Seattle, Wash. 1937.
- Prof. CHESTER CHARLTON McCOWN, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif. 1920.
- Mr. DONALD E. McCOWN, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1934.
- Mr. WILLIAM S. McCULLOUGH, University College, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1935.
- \*Prof. DUNCAN B. MACDONALD, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. 1893.
- Prof. W. M. MCGOVERN, Ph.D., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1928.
- Rev. WALLACE H. McLAUGHLIN, Concordia Seminary, Hankow, China. 1936.
- Dr. HUGH BAILLIE MACLEAN, Th. D., Strathyre, 10 Coniston Springs Ave., Edinburgh, Scotland. 1937.
- Mr. J. ARTHUR MACLEAN, 2310 Glenwood Ave., Toledo, Ohio. 1922.
- Prof. HARLEY F. MACNAIR, Ph.D., Litt.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1929.
- Rev. ALLAN A. MACRAE, 1205 Delaware Ave., Wilmington, Del. 1931.
- Dr. DAVID I. MACHT, M.D., 3420 Auchentoroly Terrace, Baltimore, Md. 1937.

- Mrs. RUTH S. (Mrs. W. M.) MACKENSEN, B.D., 5755 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1938.
- \*Prof. HERBERT W. MAGOUN, 89 Hillcrest Road, Belmont, Mass. 1887.
- Prof. WALTER ARTHUR MAIER, Ph.D., Litt.D. (Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 801 DeMun Ave., St. Louis, Mo. 1917.
- Mr. WALTER H. MALLORY, Executive Director, Council on Foreign Relations, 45 East 65th St., New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Dr. DAVID G. MANDELBAUM, 3007 Gummison St., Chicago, Ill. 1938.
- \*Rev. Prof. JAMES CAMPBELL MANRY, Forman College, Lahore, India. 1921.
- Prof. A. V. MARAKUEFF, 23 Kitaiskaya St., Vladivostock, USSR. 1934.
- Prof. RALPH MARCUS, Ph.D., 533 W. 112th St., New York, N. Y. 1920.
- Rabbi ELIAS MARGOLIS, Ph.D., 16 Glen Ave., Mount Vernon, N. Y. 1924.
- Dr. JAMES P. MARSH, M.D., 12 Whitman Court, Troy, N. Y. 1919.
- Mr. THOMAS E. MARSTON, Etterby Farm, Cornwall, Conn. 1931.
- Mr. RICHARD A. MARTIN, Field Museum, Chicago, Ill. 1936.
- Prof. ALEXANDER MARX, Jewish Theological Seminary, Broadway and 122nd St., New York, N. Y. 1926.
- Rev. WILLIAM ARNOT MATHER, D.D., Presbyterian Mission, Paoting, Hopei, China. 1938.
- Prof. CHARLES D. MATTHEWS, Ph.D., Birmingham-Southern College, Birmingham, Ala. 1934 (1928).
- Prof. ISAAC G. MATTHEWS, Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa. 1921 (1906).
- Dr. LEWIS ADAMS MAVERICK, Univ. of California at Los Angeles, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 1937.
- Prof. HERBERT GORDON MAY, Ph.D., Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio. 1935.
- Rabbi HARRY H. MAYER, 3512 Kenwood Ave., Kansas City, Mo. 1921.
- Prof. L. A. MAYER, Ph.D., Hebrew University, P. O. Box 613, Jerusalem, Palestine. 1935.
- Prof. THEOPHILE J. MEEK, Ph.D., F.R.S.A., University of Toronto, Toronto, Ont., Canada. 1917.
- Mrs. W. S. MEEK, 2424 N. Marshall St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1937.
- Dr. I. MENDELSON, Columbia University Library, Box 1, New York, N. Y. 1935.
- Rev. JAMES M. MENZIES, Cheeloo University, Tsinan, Shantung, China. 1930.
- Prof. SAMUEL A. B. MERCER, Grafton, Mass. 1912.
- Mr. CARL A. MEREY, Denver Art Museum, 473 City and County Bldg., Denver, Colo. 1937.
- Mrs. BESSIE C. MERRILL, 4 Bryant St., Cambridge, Mass. 1932.
- Mrs. EUGENE MEYER, 1624 Crescent Place, N. W., Washington, D. C. 1916.
- Miss LESLA MICHEL, 1521 Spruce St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1936.
- Mr. JOSEPH LUDWIG MIHELIC, 5800 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1936.
- Dr. GEORGE C. MILES, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1938.

- Mr. GANTT W. MILLER, JR., 42 Horatio St., New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Mr. MERTON L. MILLER, 440 Toyopa Drive, Pacific Palisades, Calif. 1921.
- Mrs. PHILIP MILLER (*née* LOWDEN), 5801 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Mr. YUTAKA MINAKUCHI, Peacham, Vt. 1937.
- Prof. JAMES A. MONTGOMERY, Ph.D., S.T.D. (Univ. of Pennsylvania), 6806 Greene St., Philadelphia, Pa. 1903.
- Dr. ROBERT N. MONTGOMERY, D.D., Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio. 1936.
- Prof. CHARLES A. MOORE, Ph. D., University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1937.
- Mrs. WILLIAM H. MOORE, 4 E. 54th St., New York, N. Y. 1933.
- Prof. WILLIAM J. MOORE, 5775 North Tacoma Ave., Indianapolis, Ind. 1938.
- Dr. HUGH ANDERSON MORAN, Barnes Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. 1937.
- Pres. JULIAN MORGENSTERN (Hebrew Union College), 8 Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio. 1915.
- Mr. EDGAR M. MORSMAN, JR., 518 S. 38th St., Omaha, Nebr. 1937.
- Rev. RALPH MORTENSEN, Ph.D., Lutheran Board of Publication, 23 Liang Yi St., Hankow, China. 1928.
- Prof. JAMES MUILENBURG, Ph.D., Pacific School of Religion, 1798 Scenic Ave., Berkeley, Calif. 1938.
- Prof. VALENTIN K. MÜLLER, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1931.
- Mr. JOHN KNOX MUSGRAVE, JR., 350 Parkway Drive, Pittsburgh 16, Pa. 1937.
- Prof. EDWARD DELOS MYERS, Ph.D., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. 1938.
- Prof. TOYOZO W. NAKARI, Ph.D., Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind. 1926.
- Dr. MENDI K. NAKOSTEEN, University of Denver, Denver, Colo. 1936.
- Mr. EDWARD I. NATHAN, American Consulate, Roma y Bruselas, Monterrey, Mexico. 1928.
- Prof. HAROLD H. NELSON (Univ. of Chicago), Chicago House, Luxor, Egypt. 1928.
- Mr. EDWARD THEODORE NEWELL, American Numismatic Society, 156th St. and Broadway, New York, N. Y. 1914.
- Prof. ABRAHAM A. NEWMAN, D.H.L., 2319 N. Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1937.
- Dr. WILLIAM L. NEWTON, S.S.D., 1227 Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. 1937.
- Mr. HORACE J. NICKELS, 5315 Drexel Ave. S., Chicago, Ill. 1932.
- Dr. CHARLES F. NIMS, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Mr. HALVERN LAMAR NORRIS, c/o Dept. of State, Washington, D. C. 1935.
- Prof. JULIAN J. OBERMANN, Ph.D., 322 Hall of Graduate Studies, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. 1933.
- \*Dr. CHARLES J. OGDEN, 435 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. 1906.

- Prof. ALBERT TEN EYCK OLMSTEAD, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1909.
- Miss CLETA M. OLMSTEAD, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. 1936.
- Rev. RAYMOND M. O'PRAY, S.J., Woodstock College, Woodstock, Md. 1936.
- Prof. JOHN E. ORCHARD, Ph.D., School of Business, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Dr. HARRY M. ORLINSKY, Ph.D., c/o 1201 Eutaw Place, Baltimore, Md. 1934.
- Miss SUSAN W. ORVIS, Theological Quadrangle, Oberlin, Ohio. 1936.
- Prof. CHARLES A. OWEN, 330 N. 5th St., Monmouth, Ill. 1921.
- Mr. ROBERT TREAT PAINE, JR., 16 Ash St., Cambridge, Mass. 1935.
- Dr. RICHARD A. PARKER, 7308 S. Park Ave., Chicago, Ill. 1937.
- Dr. ELEANOR PARRY, M.D., Peabody House, 357 Charles St., Boston, Mass. 1931.
- Mr. ROBERT LEET PATTERSON, 1703 Oliver Bldg., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1920.
- Pres. CHARLES T. PAUL, 108 Kenyon St., Hartford, Conn. 1920.
- Mr. WALLACE CRAWFORD PAUL, 46 Grove Place, East Orange, N. J. 1937.
- Mr. ANTHONY F. PAURA, 302 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y. 1929.
- Prof. CYRUS H. PEAKE, Ph.D., Dept. of Chinese, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1930.
- Rabbi MAURICE B. PEKARSKY, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1937.
- Mr. FREELAND F. PENNEY, c/o Rabenold, Scribner, and Miller, 20 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y. 1931.
- Miss ANN LOUISE PERKINS, 195 Akenside Road, Riverside, Ill. 1936.
- Mr. P. D. PERKINS, Sanka Kansha, Kyoto, Japan. 1934.
- Dr. ARNOLD PESKIND, 2409 East 55th St., Cleveland, Ohio. 1920.
- Rev. THEODORE C. PETERSEN, 415 W. 59th St., New York, N. Y. 1924.
- Prof. WALTER PETERSEN, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1909.
- Pres. WILLIAM B. PETTUS, D.Ped., College of Chinese Studies, Peiping, China. 1937.
- Prof. ROBERT HENRY PFEIFFER (Harvard Univ.), 57 Francis Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 1920.
- Prof. DRYDEN L. PHELPS, Union University, Chengtu, Szechuan Prov., W. China. 1929.
- Mr. SOUTHWICK PHELPS, 311 E. 72nd St., New York, N. Y. 1937.
- \*Rev. Prof. DAVID PHILIPSON, 270 McGregor Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio. 1889.
- Hon. WILLIAM PHILLIPS, North Beverly, Mass. 1917.
- Rev. Dr. Z. B. T. PHILLIPS, Church of the Epiphany, Washington, D. C. 1923.
- Prof. MALCOLM PITT, 85 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn. 1937.
- \*Mr. JAMES MARSHALL PLUMER, Institute of Fine Arts, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1937.
- Prof. ARNO POEBEL, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1931.
- Dr. HORACE I. POLEMAN, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1931.
- Mr. JOHN A. POPE, 1818 Ford Bldg., Detroit, Mich. 1936.



- Prof. WILLIAM POPPER (Univ. of California), 529 The Alameda, Berkeley, Calif. 1897.
- Prof. LUCIUS C. PORTER, L.H.D., D.D., Yenching University, Peiping, China. 1923.
- Pres. F. L. HAWKS POTT, D.D., St. John's University, Shanghai, China. 1937.
- Dr. ERNEST BATSON PRICE, International House, 1414 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill. 1937.
- \*Prof. IRA M. PRICE, Ph.D., LL.D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1887.
- Mr. ALAN PRIEST, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, N. Y. 1934.
- \*Hon. JOHN DYNELEY PRINCE, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1888.
- Prof. EARL H. PRITCHARD, D.Phil. (Oxon.), c/o Dept. of Chinese, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 1937.
- Rev. JAMES B. PRITCHARD, D.D., 22 West Cheltenham Road, Parkside, Chester, Pa. 1938.
- Dr. J. PRUSEK, Oriental Institute, Prague III, 347, Czechoslovakia. 1937.
- Rev. Dr. A. H. PRUSSNER, c/o Methodist Mission, Medan, Sumatra. 1920.
- Dr. PIERRE M. PUVES, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1935.
- Prof. CHARLES LYNN PYATT, College of the Bible, Lexington, Ky. 1921 (1917).
- Dr. ISAAC RABINOWITZ, 220 South Thayer St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1937.
- Prof. HERMANN RANKE, Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. 1938.
- Mr. CARL R. RASWAN, 1931 La Solana Drive, Altadena, Calif. 1937.
- Prof. JOHN H. RAVEN (New Brunswick Theol. Seminary), Bishop Place, New Brunswick, N. J. 1920.
- Prof. HARRY B. REED (Northwestern Lutheran Theol. Seminary), 960 19th Ave., N. E., Minneapolis, Minn. 1921.
- Prof. NATHANIEL JULIUS REICH, Ph.D., P. O. Box 337, Philadelphia, Pa. 1923.
- Dr. JOHN GILBERT REID, Washington Hotel, Pullman, Wash. 1938.
- Mr. RALPH W. E. REID, Office of the President, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. 1937.
- Prof. JOSEPH REIDER, Ph.D., Dropsie College, Philadelphia, Pa. 1913.
- Prof. AUGUST KARL REISCHAUER, Tokyo Joshi Daigaku, Iogimachi, Tokyo-fu, Japan. 1920.
- Mr. EDWIN O. REISCHAUER, 17 Boylston Hall, Cambridge, Mass. 1939.
- Mrs. JEAN REISCHAUER, 601 W. 115th St., New York, N. Y. 1938.
- Mrs. DIANA J. REISMAN, Ph.D., 3425 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia, Pa. 1935.
- Dr. KARL REUNING, 47 Amherst Ave., Swarthmore, Pa. 1937.
- Prof. V. A. RIASANOVSKY, 6 Falkland Villas, Bruce Road, British Concession, Tientsin, N. China. 1938.
- Rev. HILARY G. RICHARDSON, 147 North Broadway, Yonkers, N. Y. 1926.

- Prof. HORACE ABRAM RIGG, JR., Ph.D., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. 1937.
- Prof. CORWIN C. ROACH, Gambier, Ohio. 1935.
- Mr. LAURANCE P. ROBERTS, 2 Beekman Place, New York, N. Y. 1936.
- Prof. EDWARD ROBERTSON, The University, Manchester, England. 1921.
- Prof. DAVID M. ROBINSON, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md. 1921.
- \*Prof. GEORGE LIVINGSTON ROBINSON (Presbyterian Theol. Seminary), 2312 N. Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 1892.
- Rev. Dr. THEODORE H. ROBINSON, University College, Cardiff, Wales. 1922.
- Mr. GEORGE N. ROERICH, Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, Naggur, Kulu, Punjab, India. 1922.
- Mr. HARVEY V. ROHRER, 4000 Cathedral Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C. 1935.
- Prof. WILLIAM ROSENAU, Esplanade Apartments, Lake Drive, Baltimore, Md. 1897.
- Mr. LESSING J. ROSENWALD, c/o Sears, Roebuck and Co., Philadelphia, Pa. 1924.
- Dr. TRUDE WEISS ROSMARIN, 609 W. 114th St., New York, N. Y. 1933.
- Prof. MICHAEL I. ROSTOVITZ (Yale Univ.), 1916 Yale Station, New Haven, Conn. 1926.
- Rev. JOHN F. ROWAN, D.D., St. Charles' Seminary, Overbrook, Philadelphia, Pa. 1938.
- Mr. DAVID NELSON ROWE, 17 Dunster St., Cambridge, Mass. 1936.
- Dr. BENJAMIN ROWLAND, JR., 133 Lowell House, Cambridge, Mass. 1937.
- Prof. GEORGE ROWLEY, McCormick Hall, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1926.
- Mrs. GEORGE ROWLEY, c/o Prof. George Rowley, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J. 1931.
- Rev. Prof. H. H. ROWLEY, D.D., Dol Menai, Bangor, North Wales. 1935.
- \*Miss ADELAIDE RUDOLPH, c/o White Collection, Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio. 1894.
- Mr. RICHARD C. RUDOLPH, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. 1937.
- Dr. OTTO B. RUPP, LL. D., 660 Colman Bldg., Seattle, Wash. 1931.
- Prof. ELBERT RUSSELL, Duke University, Durham, N. C. 1916.
- Mr. PETER RUTHVEN, 815 S. University Ave., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1933.
- Mr. A. SACHS, 102 Aisquith St., Baltimore, Md. 1936.
- Mr. FUAD SAFAR, c/o Director General of Education and Instruction, Ministry of Education, Bagdad, Iraq. 1936.
- Mr. ROBERT L. SAGE, 247 Lothrop St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 1934.
- Mr. SHUNZO SAKAMAKI, Box 951, Honolulu, Hawaii. 1937.
- Dr. SHIO SAKANISHI, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. 1933.
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OF THE

## AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

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VOLUME 58

NUMBER 4 . DECEMBER, 1938

Published December 30, 1938

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PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Maryland

*Annual subscriptions and orders should be sent to the American Oriental Society, 20 Hopkins Place, Baltimore, Md., or Yale University Press, New Haven Conn., U. S. A. (See last page of cover.)*  
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